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EDITED BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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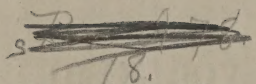

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THE ARENA.

VOL. XVIII. JULY, 1897. No. 92.

THE CITADEL OF THE MONEY POWER.

I. WALL STREET, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

BY HENRY CLEWS.

I.

THE twenty-seven respectable citizens of New York who, in 1792, met under a buttonwood tree in front of the premises now known as Number 60 Wall Street, and formed an association for the purchase and sale of public stocks at a fixed and unvarying commission, with a proviso of mutual help and preference, committed themselves to an enterprise of whose moment and influence in the future they could have formed no adequate conception. At that date Wall Street was a banking district, small indeed when compared with its present condition, but important in its relations to the commerce of the nation. This transaction of the twenty-seven — among whom we find the honored names of Barclay, Bleecker, Winthrop, Lawrence, which in themselves and their descendants were, and are, creditably identified with the growth of the community — added the prestige and power of the stock exchange to those of the banks, and fixed for an indefinitely long period the destinies of the financial centre of the Union.

During the earlier part of this century the banking interests of Wall Street quite overshadowed those of the stock market. The growth of railway securities was not fairly under way until the opening of the fifth decade. Elderly men can recall the date when the New York Central existed only as a series of connecting links between Buffalo and Albany, under half-a-dozen different names of incorporation; and passenger cars were slowly and laboriously hoisted by chain power over the "divide" between the latter city and Schenectady. Since there were but few railways in the entire country, there were few opportu-

nities for speculative dealings in their shares. These shares, too, were as a rule locally held, and were more frequently transferred by executors under court orders than by brokers on the stock exchange.

Prior to 1840 and 1845, however, the members of the stock exchange were not idle. Public stocks were largely dealt in. The United States government frequently issued bonds, and the prices of these bonds fluctuated sufficiently to afford tempting chances of profits. State bonds also were sold in Wall Street in larger amounts than to-day. About the year 1850 the sales of Missouri sixes and Ohio sixes frequently amounted to millions of dollars daily. During that uncertain epoch of finance when the United States Bank was both a financial and a political power, the shares of that institution were a favorite subject of speculative dealing. The shares of Delaware & Hudson, and of the original Erie Railway, the latter laboriously constructed over a rough, barren, and thinly settled portion of the State, partly by State funds, had also become actively exchangeable in the market.

During this period a relatively enormous quantity of banking capital had located itself in and near Wall Street. The Bank of New York existed before 1800, and later, although not long after, the Street witnessed the erection of buildings of a now obsolete, and yet at that time an attractive, style of architecture, devoted to the uses of the Manhattan Banking Company, the Bank of America, the Merchants, the Union, the Bank of Commerce, and others. Were it not that land in the banking district is so valuable, and that the need of upstair offices is so great, one might be tempted to regret the demolition of the graceful money temples occupied by three of these corporations on the north side of Wall Street. In each of them the entablature rested upon two fluted stone pillars with Doric capitals, in addition to the supports of the side walls. Between the steps and the doors of the temple extended a marble-paved court which often served as a convenient place of 'change for borrowers and lenders. Entering the doors you found yourself in a large, airy, dome-lighted room, the sides of which were occupied by the clerks of the institution, guarded by high barricades from the intrusive eyes and feet of the

general public. At the rear were the offices of the president and cashier. Throughout the entire building there reigned a solemn and semi-religious silence. One may witness something like this to-day in the Wall-Street end of the U. S. Treasury Building, and only there.

Up to the epoch of the rise of railway building and railway-share speculation, the main aliment of Wall-Street banks was the profit derived from the discount of commercial paper and from loans upon government and State securities. But when railway shares and bonds, based upon lines of road which were constructed through the rich regions of the Union lying between the Atlantic and the Mississippi river, came upon the market in large amounts, affording ample security for investment and loans, the great banks of Wall Street were quick to appreciate the advantages of loans made upon such undoubted values, which were at all times convertible into cash on the stock exchange. In times of pressure, commercial paper is an inferior asset for a bank, all of whose obligations are payable on demand. At such times notes become practically unsalable, and are not always paid at maturity. A failure of one firm brings down others, and renewals are urgently required from banks just when they are least able to grant them. Salable securities are on such occasions an ark of safety, and, dating from the early fifties, this class of securities has always been the basis of a large amount of the loans of the banks of Wall Street and their near neighbors of the same class in lower Nassau Street and also Broadway.

With the immense outgrowth of business consequent upon the discovery of gold in California in 1849, and the construction of the great railways of the Middle West, such as the Michigan Southern, the Northern Indiana (now the Lake Shore), the Michigan Central, the Galena & Chicago, the Rock Island, and others of like importance and real value, the banks and banking houses of Wall Street, and the stock exchange, grew into most important factors in developing the prosperity of the country. Enterprises were originated by able men acting under corporate powers, and when these were brought before the committees of the stock exchange and duly approved and listed, capital instantly flowed forth from its reservoirs in

answer to the securities thus offered. And it may safely be said that but for the combined machinery of the New York banks and the stock exchange the actual developments of twenty years would have dragged laboriously through an entire century.

Amid so much progress and activity, speculation was not idle. Those were the days of many of our greatest railway operators, daring, able, enthusiastic men, who had the rare gift of imparting confidence to their followers and the public, and realized the fable of King Midas, whose touch transmuted all things into gold. Their careers were those of conquest and accumulation, like that of Napoleon; and, like him, they underwent, with few exceptions, their retreats from Russia and their Waterloos. Of such were Jacob Little, Daniel Drew, Anthony Morse, and others, to whom now the motto of Junius applies: *Stat nominis umbra.* Merely the shadows of their names reach over to us from the horizons where their suns set so long ago.

There was an epoch too in the Wall Street of the past when gigantic and deeply considered combinations were set in motion, entitled "corners." As to corners, a word of explanation may not be amiss. There are always two factions in the stock market: the bulls, who want stocks to rise in price in order that they may sell out; and the bears, who want stocks to fall in price so that they can buy in. Contrary to the superficial belief of the public, the bulls are sellers and the bears are buyers. But in order to sell a commodity you must buy or borrow it; and in order to buy at a future date you must sell at a previous date; and thus the bull buys for the purpose of selling at a profit, and the bear sells something which he doesn't own for the purpose of buying it at a lower price. The bull therefore hopes to push prices up so that he can sell his purchase at a profit, and the bear hopes to drag prices down so that he can buy what he has sold, also at a profit.

Meanwhile, the bear has delivered the shares sold by him, and in order to deliver them, has borrowed them, and given security in money at its market price. Here he has placed himself in danger, because the owner of the shares may at any time tender him this money and demand the shares, which the bear may not be able to provide himself with, except at the price which the owners choose to set upon them.

Thus a person might be under contract to deliver the shares of some corporation which might be absolutely worthless, and yet these shares *might* be so held that the holders could exact one thousand dollars a share. Given a railway with a share capital of ten millions, one person or knot of persons might own every certificate of its stock, and have it all loaned out to bears who had sold, borrowed, and delivered it. It is obvious that this person or club of persons could compel purchases of the shares which he or they alone possess, at whatever price he or they think proper to demand; and since such things can be done by skilful combinations under able generalship, they have been done, and were a favorite scheme during the eventful years between the sixties and the eighties. The corners in Harlem, Hudson, Erie and Northwest, in which Vanderbilt, Drew, and Gould achieved such success for themselves and their associates, have passed into history as a conspicuous portion of the great events of Wall Street. Their interest is chiefly historical, because of late years no comprehensive corners have been organized. Share capitals are so large that it is difficult for one man to control any one of them, and a divided corner is apt to fail. But in their day and generation they have offered brilliant illustrations of genius and strategic skill in financial warfare.

The system of selling short, however, which gave birth to the idea of creating corners, and which came into vogue in the fifties, has never ceased to be a leading factor on the stock exchange. It was the result of certain inflations of values which necessarily follow the construction of great enterprises. However high a valuation may be set upon any given commodity, there are always persons who expect a higher price. Early historical examples of this fact are the South-Sea shares and John Law's Mississippi shares, over which England and France respectively went crazy in the last century. The loftier the figures to which these shares mounted, the greater was the eagerness of the public to buy them. But at that period the art and mystery of selling short had not been brought into practice, and when the bubbles collapsed there were universal losers and no direct winners.

During the latter half of this century there have been periods

in the history of Wall Street when the prices of railway and industrial shares have been forced enormously above the standard of actual values, and innumerable persons have parted with good money in exchange for mere phantoms of imaginary values. At such times the short sales of discernment, directing the X rays of clear-sighted criticism into the swollen and opaque mass of financial carrion that is exposed for sale in the market, are of the utmost benefit to the public. The bear is then a benefactor to the community, and when he pulls down and tears to pieces the rotten carcass of some gigantic humbug, strewing the highway with its remains, we cannot praise his work too highly.

II.

The present condition of Wall Street is one of lassitude and expectancy. The great banks have an abundance, perhaps a superabundance, of money, their own and their depositors, which they are only too glad to lend on solid and readily salable collateral at low rates of interest, approximating the prevalent rates in London and Paris, where similar accumulations of idle capital exist. A large part of this money is deposited with them by local banks in all parts of the country, which recognize New York City as the financial centre of the Union, and are content with interest of from one to two per cent upon the funds which they are unwilling or unable to use safely at home. The stock exchange is also in a condition of quietude. The public are neither buying nor selling stocks in any large amount.

This state of things is the resultant of well-known facts. Numerous over-capatalized and badly managed railways have gone into bankruptcy, and either are in the hands of receivers or have emerged from such guardianship, and are painfully toiling along on the road to prosperity on the twin crutches of assessments upon stockholders and the withholding of dividends from the same long-suffering and patient class.

The transactions at the stock exchange at present average about two hundred thousand shares a day, exclusive of bonds, government, State, and railway; and a certain class of observers who like to subject circumstances to a minute analysis inform the public that the daily profits of the members of the exchange

are about sufficient to pay the expense of office rent and clerk hire. This conclusion takes it for granted that these profits should be equally divided among the membership. This is not a reasonable supposition. Many of the members are such only in name, and rarely go on the floor. Others live during most of the time on their accumulations, and come into the market to buy or sell only when prices are abnormally low or high. The comparatively small busy portion manage somehow to keep fairly active, and are cheerfully looking forward to better times, through a vista from which the cloud of a change of the monetary standard has already passed away, and into which the genius of enterprise beckons them to enter.

III.

While in many respects the future is a sealed book, yet there is such a thing in the economy of nature as an absolutely accurate prevision of events, such as eclipses of the sun and moon, and conjunctions of the planets, and a relatively correct prevision of events depending upon the growth of enlightened communities. Since the incorporation of the Bank of New York, at the corner of Wall and Williams Streets, the banking capital of New York has increased more than sixtyfold, of which more than one-half is held and used in and around Wall Street, and the aggregation of deposited and loanable capital has grown from a few millions to over half a billion. If this has been the result during one century, what will take place in the same direction during the next century? The ratio of increase will not be kept up. A thousand dollars may be doubled in a day, but no such ratio as a hundred per cent a day can be predicated of a million. And yet it is certain that, under proper management, the million will go on increasing; and in the same manner will our half-billion increase by its own earning power, and by contributions from all parts of the Union. The development of the United States in the direction of population, agriculture, manufactures, and mines is so enormous and so steady that this nation will at some not distant period become the most opulent of all the nations of the planet, unless unforeseen and improbable political events happen by which our great commonwealth shall be disrupted or its financial stability overturned. Under a nor-

mal condition of things the capital of the citizens of the Union will continually increase, and the banks of the city of New York will be the depositary of larger and larger reserves of whatever capital is temporarily idle in the places where it is created. In due time the financial centre of the world will be shifted from London to our imperial city.

Such a destiny has been foretold for St. Petersburg, in view of the construction of the Siberian Railway and its branches, which in time will open up to industry an immense tract of productive soil in the most fertile parts of Asia, abounding in wheat and corn land, and full of superior water power. But in this superb rivalry between the United States and the colossus of Europe and Asia, the former nation has an immense start as to time, and a still greater advantage in the character of its population. And in addition to these we have the undoubted and constantly increasing supremacy of the English language. Just as during the Middle Ages Latin was the vernacular of the learned classes, and as to-day French is the language of diplomacy in Europe, so is English the common tongue in all the commercial localities of the globe. With English a man can commit himself to foreign travel anywhere, while outside of Russia there are few towns on the various continents in which Russian is not an unknown speech. These controlling conditions cannot be readily or easily changed, especially since no paramount reasons exist why they should be changed.

It is then a reasonable forecast of the future, that in due time the weighty import of the names of Lombard[1] and Threadneedle Streets will be transferred to the name of Wall Street, and the facts implied by such a transfer are of a dignity and power which it is impossible to estimate. The road leading to this great destiny can only be blocked by injurious legislation, and the good sense of our citizens may be confidently relied upon to prevent the creation of such a barricade against national prosperity.

---

[1] It will be recollected that Macaulay has pictured a New Zealander of some future day as sitting upon a broken arch of London Bridge, contemplating the ruins of St. Paul's cathedral; and readers of the classics may recall the forecast of Seneca in the time of Nero, as to the discovery of a Western continent by which Rome should be dwarfed: "In later ages the time shall come when the ocean shall loosen the chains which bind us, a mighty continent shall be disclosed, and a deity shall unveil a new world beyond Britannia."

II. THE TRUE INWARDNESS OF WALL STREET.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

The organized powers of society are always anxious to conciliate public favor. They know that they exist by sufferance — by sufferance of a mightier than themselves. In proportion as they know themselves to be aggressors and spoliators their anxiety increases. Every abusive power in the world is thus driven to adopt schemes and devices — some dangerous and some merely ludicrous — to keep a footing at that silent bar of opinion before which all wrong must, sooner or later, quail and slink away.

The great concern called Wall Street is such an organized power in society. It exists as a fact in our American system, and would fain conciliate the favor of the public. Wall Street has become one of the most conspicuous features in our national life. Knowing that it is challenged by public opinion — knowing indeed that it is already under the ban and condemnation of the American people — it now seeks, after the manner of its kind, to save itself alive. It would go further than mere salvation; it would make mankind believe that it is a reputable part of the universal swim. Aye more; it seeks to ingratiate itself, sometimes by force and sometimes by gentle craft and stratagem, into the good graces of that civilization which it has so mortally offended.

To this end Wall Street strives to justify itself in periodical and general literature. No other power in human society to so great a degree and in so subtle a manner exploits its own virtues. Taking advantage of the well-known carelessness of American readers, and knowing full well how easily they are duped — how easily they are cozened out of their senses and led into false beliefs with mere plausibilities and sophisms — this imperial and far-reaching Wall Street, this elephantine fox of the world, takes possession of American journalism — owns it, controls it. It seizes and subsidizes the metropolitan press. It purchases newspapers and magazines by the score. It establishes bureaus; it buys every purchasable pen, from the pen of the gray philosopher to the pen of the snake editor. It overawes every timid brain, from the brain of the senator to the brain

of the tramp. What it cannot purchase it terrorizes; and the small residue which it cannot terrorize it seeks to cajole: all this to the end that its dominion may be universal and everlasting.

In this work of gaining possession of public opinion and perverting that opinion to its own uses Wall Street employs all methods and uses all expedients. Wall Street deliberately marks its game; and we have to confess that the game generally falls at the first fire. We have heard, however, of a single case of a brave man, now dead, who, when offered ten thousand dollars for his voice against his conviction and his opinion against his soul, in the matter of electing President of the United States the man who was the candidate of Wall Street, told the subtle committee to make an immediate and expeditious visit to the bottom of the old theology.

This train of thought rises vividly to mind when I consider the article of Mr. Henry Clews on "Wall Street, Past, Present, and Future." This article came unsought and unexpected to the editorial desk of THE ARENA. I confess that I doubted its genuineness. For why should Mr. Clews address the public through the columns of THE ARENA? What has THE ARENA done to merit such distinction? Satisfying myself that the contribution was genuine, that it was not — and is not — a hallucination, I at once divined that it must be a sort of challenge to this magazine. I do the author of "Wall Street, Past, Present, and Future," the honor to believe that he does not suppose THE ARENA to be sufficiently verdant to publish his adroit and well-covered apology for the great institution which he represents, — without knowing the sense and significance of it. If indeed the distinguished gentleman imagined that we could do such a thing here, then in good sooth he must be undeceived. Or if he supposed that a paper of the kind submitted would be *rejected* at this office because of our well-known antagonism to the fact which Mr. Clews defends, let him in that instance also be undeceived.

At the office of THE ARENA we take all challenges. Nor should our friends suppose or fear that the welcome admission of Mr. Clews's article to the pages of THE ARENA implies timidity or some possible weakness in the presence of that

gigantic institution known by the name of Wall Street. The fact is, that the nightmare which that power has been able to spread, bat-like, over the souls of men for a quarter of a century has about been dissipated; it is already the beginning of the end. It is the dawn; the day is not very far in the future when the American people, roused at last to the exertion of their majesty, will shake themselves from the dread of this incubus and spring up like a giant refreshed from slumber.

Mr. Clews's article on "Wall Street, Past, Present, and Future," is a most gentle and dove-like performance. It is not a paper intended to produce alarm, but to allay it. It is one of the finest examples of a literary opiate that I have ever seen. The bottom theme of the paper is that Wall Street is a natural growth, and is therefore inevitable. Wall Street has come by a gentle evolution. Good men and true have conspired with nature to bring it forth. Under natural and necessary conditions Wall Street has appeared in our American system, and under these conditions it flourishes. Whatever great fact in society has thus appeared has been born of necessity and out of the nature of things. If Wall Street have been born out of necessity and the nature of things, then it has come of righteousness, and is the child of truth. If of righteousness and truth, then Wall Street is good as well as glorious. That which is good and glorious ought to be admired and honored. Whatever is admired and honored, whatever is good and glorious, should have influence and power in society and state. Such a golden product of evolution is Wall Street; therefore the sceptre which Wall Street stretches forth over the prostrate Western world should be obeyed and upheld by the voice and hand of the American people.

Not only so, but the sceptre should be extended. The empire of Wall Street should become universal. It should be enlarged and confirmed until all outlying kingdoms and all islands of the sea shall pass under the beneficent sway of this monarchy of the world! Then with Mr. Clews we may well consider his "reasonable forecast of the future." With him we shall be able to see "that in due time the weighty import of the names of Lombard and Threadneedle Streets will be transferred to the name of Wall Street." With Mr. Clews we shall be able to see that

"the facts implied by such a transfer are of a dignity and power which it is impossible to estimate." Then, finally, with Mr. Clews we shall agree that "the road leading to this great destiny *can only be blocked by legislation.*" Mr. Clews says "injurious" legislation. Certainly; that is true — most true. The consummation hoped for by Mr. Clews can verily be blocked by legislation! But when it comes to the definition of "injurious" how fearfully do we part company! The writer of "Wall Street, Past, Present, and Future" flatters himself, in fine, with the belief that "the good sense of our citizens may be confidently relied upon to prevent the creation of such a barricade against national prosperity." Oh, it is "national prosperity" then that we have in view! That is good. If there be anything under heaven which Wall Street adores and dotes on more than any other thing in the world it is national prosperity! When it comes to national prosperity Wall Street is always full-handed. With the mere mention of national prosperity Wall Street raises a shout of sympathetic enthusiasm which reverberates from Passamaquoddy to San Diego, and from the Florida everglades to the snow-capped shoulders of Shasta!

Let me, however, explain to Mr. Clews one thing, and that is that the blessed condition of universal society in which Wall Street, having absorbed Lombard and Threadneedle, shall be supreme over the nations will occur only when our free American institutions shall be crushed into fragments and when civil liberty shall lie bleeding among the ruins. It will occur *then*, and not before. It will occur when the residue of the old American spirit has been stamped out, and when a miserable, slavish subserviency shall have been substituted for the revolutionary freedom which our fathers won and made sacred with their blood on every patriot battlefield from Lexington to Appomattox.

Temperately and patiently I will follow Mr. Clews's paper through. The writer of the article is a gentlemanly and able representative of that colossal power which he has helped to build up and fortify. From being a child of that power he has now become, in a most theosophical manner, one of the fathers of it! As such he has made himself the apologist of a gigantic

and rampant beast on whose horns of hazard the values produced by the labor of seventy millions of Americans are tossed about as if the wreckage were so much waste excelsior thrown on the horns of a bull! Mr. Clews tells us that in 1792 twenty-seven gentlemen met under a buttonwood tree and formed the association known as Wall Street. The purpose of the association was "the purchase and sale of public stocks at a fixed and unvarying commission, with a proviso of mutual help and preference." The result was the addition of "the prestige and power of the stock exchange to the prestige and power of the banks." That indeed is a combination worthy to be considered! A consolidation of interests was effected between the exchange and the banks to purchase and sell stocks "with a proviso of mutual help."

The organization thus created has existed for one hundred and five years. It has made a history. It has become ever greater and more firmly fixed in and *on* American society. It has made itself to be the foundation of all things financial and political in the United States. The story of the process by which this prodigious result has been reached is narrated by Mr. Clews in the manner of one who gives an account of the formation of a temperance society or a Sunday school! In the whole article there does not appear a symptom of a suspicion that the thing of which he gives the history is the most dangerous and abusive fact that ever threatened the integrity of a nation. The argument is that if twenty-seven gentlemen thus met and created Wall Street, then the result, being a natural product, is good and wholesome. But the inquiry at once arises whether it is valid logic to suppose that what men do is right, simply because they do it. The affirmative of such a proposition would make Aristotle stagger. It amounts to this, that whatever is is right; therefore, let it alone.

By this argument of Mr. Clews all the tyrannies of the past, all the horrors that have afflicted the human race, all the sufferings which men have endured from sword and pestilence, from servitude, from the butchery of war and the cruelty of the Inquisition, have been right merely because they have been natural. Under this rule every monster that has tormented society from the first day until now can find full justification for itself on the

simple ground that it exists! Under such an argument a howitzer is as good as a plough, a sword is as good as a sickle, a pillory is as good as a baby-wagon. By such reasoning a shark is as useful as a horse. By this logic a boa-constrictor is as good as a reindeer, a tiger is as useful and salutary in his office as an ox or a St. Bernard, and a cancer is as beautiful as a blush. That is, everything is good, not because it is useful and just, but because it is.

Or again, Mr. Clews's argument is this: that the men who created Wall Street were gentlemen; therefore their work was salutary. Just as though respectable people could not engage in a nefarious business. Just as though gentlemen could not, and would not, make a conspiracy to enslave the human race. The "gentleman" is a very uncertain factor in civilization; his devotion to right and truth requires always to be tested with a chemical and to be taken with the usual combination of chlorine and sodium.

Mr. Clews explains that the stocks underlying our old railroad properties in the United States were aforetime "held locally," and that they were transferred "more frequently by executors than by brokers on the stock exchange" — as though that were an evil. Then "there were but few opportunities for dealing in shares" — as though *that* were an evil! It thus became necessary for Wall Street to get the old stocks belonging to the people out of the people's hands and into the hands of the Street — as though *that* were a good. Our public improvements were in the first place made by the people, but the people were not fit to own them. Our railways were constructed with capital subscribed by the people, generally by those through whose country the given improvement was extended. The people themselves then owned their own, and controlled it. Until Wall Street reached out and clutched such properties — first putting down the prices of the shares to nothing and then pulling the given stocks to par — the people were able to protect themselves; but never afterwards.

The same was true of all other securities, whether public or private. Nearly all bonded debts were at first local; but the holding of securities *locally* has always been a thing abhorrent to Wall Street. The idea of the Street is that all stocks and

all securities belong, not to the public, but to itself. Of course the *money capital* of the country belongs to the Street. And if, with the consent of public authority, the *stocks* of the country also can be held by the Street, then a humble peasantry, paying perennial rents and compound interest, can be created and kept under forever throughout the domains of the great Republic. It may ultimately require arsenals to do it, but these we can supply.

The next stage in the game was the creation by Wall Street of fictitious enterprises for the distinct purpose of getting possession of the stocks on which such enterprises were based, and of speculating in the shares of such properties. When the *existing* stocks of railways were not sufficient — when the bonds of States and of the general government were insufficient in quantity to fill the maw of the benevolent being called Wall Street — then an *artificial* supply must be created; that is, some scheme of debts must be invented by which the people might be made to pay tribute to the good Wall Street, and pay it still more abundantly.

Thus were invented new banks and new banking systems. Thus came the bull and the bear and the bucket-shop. Thus were projected a thousand railways and canals. Many of these were laid into impossible regions — all "for the benefit of the people!" Other enterprises which were not sufficiently stocked began to be stocked more heavily — this also for the benefit of the people. The plan of watering was invented; the method of "promoting" enterprises was perfected, — until, as early as the time of the Civil War, Wall Street had acquired the greatest skill in *making* debts, or, in the language of James Fisk, Jr., in "rescuing the property of other people from themselves."

These beautiful processes are glossed over by Mr. Clews with a pleasant account of how, with the growth of business and the discovery of gold and the oncoming of the age of construction, great enterprises were "promoted" by Wall Street, and how "capital instantly flowed forth from its reservoirs in answer to the securities" that flowed thereto. The author of "Wall Street, Past, Present, and Future," affirms "that but for the combined machinery of the New York banks and the stock exchange the actual developments of twenty years would have

dragged laboriously through an entire century." Permit us to say that it would have been better that such "actual developments" should have dragged through *two* centuries than that the United States of America should have been stocked and mortgaged and bonded and enslaved, under the tyrannous lash of debt, by such a master as Wall Street.

Mr. Clews next comes to the subject of corners. On this topic we doubt not that he speaks as one having authority. He tells us quite complacently that there was "an epoch in the Wall Street of the past when the gigantic and deeply considered combinations were set in motion entitled 'corners.'" Then he goes on to explain what corners are. He does so without the slightest expression of criticism or aversion. He tells us of the bulls and the bears by whose agency a corner is conducted as though they were the friendly competitors in some great philanthropy! Instead of describing corners as so many carefully contrived schemes to rob the people of the proceeds of their labor by putting the prices of their commodities and securities *down* until such commodities and securities are taken from their hands, and then putting the prices *up* in order that the robbers may reap the harvest, he speaks of corners as offering "brilliant illustrations of genius and strategic skill in financial warfare!"

The fact is that the men who are reared in Wall Street, who from their youth are familiarized with its processes, and who are well set in the plastic age to consider human life as an auspicious opportunity for getting possession of something that does not belong to them, are fatally blunted in their sensibilities; the ethical quality in them is battered out—or at least battered; they come to regard the human race as an enormous ranch of sheep to be shorn at the pleasure of the shearers; they even grow to consider each other as so much mutton to be butchered and roasted by whoever is able to do it.

I notice with surprise that Mr. Clews in his sketch of Wall Street dwells not at all upon the benevolent agency of that power during the Civil War. This is an oversight which I beg leave to supply. There has never perhaps been an instance in human history in which a great power has so ardently devoted itself "to the preservation of free institutions" as did Wall Street in that epoch of mortal agony. Then it was that Wall

Street engaged in the patriotic work, first of destroying the national credit, then of buying it up at half price, then of converting it into a bonded debt to be perpetuated for a full generation, and finally of compelling the people to pay it in a dollar worth four times as much as the dollar with which it was purchased. It was a beautiful scheme of devotion and self-sacrifice the like of which history has never before recorded. It was a speculation which involved the life of the American Republic. The Union was on trial. All nerves were strained, and all hearts were torn. The nation was bleeding at every pore. Every freight-train that came from the front brought back its loaded boxes of dead. Fathers and mothers gathered at the station, and each received his own. The rough coffin containing the body of the patriot boy who had given his life for the flag was taken by the silent father and mother to its resting-place under the apple trees. All true men had tearful faces, and a stern resolve in the heart. And while *this* was the condition of the nation and the people, the high-toned Wall Street was speculating on the life of the Republic. It bought and sold blood. It was a bull on disaster and a bear on victory. It established bureaus through which to falsify intelligence and to bring the nation to the verge of ruin. It had no compunction. It regarded the gore of battlefields as the rich rain and mould out of which its own harvest was to grow. The more blood the merrier. The more tears the richer the yield. The more war the more debt. The more depression of the national credit the more cheaply we shall be able to gather it up! The more grape-vine despatches the more distraction and the better opportunity for us. The more death the more millions. The more horror and devastation the heavier will be our coffers. The more the people groan the more we will shout. The more they die the more we will live. The more the flag is torn the more our damask curtains will flutter. The more liberty perishes and withers from the earth the more we shall plant ourselves and flourish and rule and reign over a nation that we have destroyed and a people whom we have enslaved. If Mr. Clews wishes any further outline of the history of Wall Street during our Civil War we shall be glad to contribute such a sketch as a reminiscence of a great fact which appears to be dim in his memory.

There is another almost fatal omission in Mr. Clews's article. He says but little about the principal work in which Wall Street, historically considered, has been engaged during the last thirty years. I do not like the way in which this great section of the "Past" of Wall Street is glossed over. During the period referred to, that institution has had one bottom purpose and one reason of action from which it has never deviated. This purpose, this reason of action, has been the perpetuation of the national debt and the increase of its value by bulling the unit of money in which the debt is payable. Wall Street knows that the bonded debt of the United States is the basis, or central fact, in the whole system of bonds and stocks. Wall Street knows that the dollar is the central fact in the bond. It knows that if the bond can be made everlasting and the dollar can be increased in value until a single unit of it shall be equivalent to an acre of farming land, then the Street can own the United States in fee simple, and can presently annex the rest of the world.

I acknowledge a certain admiration when I consider this stupendous scheme. It is more than Napoleonic ; it is continental, interplanetary, sidereal ! I cannot recall another conspiracy in the history of mankind quite equal in colossal and criminal splendor to the profound and universal plot of Wall Street to make perpetual the national debt, to keep that debt the bottom fact in the banking system of the United States, and to bull the unit of money and account until it shall be worth four times as much, or perhaps ten times as much, as it was when the bulk of the debt was contracted.

The history of this scheme in its true inwardness is the history of Wall Street for the past thirty years. The details of the history relate to such small circumstances as the transfer of the government of the great Republic from the hands and control of the people to the hands and control of the Street. Of course no such scheme as that referred to could be carried into successfull operation *unless* the national government could be delivered over to the keeping of the Street and be locked up, as it were, in the same vault where the national debt is deposited.

This feat, however, was easily accomplished. Wall Street reached out its hand and plucked down the American eagle

from his perch. Wall Street got possession of the government. The *coup* was accomplished while the nation was asleep — else it never could have been accomplished. Wall Street climbed the Tarpeian rock in the night, and no goose cackled to give the alarm. Columbia had gone to bed. The keeper of her treasure-house had already given the key to the enemy. The keeper of the treasury was a *part* of the enemy. He gave up both citadel and city. In the morning the walls were placarded with lying posters which said that the delivery of the government into the hands of the Hessians had been rendered necessary in order "to preserve the national honor!" It was done in order to keep faith with those benevolent patriots who had bought the debt of the nation at less than fifty cents to the dollar, and who, not satisfied with bringing it to par, were now engaged in the honorable work of making it worth two hundred cents to the dollar. The fact that the industries of the people would be crushed and the people themselves be reduced to poverty by the transfer of the national sovereignty from the capitol to the stock exchange was nothing in comparison with the "preservation of national honor."

The scheme was carried out. The methods by which it was carried out constitute the subject-matter of the true history of Wall Street during the past generation. Wall Street, from being a financial organization, became a political power. It took full possession of the executive and legislative departments of the government. It controlled them both. It promptly established and defended its ownership. It instituted one scheme after another. For the purpose of fortifying its usurpation, it learned to choose its men and to prepare its measures in advance. In 1884 it created an administration for its own purposes, and manned it to the same end. It forced its way into the House of Representatives and stood with a bludgeon behind the Speaker's chair. It entered every committee-room and dictated every successful bill. The people's bills all went one way. If by any chance one of the people's bills got before the House the subsidized press, owned by Wall Street, raised against it a chorus of groans and catcalls; *that* was "an expression of public opinion"!

From that day forth the popular voice was strangled into silence. The next administration (that of 1888) was prepared

in the same manner. Wall Street has no politics except the politics of the bond; it has no platform except the platform of cent per cent. It suffices that when a president is to be elected he shall be one of us. He shall not be a man of the people; else in that case he would be a demagogue, a windbag, a *vox et præterea nil*. *Our* man shall not even know the despised people. He shall not smell of the filthy ground, but must be "sound" on questions of finance. If he be not "sound," we will make him so. We will teach him his paces. If the people conclude to change their government, we will see to it that the incoming powers are just like the outgoing. As for the "principles" on which the candidate shall be chosen, we will attend to that. We will make his principles for him. We understand principles perfectly. We will fix the platform; we know the carpenters. If the candidate and his friends have already fixed a platform before the date of the convention, and if it have been published everywhere as the decision of the candidate and his following, we will take that platform from the wires and will carefully revise it, to the end that the "national honor" shall be preserved. We will write it over again into new meanings. We will interpret it so that no harm shall be done to the "national credit." We will make our candidate into a puppet. When we put our foot on the treadle his jaw shall drop and he shall utter many mocking words about the "national honor" and the "prospects of our glorious country" — signifying nothing.

All this we will do for the public good. We will say that we are striving for national prosperity. We will proclaim our candidate as the advance agent of prosperity — until after the election. Then we will say that prosperity will come with the inauguration. Then we will say that it will shine out promptly when Congress adjourns and ceases to menace the national credit. Then we will say that prosperity will reveal itself when the hot season is over. By this time the hoodwinked people can be coddled to sleep, or else set to dancing with rumors of foreign wars. To this end we will have our newspapers carefully promote our principles and studiously avoid all reference to those subjects in which the people feel the deepest concern. Finally, we will omit all these matters from our history of "Wall Street, Past;" we will proceed to speak of our "Wall Street, Present,"

and will explain that it is in a state of "lassitude and expectancy." Indeed "lassitude and expectancy" is good.

But there is still another yawning chasm in the history of "Wall Street, *Past*," and that is Mr. Clews's failure to discuss the transfer of the Treasury of the United States to the custody of the Street, and the consequent reduction of the Secretary of the Treasury to the rank of a clerk. This very thing has been most successfully accomplished. I believe that the Secretary still has an office at Washington, but that should be closed in the interest of economy and reform. To do so, we doubt not, would be a strong factor in the restoration of confidence. Perhaps the Washington office might be left in charge of a janitor, for it is understood that some official correspondence is still directed to the old address! The presence of the Secretary in New York, however, has become so essential to the proper discharge of his duties that the removal of his residence thither can only be deferred by an absurd deference to public opinion!

The results of the transfer of this vital function of the national government have, in the meantime, been so salutary as fully to vindicate the change. This was shown in 1893–94 when the Street, with a strong repugnance to investing money in useful enterprises, and having a prodigious accumulation of funds on hand, concluded that a sale of Government bonds was necessary for the "national honor." To this end the managers began to pull the treasury. In that institution a large sum of gold was stored, wholly without warrant of law. The people needed the gold beyond measure — that is, they needed the *money;* and gold is one form of money. The industries of the people had been prostrated by an international conspiracy, and the nation was quivering on the verge of apprehended ruin.

In this crisis the patriotic Street devised the bucket-chain, the crank of which was in the hand of the Street, while the "chain" ran through the Treasury of the United States. Every bucket came out filled with gold. Lazard Frères emptied out the gold and shipped it abroad to their confederates. This created the necessity for buying it back with bonds. The people were stunned with the audacity of the thing — just as the unfortunate owners of a house in flames are stunned to see gentlemen of the profession rush in and empty the safe. Wall Street danced and shouted while the work was done. The bonds

were "popular," and the Street got them — got them for one price and sold them for another.

By this beautiful process the great American nation was literally held up and *robbed* of more than nineteen million dollars! No highwayman ever more successfully clutched the wizen of his victim than did the Street with its supple fingers around the white larynx of Columbia. The wheezing of the strangulated Republic could be heard from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande. The nation was thus "saved," and the robbers took the money and went sailing away on summer cruises to Norway and Venice and the Cyclades. The "national credit" was preserved; Wall Street "rescued" us from dishonor! That part of the proceeds not consumed in yacht races, pyrotechnics, and balls was passed to the credit of the reform fund, needed for the restoration of prosperity in the fall of 1896! Certainly a history of "Wall Street, Past," ought to contain some reference to these crimes.

Mr. Clews, turning to "Wall Street, Present," tells the nation that now "the great banks have a superabundance of gold to lend on solid and readily salable collateral at low rates of interest, approximating the prevalent rates in London and Paris, where similar accumulations of idle capital exist." This is a true statement of the facts. Mr. Clews has here spoken by the books. What he says signifies that Wall Street is now ready to go ahead and issue new mortgages on the American people. It is now ready to offer inducements to our fourteen millions of voters to sell themselves into another twenty-year cycle of bondage. If they will only be gentle and not interrupt us; if they will give us a true death-grip on themselves, on all they possess, and all they ever hope to possess, we will lend back to them a part of the very money which we have sucked up from their wheat fields and pastures, from their barns and potato patches, from their humble stores and markets, from their mills and their mines, and we will thus *expedite* them on the way to serfdom. Meanwhile we will continue to bankrupt their railways, to snatch their local stocks, to convert all shares in all enterprises into bonds, and to put the bonds into our safes to the end — that confidence may be restored and prosperity come back like the flowers that bloom in the spring.

For the time being we, the Street, are able to toss "two hun-

dred thousand shares a day" on the horns of our bull, and to put the same amount of securities under the custody of our bear. "This conclusion takes it for granted that the profits should be equally divided among the membership." Such are Mr. Clews's very words. By the bond of my faith! there is nothing else so beautiful and magnificent as this among the arts invented by mankind! As for the people, one of your own kings, Messieurs of the Street, has very properly indicated your wish and purpose with regard to *them*.

Mr. Clews tells us that the "Future" of Wall Street is a sealed book; and yet we may allow that "there is such a thing as an accurate prevision of events." Of this kind are eclipses, occultations, and tides of the sea. If the capital of Wall Street has, since the institution was founded, increased more than sixtyfold, as Mr. Clews declares, then we may expect it, according to his philosophy, to increase full sixty times sixty, until the world shall be swallowed up. Then, when Threadneedle and Lombard Streets shall have lost their sceptre; then, when Seneca's forecast of the time to come shall have been fulfilled; then, when Macaulay's New Zealander shall have made his sketch, not only of St. Paul's, but also of the bank of England; then, when *all* the wealth, and *all* the power, and *all* the functions of civil society in the United States shall have been transferred to Wall Street; then, when nothing shall remain to the American people except their squalid huts and the sorrowful reminiscences of a great republic; then, when Wall Street in very truth shall have possessed itself of the earth and consumed mankind, — I suppose that the benovelent owners of the world will found a few libraries, build a few marble mausoleums for themselves, and sally forth to establish a stock exchange in Mars! That done, interplanetary wars may be engendered, bonds on the solar system may be issued and bought at half price, a gold standard of values may be fixed on the basis of the pound sterling good from the sun out to Neptune, and the inhabitants of the worlds, either by arms or by journalism, may become the helots of consolidated wealth enthroned as the governing power of the universe.

THE REFORM CLUB'S FEAST OF UNREASON.

BY HON. CHARLES A. TOWNE,

Chairman Provisional National Committee Silver Republican Party.

ON Saturday evening, April 24, 1897, at the Waldorf Hotel, New York, there was held a political banquet intended as a most impressive function, but which has passed into history as a very ridiculous one. Big with self-complacence and puffed with pride, as it appeared in the brilliant lights and gorgeous appointments of the palatial supper hall, within twenty-four hours the lacerating indignation of Mr. Watterson and the trenchant raillery of Mr. Bryan had let the tumid pretentiousness all out of it, and it had collapsed into a flaccid and "innocuous desuetude." The "star-eyed goddess" turned her back upon it, the "wild-orbed anarch" snapped his fingers at it, and even everyday Mrs. Grundy laughed it to scorn. Projected with the most alluring and satisfying expectations, the feast has dwindled to the memory of a sad mistake in the mind of every man that assisted at it. Planned as a sort of coronation ceremony, its completed performance unaccountably wore the complexion of belated obsequies irreverently disturbed by the guffaws of the multitude.

But the aspect of this banquet as a piece of ill-conceived political strategy that never was formidable, or as a rite in the ceremonial of a hero-worship that is as inexplicable as inopportune, does not now so much concern me as does its office as a dispenser of misinformation and unsound philosophy, which are always dangerous. Many who condemn the folly of it as a move in practical politics nevertheless loudly commend the economic doctrines it contributed to spread. But inasmuch as, in my opinion, the science it taught is as bad as the politics it practised, I propose to call attention to a few of the arrogant assumptions and mischievous theories that found emphatic and repeated expression at this feast.

Did the purpose of this article permit, it would be interesting to make Mr. Cleveland's speech the text of some examination

into the ex-President's peculiarities of style. It was Clevelandesque to the core. All his protuberant characteristics are there: the leviathanic egotism, the profound and tenebrous ponderosity, the labored intricacy of the commonplace, the pedagogic moralizing, the oracular inconsequence. How absurdly obvious it all is now, and how inexplicable that the glamour of high place should ever have clothed such matter as his with the seeming of philosophy and statesmanship! 'Tis the very frippery and trumpery of the stage after the lights are out and the audience has departed.

In his opening Mr. Cleveland says: "On every side we are confronted with popular depression and complaint." This language stirs an echo of the long ago. In his special message to the extra session of the Fifty-third Congress in August, 1893, he thus announced a similar condition: "Suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side." But he accounts differently for these two identical phenomena. The situation to-day he largely attributes to "the work of agitators and demagogues." In 1893 he declared: "I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the general government."

The ex-President's explanations are both wrong, and nobody ought to know it so well as himself. His relations with the great gold bankers were exceedingly intimate in 1892 and 1893, and have been so ever since. It is notorious that the panic of 1893 was a bankers' panic deliberately brought about by these men to frighten public sentiment into supplementing their demand for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law of 1890. The agitation against that law was a whooped-up and manufactured agitation. No legitimate interest had suffered from its operation. On the contrary, the access of standard silver dollars coined under the laws of 1878 and 1890 had been of incalculable advantage to the country. In his annual message of December 2, 1890, President Harrison had thus referred to this fact: "The general tendency of the markets was upward from influences wholly apart from the recent tariff legislation. The enlargement of our currency by the silver bill undoubtedly gave an upward tendency to trade and had a marked effect on prices." And again: "It is gratifying to know that the increased circulation secured by

the act has exerted and will continue to exert a most beneficial influence upon business and upon general values."

Such an influence that circulation did indeed continue to exert. The comparative prosperity of the two following years, which, in contrast with the conditions of the subsequent period, causes 1892 to wear to wistful eyes so beautiful a hue in these unhappy days, would have been an absolute impossibility but for the silver legislation.

Nor was the credit of the government menaced. It was a malicious afterthought that represented the silver dollar as a charge upon the credit of the nation. That dollar was a standard dollar. It was never "redeemed" in anything but the money-work it did. There was no law for its redemption, and there was as yet no attempt, such as Mr. Carlisle in 1896 declared himself ready to make, to commit the crime of an administrative degradation of the circulating silver dollars into promises for the payment of gold. The Treasury Notes, issued in payment for silver bullion under the law of 1890, were redeemable in either gold or silver at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury; and inasmuch as there was silver behind every one of them, they could become a menace to the credit of the government only in case of the betrayal of his duty by that official.

But the contractionists looked with alarm upon the improving conditions of the country. Something must be done to discredit silver, or by and by there might arise such a demand for the full restoration of its mint privileges and money powers as could not be balked, as every similar demand had been balked since 1873; and in that event the slow villany of many years would have been fruitless and the contractionists' occupation would be gone. Then was formed the deep design to compel the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. The gigantic forces that had been behind Mr. Cleveland in the memorable campaign of 1892 had not lost their cunning or their power. They knew their implements, and they had had much experience. Their strategy was customary and it was effective. To-day Mr. Cleveland complains because the Republican party, having won the contest of last November on the money question, should have hurried into the current extra session on the tariff

question. Let him recall his own course when, having carried the country in 1892 on the tariff question, he summoned the extra session of 1893 to consider the money question. Such a reflection might possibly assist him in fathoming the present motives of the men who won in 1892 to achieve the gold standard and in 1896 to preserve it.

For the election of Mr. Cleveland was a carefully executed move in an elaborate and merciless programme. The president of a national bank in North Dakota, a man of character and thorough reliability, has recently made public a conversation between himself and a prominent New York bank president, held not long after that election, in which the latter, whose institution was a member of the Associated National Banks, declared in substance as follows: "We have just elected Grover Cleveland President of the United States upon the express understanding with us that the policy of the administration shall be to uphold and advance the gold standard"; and he foretold, with startlingly faithful prevision, the repeal of the Sherman purchase law, the successive bond-issues, and the general and ruinous fall of prices, which seem to have evidenced the strict performance of the agreement by the party of the second part.

How persistently the power of the executive was used, and how carefully the offices were dispensed, to influence Senators and members of Congress against the Sherman law, were matters of ordinary comment at the time. Meanwhile the banks were putting in motion their peculiar and enormous persuasions. For months no man could go into any bank in any State of the Union for any purpose without having thrust under his nose, with a more or less pointed request for his signature, a petition demanding the repeal of the obnoxious statute. Then, in the latter days of April, 1893, on the stock exchange, there began that concerted onslaught upon stocks and values, vaunted as an "object-lesson" to the people, as a result of which within eight months six hundred of the relatively smaller banking institutions of the country went down, dragging with them fifteen thousand industrial and business enterprises, involving a total loss of seven hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

The object-lesson served its purpose. With the business

world shattered into fragments, enterprise stifled, and credit dead, a terror seized upon the people. The opportunity for which the big bankers had been coolly waiting had come. Cunningly and in many places at once they started the cry that the Sherman law had caused all this havoc, and that the only hope for a return of prosperity lay in the immediate repeal of the feature providing for the purchase of new silver bullion. The clamor was eagerly repeated, and fear eagerly believed it. At precisely the right moment the President himself made official proclamation that the rumor was true, and summoned Congress in extra session to obey the mandate of the bankers. Under this spell Congress acted and the law was repealed. Thus was the country made dependent upon gold alone for its new supplies of full-power money, and thus, aided by similar action elsewhere, was inaugurated an era of accelerated fall of prices more pronounced than the world has known since the middle ages, and a precipitate decline of values more ruinous than any other chronicled in history.

"Agitators and demagogues" indeed! Is it not monstrous that any intelligent man should believe the present frightful condition of the country to be due to the work of agitators and demagogues? Mr. Cleveland of course knows better; but many people have actually been convinced that some millions of our citizens would rather agitate than work; that thousands of them have deliberately and by preference forsworn business and become demagogues by trade. The thoughtful man knows that agitation is first a result and afterward a cause. It is a cruel as well as an ignorant thing for Mr. Cleveland and his disciples to cast into the faces of the suffering producers and workers of the United States, as a reproach, the fact of their discontent and complaining. Of course our people are in distress. Of course they are crying out against it. Of course they will endeavor to learn what occasions it. And of course when they have ascertained what the matter is they will agitate for relief. Substantially all men prefer to be busy about the ordinary and interdependent offices of social life. This is especially true of the great middle classes in the United States. Under just and rational laws they will be so. The absence of such a temper is ground for suspicion against the laws. Exist-

ing conditions confess their weakness and injustice when they revile admitted discontent. I would rather the cause I believe in sprang from suffering than that suffering should follow my cause.

The full magnitude of this achievement for the gold standard in the repeal of the law of 1890, will not be grasped unless we bear in mind that it occurred at a time when the indications were unusually favorable that an international bimetallic agreement, which the world had been trying to accomplish for nearly twenty years, might soon be secured on an acceptable basis. It has long been suspected that the strongest discouragement of this hope, and probably the determining factor in its failure, was the attitude of President Cleveland as quietly caused to be understood abroad. Very recently this well-grounded suspicion has been turned into certainty by the distinguished English bimetallist, Mr. Moreton Frewen, who, in a letter to the Washington *Post*, says:

> But Mr. Cleveland made it known, through the subterranean channels of diplomacy, that, far from giving any support to silver, he was preparing to urge on Congress the repeal of the silver-purchase clauses of the Sherman act. Mr. Cleveland's intention became known in official circles in Calcutta. That this was the case I learned at the time and at first hand. The government of India believed that the cessation of all silver purchases in America would still further reduce the exchange value of the rupee, and therefore, in advance of the pending anti-silver legislation anticipated from Washington, the Indian mints were closed.

Mr. Cleveland may well be deified in the gold-standard cult, for clearly he has been the arch-enemy of bimetallism.

One of the characteristics of the discussion now going on between the advocates of gold monometallism and those of bimetallism is the disingenuousness of the former. They will rarely consent to a clear definition of the issue, but seek to evade it both by preëmpting the use of moral labels and catch-phrases which satisfy their partisans without inquiry, and by stigmatizing their opponents with such vile imputations and base epithets as seem to place them beyond the pale of moral and intellectual tolerance. "Sound" and "honest" they write above their creed. They pose as consecrated guardians of public honor and private property. We are depicted as dishonest and imbecile, repudiators of national and individual obligations,

communists or anarchists bearing the torch and axe. This specialty is Mr. Cleveland's long suit. Little wonder that his school should place him at its head. His preëminence in the field where self-admiration is a supreme virtue and ribald abuse passes for irrefutable argument will scarcely be denied by anybody who shall have read the following characteristic specimens from this Waldorf essay, carefully written down and calmly delivered: "We are gathered here to-night as patriotic citizens anxious to do something toward . . . protecting the fair fame of our nation against shame and scandal." It is not recorded that anybody smiled at this. Indeed, the astonishing thing about this business is that these people seem able to impose successfully on one another. But Mr. Cleveland is even better at the other kind, as for example: "Agitators and demagogues," "ruthless agitators," "sordid greed," "inflamed with tales of an ancient crime against their rights," "unfortunate and unreasonable," "restless and turbulent," "reckless creed," "boisterous and passionate campaign," "allied forces of calamity," "encouraged by malign conditions," and so on *ad nauseam*.

This is the attitude of nearly all the defenders of the gold standard who have the hardihood to say anything at all. Undoubtedly in many cases it is assumed because of ignorance on the merits of the case, so that nothing remains but to "abuse the other fellow." But occasionally this course is adopted by men who are well informed, and who know that the gold standard is incapable of meeting bimetallism in an honest contest of argument with any hope of success. The strategy of these, therefore, is to avoid fair discussion by so prejudicing the public mind against their opponents as to forestall a hearing.

The result has been surprisingly successful. In many localities, and in fact in nearly all localities in the East, the most intolerant spirit has been manifested by the most prominent persons in the community, who had never taken the pains to examine the subject on which they so violently and fanatically expressed themselves. To people of any acquaintance with the literature, the history, and the science of money, it has seemed most marvellous that business men of large affairs, of much general information, and of excellent natural abilities, should be content to remain absolutely ignorant of funda-

mental monetary principles and the overwhelmingly attested lessons of past experience. It is infinitely pitiful to see men of affairs led away in so-called "business men's sound-money associations" and other similar movements, when a knowledge of the conditions on which their welfare depends would send them in an exactly opposite direction.

Why? Because business men are men who do business, or at any rate who want to do business; and all legitimate business consists in the performance of some appropriate function in connection with the production or the exchange of commodities. It is apparent to even the dullest apprehension that whatever prevents or discourages production is destructive of business, and that a money system which provides a measuring unit that constantly demands, as an equivalent, an increasing quantity of everything produced, is the greatest burden on production that could possibly be devised. But it is precisely this kind of a unit that the gold standard furnishes. No one economic fact is so conclusively established and so generally conceded as that of the progressive fall of average prices throughout the gold-standard world during the last twenty-four years. This fall amounts to almost fifty per cent, and indeed, in respect to the great staple products of the country, exceeds fifty per cent; so that, to state the same fact in its converse, the purchasing power of gold has increased since 1873 one hundred per cent.

The significance of this awful fact is deftly obscured behind the deceptive and specious plea for "a dollar of the greatest purchasing power." This is one of those artful expressions that are used by the advocates of the gold standard as a kind of thought-deterrent. It seems so obvious, at the first suggestion, that the best dollar is the dollar that will buy the most, that it is hard for a man to get even a hearing who asserts that, on the contrary, such a dollar is the very worst dollar conceivable. But a moment's reflection will satisfy any sane mind that such is the case. The demonstration is so simple that one feels like apologizing for making it. Yet it is in respect to principles just as plain as this one that people are constantly allowing themselves to be taken in by the supporters of the single standard.

The demonstration is this: whatever is bought by a dollar, itself buys the dollar. For example, when a dollar exchanges for a bushel of wheat, the dollar buys the wheat, and the wheat buys the dollar. To say, therefore, that a dollar that buys two bushels of wheat, being a dollar of greater purchasing power, is better than the dollar that buys one bushel, is to say that the dollar which it requires two bushels of wheat to buy is a better dollar than that which can be bought with one bushel. Consequently, to increase the excellence of your dollar all you need to do is to increase the scarcity of the stuff out of which dollars are made, so that each one shall constantly stand for more and more wheat, or, using wheat merely as representative of commodities in general, so that it shall constantly require more and more of all other things on earth to get a dollar. It is wholly credible that the man with dollars should profess this philosophy, but it is absolutely inexplicable how it should receive the support of men interested in getting dollars with things, who comprise about seven-eighths of society.

Now as it continually takes more products to get a given quantity of gold, is it not clear that the producer who becomes liable for taxes and gets into debt must constantly bear an increasing burden of taxation, and that his debt, payable in more commodities than it represented when he incurred it, needs only to run long enough to grow beyond the hope of his ability to pay it? Such a policy cannot but be fraught with certain ruin to producers. It is causing in the United States a condition frightful to contemplate. The mass of debts is piling up at a ratio that absolutely threatens, if a halt in the automatic process is not soon called, a universal insolvency. Indeed a general liquidation is already impossible. He is no alarmist who counsels a timely and rational remedy as not only demanded by justice, but as anticipatory of violent readjustment. Under such disquieting conditions is it not as criminal as it is unscientific for men to go about prating of the system that has occasioned these things as "honest money," and "sound money," and denouncing its opponents as repudiators and anarchists?

In the presence of epochal and fundamental disturbance, when men, patient beyond example and willing to argue the correctness of their claims, are crying out against the injustice of a

money system that day and night and year upon year, with unerring and pitiless precision, takes from the producing many and hands over to the idle few that which it ruins those to lose and but pampers these to gain, our ex-President offends decency and insults millions of his fellow-citizens with this reference to their contention: "Honest accumulation is called a crime." Where does he find anybody calling honest accumulation a crime? Men indeed stigmatize the maintenance of this odious money system as a crime, but only because of the things they claim it to be guilty of. Why does he not join issue on these? He knows that nowhere in all this world is there, or has there ever been, a more honest body of citizenship than the millions of Americans who to-day are toiling on the farms and in the workshops of the country and who demand from the laws they obey nothing but equity and justice. It was easier, and more pleasant to those who heard him, to wrong these men with a sneer than to answer them with an argument. He might possibly have done well to relinquish this task to one who sat near him, his ex-Secretary of the Treasury, who had himself, in 1878, discovered something that *he* thought a crime and had thus denounced it: "According to my views of the subject the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy, by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half the metallic money of the world, is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age."

The speech of Mr. Carlisle was notable for stating his position more extremely than he had previously done since his apostasy. He boldly takes the stand logically demanded by consistency in the man who opposes silver coinage and denies the arguments based on the appreciation of gold. He comes out squarely for the gold standard and places bimetallism of any and all sorts under a common ban. But alas! what a sorry appearance he makes. Nowhere in our political history do I find quite so pathetic a figure as that presented by this once strong and virile champion of the people's rights in his contrasted role of defender of their oppressors. Where now is that compact and cogent argument, that sincere and moving eloquence, which made his forensic style so singularly effective; which marked him the parliamentary darling of his party, a predestined president of the

republic? Shrunken to the dreary platitudes of the gold-standard catechism, babbling of "sound currency" and "intrinsic value."

This talk of intrinsic value was not confined to Mr Carlisle. Mr. Patterson, of Tennessee, and Senator Caffery, of Louisiana, were likewise guilty of it. It is, indeed, the characteristic folly of their school. Having destroyed the money demand for silver while adding almost incalculably to that for gold, they have caused an increasing disparity in the values of the two metals; and now, when it is sought to restore the parity by restoring the equivalence of use and demand on which alone it depends, they pretend to have discovered some inherent perfection in gold and an original sin in silver which forbid all attempts to reconcile them. In the face of monetary principles whose nature has been understood for more than two thousand years, and of historic and economic facts which every college freshman knows, Mr. Carlisle has the appalling audacity to use the following language: "Natural causes have separated the two metals, and while it is possible that natural causes may hereafter change their present relations to each other, it is certain that these relations cannot be changed by artificial means."

It is difficult to speak with becoming moderation of such stuff as this; and it is really pathetic to see the dominant opinion of whole sections of the country taking its cue from men who assume superior airs and rebuke the presumption of thinking on the part of some millions of Americans, while they peddle such insufferable nonsense as this just quoted from Mr. Carlisle. "Natural causes" indeed, when we can turn to the statute books of half the world and put our fingers on the "artificial means" whereby the hoarders of gold have legislated demand into one metal and legislated it out of the other. Let once a wrong be achieved by artificial means, and instantly those who profit by it represent it as the inevitable decree of evolutional forces. "Natural causes," we are asked to believe, have made gold dear and silver cheap during a period when the cost of producing gold has been cheapened more than any other mechanical process; when both metals have continued on substantially their old relative planes of use in every respect save as money; when their relative production has been from three

to twenty times less disproportionate than at any other similar period in the past four hundred years; and when in actual weight the stocks of coin and bullion available for coinage have risen from a proportion of thirty-two of silver to one of gold up to that of sixteen of silver to one of gold coincidently with a fall of the so-called market ratio from fifteen and one-half to one, when the mints were open to both, down to thirty-three to one when only the one can be freely coined. It is simply an incredible and impossible proposition.

Intrinsic value is as unthinkable as intrinsic distance. Both distance and value are relations. Neither can exist or be stated except by comparison. The value of a thing is what it is worth; and it is worth what it will bring. Value in exchange is the only value that political economy knows anything about; and what a given thing will exchange for depends on the ratio of the supply of it to the demand for it. A piece of money is worth what it will buy. Other things remaining the same, it will buy more when the stuff out of which it is made is plentiful, and less when that is scarce. The proposition of the bimetallists rests on only time-honored doctrines of political economy as justified by the experience of mankind. We desire to restore the parity of gold and silver by perfectly "natural causes" set in operation by "artificial means." We propose to invoke the law to equalize their opportunity and to make them interchangeably and indifferently responsive to the same money demand.

Space has not permitted reference to all the errors committed at this wonderful banquet, nor a complete discussion of even those cited. I have endeavored only to point out the most glaring ones in the hope that some persons inclined to accept, somewhat carelessly, the assumedly authoritative statements of these eminent men, may be led to study this great subject whose proper understanding and wise management are of such vast importance not only in American politics but in the progress of the race. For the cause of bimetallism must commend itself to the intellect and the conscience of the country or it cannot win. Those who have spent some time in an earnest and thoughtful investigation of the matter and are convinced that the success of silver coinage is the first step in a series of

rational, safe, and necessary reforms, are ready to be judged as much by the reasonableness of their doctrine as by the sincerity of their motives. They intend from now on to force the fight. The enemy will be sought out and assailed wherever found. No pretentious claims of infallibility will be accorded immunity from criticism. No authority will be permitted to shelter folly. It is time to expose the preposterous assurance of the gold-standard pundits. Nonsense will be called nonsense whoever utters it, and, what is more, it will be proved to be nonsense.

DOES CREDIT ACT ON THE GENERAL LEVEL OF PRICES?

BY A. J. UTLEY.

IT is conceded by all standard writers on political economy that the value of money — that is, its purchasing power — is fixed and regulated by the amount of money available for use.

John Stuart Mill says:

If the whole money in circulation was doubled prices would be doubled. If it was only increased one-fourth, prices would rise one-fourth. There would be one-fourth more money, all of which would be used to purchase goods of some description. When there had been time for the increased supply of money to reach all markets, or (according to conventional metaphor) to permeate all the channels of circulation, all prices would have risen one-fourth. But the general rise of price is independent of this diffusing process. Even if some prices were raised more, and others less, the average rise would be one-fourth. This is a necessary consequence of the fact that a fourth more money would have to be given for only the same quantity of goods. General price, therefore, in any such case would be one-fourth higher. The very same effect would be produced on prices if we suppose the goods diminished, instead of the money increased: and the contrary effect if the goods were increased, or the money diminished. If there were less money in the hands of the community, and the same amount of goods to be sold, less money altogether would be given for them, and they would be sold at lower prices; lower, too, in the precise ratio in which the money was diminished. *So that the value of money, other things being the same, varies inversely as its quantity; every increase in quantity lowering the value, and every diminution raising it, in a ratio exactly equivalent.*

This is known as the quantitative theory of money, and is recognized by Ricardo, Jevons, Macleod, John Locke, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Senator John P. Jones, David Hume, William Huskisson, Sir James Graham, Prof. Torrens, Prof. Sidgwick, J. R. McCulloch, Mr. Gallatin, Prof. Fawcett, Prof. Perry, N. A. Nicholson, Earl Grey, Prof. Shield Nicholson, Lord Overstone, and, in fact, by all writers on political economy of any prominence since Adam Smith. Formerly it was supposed that the value of money depended upon the cost of production; that the reason why a dollar in gold or silver was worth 100 cents was because it took 100 cents' worth of labor

to produce metal enough to make a dollar. This theory, however, has been abandoned by the best writers and speakers; in fact, by all economists of any standing, and it is now conceded that the cost of producing the metal has no influence on its money value, only as it may tend to increase or reduce the amount of money, and that it is the quantity of money, the number of units, available for use that determines and regulates its value; that is, if the quantity is increased its value will fall, and if the quantity is diminished its value will rise, and that it will fall or rise in value in a ratio exactly equivalent to the increase or diminution of the volume of money; and that if sufficiently reduced in volume, a dollar, whether stamped on gold, silver, or paper, would buy a plantation or pay a man for the labor of a lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the correctness of the quantitative theory of money.

John Stuart Mill says:

> That an increase in the quantity of money raises prices, and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency, and without it we have no key to any of the others.

Prices, however, are not fixed by the total amount of money in existence; only that part of the money that is available for use can act on prices.

Mr. Mill says:

> Whatever may be the quantity of money in the country, only that part of it will affect prices which goes into the market of commodities and is there actually exchanged for goods of some description. Whatever increases this portion of the money in the country tends to raise prices. Money kept in reserve by individuals to meet contingencies which do not occur, does not act on prices. Money in the coffers of banks, or retained as a reserve, does not act on prices until drawn out to be expended for commodities.

It is also conceded that in fixing prices not only all the money actually available for use must be taken into consideration, but the rapidity of circulation must also be regarded; and due allowance must be made for the number of times commodities change hands before consumption.

The same dollar may, by passing from hand to hand, make a number of purchases, and the same goods may be sold repeatedly before consumption. It is, probably, correct to say, that the money available for use multiplied by the rapidity of circulation, or, as Mr. Mill expresses it, by its efficiency, equals the

total money to be considered; and the commodities sold multiplied by the average number of sales equals the total commodities to be taken into consideration in fixing the general level of prices.

Are there any other elements that act on the general level of prices? Of course an abundant yield, or a short crop, or an over-production, so called, or under-consumption, of any particular commodity may depress or raise the price of that particular crop or commodity; but are there any elements other than those above enumerated that act on the general level of prices? I think there are none.

If, then, prices are controlled by the volume of money available for use; and if the general level of prices will rise as the volume of money is increased, and fall as the volume of money is diminished, and rise or fall in an exact ratio corresponding with the expansion or contraction of the volume of money, it becomes important to ascertain what money is, and also whether there is anything which can be used as a substitute for money in such a manner as to affect the general level of prices.

Senator John P. Jones, than whom there is no one better informed, says:

> The money of a country is that thing, whatever it may be, which is commonly accepted in exchange for labor or property and in payment of debt, whether so accepted by force of law or by universal consent. Its value does not arise from the intrinsic qualities which the material of which it is made may possess, but depends entirely on extrinsic qualities which law or common consent may confer.

Aristotle says:

> Money has value only by law and not by nature; so that a change of convention between those who use it is sufficient to deprive it of its value and power to satisfy our wants.

Adam Smith says:

> A guinea may be considered a bill for a certain quantity of goods on all the tradesmen in the neighborhood.

Henry Thornton says:

> Money of every kind is an order for goods. It is so considered by the laborer when he receives it, and it is almost instantly converted into money's worth. It is merely the instrument by which the purchasable stock of the country is distributed with convenience and advantage among the several members of the community.

John Stuart Mill says:

The pounds or shillings which a man receives are a sort of ticket or order which he may present for payment at any shop he pleases, and which entitles him to receive a certain value of any commodity that he may choose.

Appleton's Cyclopædia defines money in the following words:

Anything which freely circulates from hand to hand, in any country, as a common, acceptable medium of exchange, is, in such country, money, even though it ceases to be such, or to possess any value, when passing into another country. In a word, an article is determined to be money by reason of the performance by it of certain functions, without regard to its form or substance.

Francis A. Walker says:

Money is that which freely passes from hand to hand through the community in final discharge of debt and in full payment for commodities, being accepted equally without reference to the character or credit of the person who offers it, and without the intention of the person who receives it, to consume it, or enjoy it, or apply it to any other use than in turn to tender it to others in discharge of debts or in payment for commodities.

It has been contended by certain economists that bank checks and bills of exchange are money, or, at least, that they discharge the money function and act on prices the same as money; but this definition excludes checks and bills of exchange. A bill of exchange or bank check is not accepted without reference to the character or credit of the person who offers it. But Francis A. Walker leaves us in no doubt on this question. On page 123 of his work on "Political Economy" he says:

Money is a medium of exchange. Whatever performs this function, does this work, is money, no matter what it is made of, and no matter how it came to be a medium at first, or why it continues to be such. So long as, in any community, there is an article which all producers take freely and as a matter of course in exchange for whatever they have to sell, instead of looking about, at the time, for the particular things they, themselves, wish to consume, that article is money, be it white, yellow, or black, hard or soft, animal, vegetable, or mineral. There is no other test of money than this. That which does the money work is the money thing. It may do this well; it may do this ill. It may be good money; it may be bad money; but it is money all the same. We said *all* producers, since it is not enough that a thing is extensively used in exchange, to constitute it money. *Bank checks are used in numerous and important transactions, yet are not money.* It is essential to money that its acceptability should be so nearly universal that practically every person in the community who has any product or service to dispose of will freely, gladly, and of preference, take this thing money, instead of the particular products or service which he may individually require from others, being well assured that with money he will unfailingly

obtain whatever he shall desire, in form and amount, and at times to suit his wants.

It appears from the accepted definitions that bank checks and bills of exchange are not money. They may to some extent, as other forms of credit may to some extent, add to or increase the rapidity of circulation; but, certainly, credit is not money nor does it possess the essential elements of money. I think it is an essential element of money that when used it closes the transaction between the parties to the transaction. In other words, money, when paid in the purchase of a commodity, closes the transaction, and neither party to the transaction has any further claim or demand against the other. Anything which does this (barter, of course, excluded) is money, and anything which fails to do this is not money. If a credit is given or a check received the transaction is not closed until the debt is paid or the check cashed. I do not find that any economist has made this distinction, in so many words, between money and credit, but I am satisfied that it exists.

Does all the money available for use act on prices? It is contended by a certain class of economists that only money of ultimate and final redemption — in other words, gold and silver, in countries where gold and silver are the standard money, and gold only, in countries where gold is the standard money — can act directly on prices, and that other forms of money can only act on prices in an indirect manner, and to the extent only that they may increase the rapidity of the circulation of redemption or standard money; that paper money, whether convertible or inconvertible, covered or uncovered, and token money, can have no direct influence on the general level of prices.

Is this contention true? We have already seen that money is a medium of exchange, a counter for reckoning, an order for goods, and that its value does not depend upon the intrinsic qualities which the material out of which it is made may possess, but depends entirely upon extrinsic qualities which law or common consent may confer, and that anything (barter, of course, excluded) that closes transactions between the parties to the transactions, is money; and also that the value of money, that is, its purchasing power, is fixed and regulated by the amount of money available for use. Why, then, should any

part of the money that possesses and discharges all the functions of money be excluded? What peculiar property has money stamped on gold and silver that it only can act on prices?

John Stuart Mill says:

> After experience had shown that pieces of paper, of no intrinsic value, by merely bearing upon them the written profession of being equivalent to a certain number of francs, dollars, or pounds, could be made to circulate as such, and to produce all the benefit to the users which could have been produced by the coins which they purported to represent, governments began to think that it would be a happy device if they could appropriate to themselves this benefit, free from the condition to which individuals issuing such paper substitutes for money were subject, of giving, when required, for the sign, the thing signified. They determined to try whether they could not emancipate themselves from this unpleasant obligation, and make a piece of paper issued by them pass for a pound, by merely calling it a pound and consenting to receive it in payment for taxes. And such is the influence of almost all established governments, that they have generally succeeded in attaining this object: *I believe I may say they have always succeeded for a time, and the power has only been lost to them after they had compromised it by the most flagrant abuse.* — "Political Economy," Book 3, Chap. 13.

Mill further says that such inconvertible paper money will act on prices. And if inconvertible paper money will act on prices, why will not convertible paper money, that is, paper money convertible into coin on demand, also act on prices? Token money, especially if a legal tender, and whether a legal tender or not, if accepted without objection in the payment of debt, or if received in full payment for commodities, discharges the money function, and is to all intents and purposes money. It is not absolutely necessary that to make a thing money it should be a legal tender in the payment of debt. Anything which is commonly accepted in exchange for labor or property and in payment of debt, whether so accepted by force of law (that is, its legal tender property) or by common consent, is money. From 1861 to 1873 we had no gold or silver money in the United States, or virtually none. The official reports of the Secretary of the Treasury show that the gold and silver coin, including the gold and silver bullion in the United States Treasury during that period, amounted to but $25,000,000, and even that was not in circulation, except to a very limited extent on the Pacific Coast. Yet during that period prices reached the highest level ever attained in this country. Certainly, the level of prices during that period was not fixed by the gold and

silver money available for use. In view of the foregoing facts I think it must be apparent that any money which is received in full payment for commodities, whether so received on account of its legal tender property or by universal consent, and whether it is gold, silver, paper, or token money, acts on prices, and tends to fix the general level of prices.

It is claimed by a great many writers on political economy that credit has the same influence in fixing the general level of prices that money has, and that an expansion or contraction of credit would inflate or contract prices in the same manner and to the same extent as would result from a contraction or expansion of money; that if credit is extended, if more commodities are sold on credit than formerly, such extension of credit will tend to raise prices in the same manner and to the same extent as would so much additional money; and that if credits are contracted, if less credits are given than formerly, such contraction of credits will tend to depress prices in the same manner and to the same extent as a withdrawal of a like amount of money from the channels of trade would depress them. At the head of this school of political economists stands John Stuart Mill. He says:

> I apprehend that bank notes, bills, or cheques, as such, do not act on prices at all. What does act on prices is credit, in whatever shape given, and whether it gives rise to any transferable instruments capable of passing into circulation or not. (See Book 3, Chapter 12.)

Is this contention true? If so, then it is not true that the general level of prices is determined by the amount of money available for use; but is determined, rather, by the amount of credits available for use. The debts of the world (and the credits, of course, are precisely equal to the debts, as there could be no debt without a corresponding credit) amount, in round numbers, to $200,000,000,000, and the money in the world amounts in round numbers to $10,000,000,000. That is, there are twenty dollars of credit to one dollar of money; and if credit exercises the same influence in fixing the general level of prices that money exercises, then it is absurd to say that the volume of money available for use fixes the general level of prices, and at the same time to contend that credit, dollar for dollar, is an equal factor in fixing prices. If credit

affects the general level of prices in the same manner and to the same extent that money does, then credit exerts an influence on prices twenty times greater than that exerted by money, and we should say: The general level of prices is fixed by credit, modified, it may be, to some extent by the amount of money in circulation.

The difficulty seems to be in distinguishing between money and credit. If we keep in mind the fact that anything which closes the transaction between the parties to the transaction (barter excluded) is money, and anything which leaves something still to be done is credit, we shall have no difficulty in making the distinction.

Can credit affect the general level of prices? One of the most familiar and common illustrations given by those who contend that credit will raise the general level of prices, is that of a man entering the market to buy cotton.

They say: "Suppose a person with $5,000 in money enters the cotton market, and with his money purchases $5,000 worth of cotton. His demand for cotton and his purchase of $5,000 worth will tend to advance or stimulate the price of cotton." "Now," they say, "suppose he has a credit of $5,000 and with this credit he purchases an additional $5,000 worth of cotton. The second purchase, made on credit," they contend, "will tend to still further advance the price of cotton in the same manner and to the same extent that the cash purchase did." Is this true?

Let us suppose that he purchased the second bunch of cotton on ninety days' time. At the end of the ninety days he must pay for this cotton. If he draws the $5,000 with which he pays this debt from money invested in the cotton trade, the withdrawal of that sum from money invested in that industry will tend to depress the price of cotton to the extent that it was stimulated by the credit. If he withdraws it from the grain trade or from some other industry, the withdrawal of that sum of money will tend to depress prices in the industry from which it is withdrawn to the same extent as the cotton industry was stimulated by the credit. Whether the money to pay the debt is taken from the cotton industry or from some other industry, the general level of prices has not been raised. The purchase

in the first instance may have temporarily stimulated the price of cotton, but if the payment of the debt is made from money drawn from that industry, it will depress the price of cotton to where it was before the credit purchase was made; and if the payment is made from money drawn from some other industry, it will depress prices in that industry to the same extent that the price of cotton was stimulated. In either event the general level of prices remains the same. It is like robbing Peter to pay Paul. It may make Paul richer, but how about Peter? There is no more wealth in existence than before the robbery was committed.

Again, it is claimed that credit stimulates prices by causing commodities which are sold on credit to be sold for higher prices than commodities of the same value are sold for when sold for cash. It is true that sales on credit are, as a rule, at a higher price than sales for cash in hand. Why is this so? For two reasons:

1st. Business done on credit is always attended with considerable risk. Even when the utmost caution is exercised, bad debts will be made, and a greater margin on sales is necessary.

2nd. When time is given a certain amount must be added to the price of the goods to compensate the seller for the use of his capital between the date of sale and the maturity of the account.

The additional price, thus received, is of no advantage to the producer or to the seller of the commodity. The addition to the price is consumed by losses from bad debts and in interest on capital. In fact, the additional prices charged, when properly analyzed, are not for the goods, but for the risk on the credit and for interest on capital. The net selling price of the commodity is not increased. Experience has proven that men who sell for the lesser price for cash in hand are more apt to succeed than those who charge the higher rate on the credit system.

Credit is always burdened with interest. If interest is not directly charged, the goods are sold at an advance on the cash price equal to the interest, which amounts to the same thing. Interest acts on commerce like friction on machinery. As friction absorbs a portion of the motive power, so interest absorbs a part of the value of all commodities sold on credit. Interest,

the necessary accompaniment of credit, produces no wealth; but, on the contrary, absorbs wealth and tends to concentrate it in the hands of the few; and, necessarily, in the same ratio it takes from the masses the power to purchase the things they desire and would otherwise consume. Its ultimate result must be to lower prices. Credit burdened with interest, as it always is, may temporarily increase the demand for a certain commodity and consequently temporarily raise its price; but it must do this at the expense of other commodities. Like a stimulant administered to a human being, it may produce spasmodic results of extraordinary power; but when the stimulant has spent its force it leaves the individual weaker and in a worse condition than he was before the stimulant was administered.

Henry Thornton, an English economist, attempts to prove that a bill of exchange is money, and that, being money, it acts on prices. He says:

> Let us imagine a farmer in the country to discharge a debt of £10 to his neighboring grocer by giving him a bill for that sum, drawn on his corn-factor in London, for grain sold in the metropolis; and the grocer to transmit the bill, he having previously indorsed it, to a neighboring sugar-baker in discharge of a like debt; and the sugar-baker to send it, when again indorsed, to a West India merchant in an outport; and the West India merchant to deliver it to his country banker, who also indorses it and sends it into further circulation. The bill in this case will have effected five payments, exactly as if it were a £10 note payable to the bearer on demand. A multitude of bills pass this way between traders in the country, in the manner which has been described; *and they evidently form in the strictest sense a part of the circulating medium of the kingdom.*

Mill in his "Political Economy" quotes this illustration with approval. Is the conclusion arrived at correct?

Suppose that instead of a bill of exchange for £10, a horse worth £10 had been made use of, and the farmer had delivered the horse to the grocer in satisfaction of his debt, and the grocer had turned it over to the sugar-baker, and the sugar-baker to the West India merchant, etc. The horse would have paid the five debts in precisely the same manner that the bill of exchange did, but would such a use of the horse *have made the horse, in the strictest sense of the term, a part of the circulating medium of the kingdom?* I think not! A bill of exchange is not money, but an order for money, and would be valueless unless honored by payment on presentation. From the time the bill was drawn

until finally paid an amount of money equal to the demand of the bill must be held out of circulation for its payment. It adds nothing to the circulation, and in no sense does it constitute a part of the circulating medium. It may, possibly, increase the rapidity of circulation, but it is difficult to see how it could do even this. The £10 held out of circulation for the payment of the bill would have paid the debts in the same manner that the bill of exchange did, and I fail to see why they would not have made the circuit as quickly. If a horse had been made use of in the settlement of the debts mentioned by Mr. Thornton, it would have been barter, pure and simple, and not a money transaction.

That the contraction of the volume of credit will not tend to depress prices in the same manner and to the same extent that a contraction of the volume of money would will be apparent from the following illustration.

The most conservative estimates place the national, municipal, corporate, and individual debts in the United States at $30,000,000,000. The Secretary of the Treasury estimates the amount of money in circulation at $1,600,000,000. There is not, in fact, one-third of the amount available for use; but for the purpose of this illustration we will take the Secretary's estimate as correct. Now let us suppose that the volume of credit should be reduced to $28,400,000,000, either by the payment of $1,600,000,000 of the debt or by bankruptcy proceedings or in some other manner. If that amount of the credits were extinguished by payment, business would be stimulated. That sum of money, or at least a considerable portion of it, would pass into the hands of the creditor class, where it would seek investment, and the tendency would be, not to contract, but to expand prices. If that amount of the credits were extinguished by bankruptcy proceedings in which no money passed in either direction, such an extinguishment could not depress or expand prices; it could have no influence upon them.

Now suppose that $1,600,000,000 of the money, every dollar now claimed to be in circulation in the United States, should be withdrawn from the channels of trade, it would not be difficult to see that prices would fall; would, in fact, be completely annihilated. There would be no money with which

to make purchases or to pay debts, civilization would go backwards, and universal bankruptcy and ruin would ensue. Suppose that only one-half or one-third of the money available for use should be withdrawn from circulation; even then business would be paralyzed, the money remaining would be hoarded or would be collected in the great money centres, prices would fall, and business men all over the country would be forced into bankruptcy. I think that it must be perfectly apparent that a contraction of credit does not act on the general level of prices in the same manner and to the same extent that a contraction of the volume of money does; that, in fact, it does not act on the general level of prices at all.

I, therefore, conclude that money, and money only, acts on the general level of prices, and that credit does not and cannot act on prices except only as it may increase the rapidity of the circulation of money; and even then it is the greater efficiency of the money, and not the credit, that stimulates prices. Credit may temporarily stimulate the price of the product of some particular industry, but to do this it must attract money from some other industry, and the stimulation will be at the expense of a corresponding depression in prices in the industry from which the money is attracted.

Los Angeles, Col.

POINTS IN THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH CONSTITUTIONS COMPARED.

BY NIELS GRÖN.

THERE are several reasons why, particularly in the light of what is going on in the two countries, a comparison between certain points of the constitutions of the French and United States republics should be of more than passing interest. Successive ministerial crises in France threaten the stability of the republic; here, while political conventions representing millions of people meet and produce radical platforms, nobody is apprehensive of revolution or trouble. The constitution is a bulwark against sudden change; its wisdom is believed to be guarded by impregnable security against caprice or panic.

One in the Eastern hemisphere, the other in the New World, the two countries are the only great republics; both are watched by monarchies with invidious eyes, and, as before suggested, both have passed through, or are passing through, interesting not to say exciting experiences. American admirers of the republican form of government believe that the cause of human liberty would be seriously injured were the French Republic to cease to exist; they go further, and say that the death-knell of civil freedom would be sounded the moment the American republic became a failure. Something like a crisis is seen in the United States to-day, brought about by a whole series of concomitant causes, such as business depression, bank failures, industrial disputes terminating in strikes and lockouts, Coxey armies, panicky people, and unsettled views regarding commerce and finance, this last cause predominating.

Though France has her difficulties about raising sufficient money to carry on the administration, and an income tax is just as unpopular there as it would be here, nevertheless the chief cause of her trouble is to be traced, not to financial, but to constitutional sources. The country is very rich, and its ministers probably will always find some means of raising enough

money to pay the cost of administration. Quite true, it is a sore point for a proud country which yearns for revenge upon Germany and longs for large colonial possessions, that its population does not increase, while the populations of its enemy, Germany, and of its well-wisher, the United States, go up by leaps and bounds. True, there are economic writers who regard the dearth and even the decrease of population in France as an advantage to the country. But these need not be considered in this inquiry, for it is quite obvious that any country which really aspires to be numbered with the great powers, and effectually wishes to own important colonial possessions, must have a stalwart and increasing people. And it is a real source of weakness that there should yet be in France so many Royalists constantly on the alert and hoping always for a change in the existing form of government.

Happily, on the contrary, no matter how widely the Western American may differ from his friend in the East, or how keenly the ex-Confederate may feel over the "lost cause," the warm-blooded son of Kentucky will fight as bravely under the flag of the republic as will his frozen-featured brother from Minnesota, and the dreamy individual who gazes poetically upon the placid waters of Puget Sound will shout as loudly for one country, and one allegiance to its glorious emblem, as will the gilded youth whose republicanism is artistically refreshed by a constant vision of the Statue of Liberty triumphantly standing in New York harbor.

Royalism, conservatism, concentrationism, moderate republicanism, opportunism, radicalism, ultra-radicalism, socialism, and heaven knows how many other "isms" besides, exist in France to-day, and make it hard for any ministry to carry on the government. Numerous disintegrating influences are ever present, and political convictions are seldom sufficiently decided for any ministry to form a stable majority.

Though France has had the experience of two previous experiments in republican forms of government (the one set up in 1792, and the second established in 1848), they were such mere makeshifts and so very short-lived that they could not have taught the country very much of the real genius of republican institutions. The centralization and tyranny of

centuries brought revolt and hatred of the past, but did not prepare the people for self-government; while here the principles of civil liberty, transplanted from the mother country and flourishing in congenial conditions under colonial administration, found apt and natural expression in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The event of republican institutions twice tried in France failed to show that even the leaders understood the principles of liberty as they were understood by the fathers of the American system of government, and enthusiastically adopted by the people, as the crystallization, so to speak, in definite terms, of what they had long enjoyed. Short-sighted acts of tyranny, exercised by George III and his ministers, were regarded, and justly so, as mere accidents of the time and as innovations to be resisted and overcome. The outcome was the vindication of the principles of government founded by the countrymen of King Alfred the Great, their expansion, and the invaluable expression of those principles in the Declaration and the Constitution.

Some of the bravest and best under the French monarchy helped to establish the reign of popular liberty in the United States, and there can be no question but that the French Revolution was accomplished in part as a result of what had been seen and done on this side of the Atlantic on behalf of the civil rights of the people; but the founders of the first republic in France had no complete foundation on which to build a fabric firm and lasting. It was not easy for a venerable European nation, intrenched within its own regal institutions, in shaking off the past to begin a future of popular sovereignty. Much was gained by sweeping away the worst abuses of the past, but reaction came, succeeded, after a long lapse of time, by a second attempt to establish a republic, again to fail, until the collapse of the power of the adventurer whose election to the presidency was the beginning of the end of the republic of 1848, led to the third experiment, the permanent success of which we all hope for.

If — much virtue in an "if" — the leaders of the first French Republic had been thoroughly masters of and thoroughly imbued with the principles of American liberty, it is possible they might have so instructed and led a bright and capable

people as to lay a sure foundation for the future. But even this modified statement is open to question. While it may be regretted that the American Constitution was not copied in the establishment of the successive French republics, it is by no means certain that this matchless paper would have been so far appreciated in its recognition of the great principles underlying it, as to insure success. Some of the South American republics have the American Constitution, more or less, but are not shining examples of republican success. No one can question that monarchies like the United Kingdom and Germany enjoy a larger diffusion of civil liberty than they.

Taking the French system, however, as it exists to-day, there can be no question that it would be vastly improved by copying the American model. It seems to have been founded with a view to the possibility of restoring the monarchy, and, this being so, the men who created it had no object in studying the American Constitution with a view to preventing those ministerial crises which threaten the destruction of the third republic. It will not do to attribute these crises to the unstable character of the fiery Frenchman, nor can the difficulty be disposed of by saying that a French minister will create a crisis for the sake of a pleasing *bon mot* or a sprightly paradox. A crisis supposes something outside of, or above, or beyond the ordinary, but French ministerial crises have become so common that they are the laughingstock of the nations, and may be said to be almost the normal condition of the legislative assemblies of France. So long as such critical situations can be thus easily brought about there cannot be that continuity of policy which is essential for carrying out great projects. The problem to be solved is a constitutional one, — a statement, I think, easily proved true.

Article Six of the constitution of 1875 reveals the real cause of ministerial crises in France: "The ministers are in a body responsible to the Chambers for the general policy of the government, and individually for their personal acts." This article obviously leaves the respective powers of both houses very undefined. Which chamber is the superior? To which of them are the ministers in fact responsible? The ministers may have a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and may be in a minor-

ity in the Senate. Then there is a crisis. The Senate blocks the way and will not allow the government to go on, for it claims that it is the superior body. This absence of the proper demarcation of the powers of the Senate, of the Chamber of Deputies, and of the ministers necessarily leads to conflict; conflict is but a step from instability, and instability is a crisis which threatens revolution.

The remedy for these oft-recurring ministerial crises in France is to be found in the American Constitution. The French Constitution should be revised and changed at the part quoted and all parts relating to it, so as to provide against ministerial crises; and the instrument presenting a sure guide in the performance of this necessary work is the American Constitution. It has been in operation over a hundred years and has been found to be an admirable working document, affording ministerial stability to its cabinets for over a century. Such a document is surely worthy of the closest study by the public men of the sister republic. It was inevitable that in so long a time some amendments should have become necessary; but for a long period it has undergone no change, save such as noted, and formulating the results of the civil war. Now and then are heard murmurings which claim the necessity of a sixteenth amendment, to the effect that the name of God should be put in the Constitution. The obvious answer to this is, that in the official life of the United States there is a more real acknowledgment of the Divine Being than there is in the official life of any other country, and it is better to have the name of God impressed upon the hearts of the people than upon even the best official document ever drawn up.

It would not be correct to say that no attempts have been made to bring about a ministerial crisis in the United States by encroachment upon the rights of the Executive. Only once, however, when Andrew Johnson was President, has the action of the Executive been seriously hampered. Professor Bryce's remark may be applied to all other attempts. He writes: "Congress has constantly tried to encroach, both on the Executive and on the States, — sometimes like a wild bull driven into a corral, dashing itself against the imprisoning walls of the Constitution." There is the secret. The "imprisoning walls" of

the American Constitution keep contending powers in their proper places. The Constitution is so well drawn up that a deadlock is an impossibility, the equilibrium of concomitant powers is easily maintained, and the sovereign will of the people has a fair opportunity of finding a natural exponent.

In the United States the Senate and the House of Representatives are coördinate bodies; in the French Republic each claims superiority over the other. In the United States bills are never introduced by the Cabinet, all bills must originate either in the Senate or in the House of Representatives; such is not the case in the French Republic. In the United States the chief duty of the President is to see that the laws are faithfully executed; the Cabinet administers; its members are rather the aids or secretaries of the chief magistrate of the nation than otherwise. They are his advisers and helpers. During the four years for which the President of the United States is elected, the limitations of his authority are so remote and theoretical that, for practical purposes, it may be stated that he always serves out his full term of office. On the contrary, Presidential resignations are not unknown in the French Republic. France elects her President for seven years, yet Thiers, MacMahon, Grévy, Carnot, Casimir-Périer, and Faure make a list longer than that of the names of the men who have lived in the White House during the past quarter of a century. In the United States, the Cabinet lasts as long as the President's term of office; in the French Republic, the Cabinet sometimes goes to pieces in four months. Briefly, it is quite clear that in the United States there can be no ministerial crises, since the President's chief duty under the Constitution is to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and the members of his Cabinet do not introduce bills, even for finance or supplies, but act as his aids. As previously intimated, the difficulty with the French legislative bodies is that royalistic precedents and rules run side by side with republican principles, and the result is a mongrel institution divided, too often, against itself. When matters shall be so arranged that the French President will have to fill out his full term of office, and French ministers will not be permitted to originate legislation, and cabinets shall be selected to serve as long as the Presidential term, then the French Republic will

enjoy the same ministerial stability as that of the United States.

It were hard to say that the French method of electing a president is any better or any worse than that of the United States. The President of the French Republic is elected by the majority of the votes of both Chambers. This plan does not seem to remove him further from the people than does the system of electing a president by electors, as in the United States. As human ingenuity has not yet succeeded in creating the ideal republic, wherein, according to Ouida, there would be no president, some system of election must be followed. The question is not a burning one. There is notable, however, a growing tendency in France in favor of electing the president directly by the votes of the people. The seven-years' period for which the French president is elected is considered by many to be an excellent provision; but it loses half its excellence by reason of the fact that the president has the power to initiate laws, this and other things concurring to make his resignation a possibility, and not a remote one.

That the office of vice-president does not exist in France seems to be of no great consequence. In the history of the American Republic there have been five vice-presidents who have been called upon to step into the Presidential chair by the deaths of presidents. According to the French Constitution, in case of a Presidential vacancy, whether from death or any other cause, the two Chambers proceed immediately to the election of a president. In the interval the ministers are invested with executive power.

What I have written regarding the growing tendency to think it would be better to elect the president directly by the votes of the people, applies with a little more force to the election of senators. In France the municipalities elect the senators, as do State legislatures in this country. It is held by some who have discussed the question that it is much more in conformity with the genius of republican institutions that the people express their will directly by ballot rather than through the votes of municipal councils, as in France, or of legislatures, as in the United States. I cannot see that the difference of terms, that of French senators being nine years, and of Ameri-

can six, is of practical consequence. While both republics are at one as to the necessity of a second chamber, providing thus a check to hasty and unconsidered legislation, many thinkers in both countries agree that some change is necessary to make it possible for others than millionaires to be elected senators.

If I were a Frenchman and had the power, I should get every newspaper throughout the land, and every public man and influential citizen, to enter upon a crusade for the purpose of impressing upon the minds of the whole people the following extract from the Constitution of the United States:

> Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

In France, there are constantly continuous and unseemly clashes between church and state. No matter what complications may exist as results of the past, surely it would be better for all concerned to leave the churches to be sustained by the voluntary contributions of the people. In the United States churches seem to live and thrive under this system of non-interference by the state in religious matters, and voluntary support. The more than eighty thousand clergymen are provided for. In the French Republic one reads everywhere, on the walls of churches and of schools, the words "*Liberté, fraternité, égalité*," while there seems to be a serious disagreement between Clericals, on the one side, and Radicals, on the other, as to the meaning of these words. To effectually put an end to this strife, the adoption of the clause I have quoted would be sufficient.

In writing thus freely of the French Republic I am free, I trust, from the spirit of the carping critic delighting in comparisons to the advantage of his own country. I appreciate the splendid literature, the brilliant art, the advanced civilization of the France of to-day. I recognize with gratitude the debt which the United States owes the gallant Gallic people for sympathy and material aid in her struggle for independence. It is now only necessary to be in France on the Fourth of July to realize the reality and depth of the friendship which exists between the sister republics. But I do think that until France shall copy more closely the Constitution of the United States, the stability of the third republic cannot be regarded as assured.

HONEST MONEY; OR, A TRUE STANDARD OF VALUE:

A SYMPOSIUM.

I. BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

WE hear much about a "stable currency" and an "honest dollar." It is a significant fact that those who advocate a single gold standard have for the most part avoided a discussion of the effect of an appreciating standard. They take it for granted that a gold standard is not only an honest standard, but the only stable standard. I denounce that child of ignorance and avarice, the gold dollar under a universal gold standard, as the most dishonest dollar which we could employ.

I stand upon the authority of every intelligent writer upon political economy when I assert that there is not and never has been an honest dollar. An honest dollar is a dollar absolutely stable in relation to all other things. Laughlin, in his work on "Bimetallism," says:

> Monometallists do not — as it is often said — believe that gold remains absolutely stable in value. They hold that there is no such thing as a "standard of value" for future payments in either gold or silver which remains absolutely invariable.

He even suggests a multiple standard for long-time contracts. I quote his words:

> As regards national debts, it is distinctly averred that neither gold nor silver forms a just measure of deferred payments, and that if justice in long contracts is sought for, we should not seek it by the doubtful and untried expedient of international bimetallism, but by the clear and certain method of a multiple standard, a unit based upon the selling prices of a number of articles of general consumption. A long time contract would thereby be paid at its maturity by the same purchasing power as was given in the beginning.

Jevons, one of the most generally accepted of the writers in favor of a gold standard, admits the instability of a single standard, and in language very similar to that above quoted suggests the multiple standard as the most equitable, if practicable.

Chevalier, who wrote a book in 1858 to show the injustice of allowing a debtor to pay his debts in a cheap gold dollar, recognized the same fact, and said:

> If the value of the metal declined, the creditor would suffer a loss upon the quantity he had received; if, on the contrary, it rose, the debtor would have to pay more than he calculated upon.

I am on sound and scientific ground, therefore, when I say that a dollar approaches honesty as its purchasing power approaches stability. If I borrow a thousand dollars to-day and next year pay the debt with a thousand dollars which will secure exactly as much of all things desirable as the one thousand which I borrowed, I have paid in honest dollars. If the money has increased or decreased in purchasing power, I have satisfied my debt with dishonest dollars. While the government can say that a given weight of gold or silver shall constitute a dollar, and invest that dollar with legal-tender qualities, it cannot fix the purchasing power of the dollar. That must depend upon the law of supply and demand, and it may be well to suggest that this government never tried to fix the exchangeable value of a dollar until it began to limit the number of dollars coined.

II. BY M. W. HOWARD.

The term, "a standard of value," so often used, is erroneous and misleading. There can be no fixed standard of value, and the student who wishes to delve into our financial problems should clear his mind of such a fallacy at the very threshold of his investigations.

Money is a commodity; it is regulated by the same laws of supply and demand which regulate the price of corn, cotton, wheat, land, labor, etc. If the wheat crop is short, wheat will be dear; if abundant, it will be cheap. So with money. If the money supply is not sufficient to meet the demands of business and commerce, — if the money crop is short, in other words, — the money will be dear; it will command too high a price, its purchasing power will be too great.

On the other hand, if the money supply is abundant, sufficient to meet all demands upon it, — in other words, if there is a bountiful money crop, — it will be cheaper; it will not have

such a large purchasing power; it will be worth less when measured by our labor, our lands, and the products of our labor.

I oppose the single gold standard because it makes the money crop short, gives us a small circulating medium, and hence enhances the value or price of money.

We have a certain demand for breadstuff, which is constantly increasing as our population multiplies; suppose that we cease producing corn, and find no substitute for it, would not the price of wheat be greatly enhanced, providing there is no increased wheat production? So with the money supply. There is a certain demand for money, ever increasing as population grows. How shall we meet it? By producing more money, or by destroying one-half of that which we now have, by eliminating one-half of the base of future supplies of money?

The latter is now the policy of this government, and as a consequence the price of gold has been greatly enhanced, and its purchasing power has increased each year, and will continue to do so.

The advocates of the gold standard call this "honest money." Their idea of honest money is money that ever increases in purchasing power because of its ever-increasing scarcity.

My definition of honest money is: "A sufficiently large circulating medium, whether of gold, silver, or paper, to bring down the price of money so that we shall obtain fair prices for all labor and products." Then as population increases and as the demand for money becomes greater, let the government meet that demand from time to time by enhancing the money supply.

III. BY WHARTON BARKER.

The true test of an honest dollar is its purchasing power, and that dollar, and only that dollar, is honest that does exact justice between creditor and debtor. The gold monometallists harp on the injustice of a depreciating dollar, but they ignore the injuries inflicted by an appreciating dollar. They tell us that a depreciating dollar defrauds the creditor, but just as a depreciating dollar defrauds the creditor, an appreciating dollar defrauds the debtor, and it is not one whit worse to defraud the

creditor by obliging him to accept a depreciated dollar from his debtor than to defraud the debtor by obliging him to pay in a dollar made artificially scarce and dear.

An appreciating dollar works injustice to the debtor just as a depreciating dollar works injustice to the creditor, but an appreciating dollar is many fold more injurious to trade and industry, for while the depreciating dollar taxes the creditor for the benefit of the debtor, the appreciating dollar takes from the debtor, from producers in general and the industrious classes, and gives to the creditor classes, the drones of society, a larger and larger share of the products of labor, which of necessity discourages industry. Under a depreciating standard the recompense of the producer becomes greater and greater, the creditor classes receive a smaller and smaller portion of the products of labor, the profits of industry increase, and consequently production is encouraged and trade and industry are stimulated. But under an appreciating standard the recompense of labor becomes smaller and smaller, and the share of the products of labor absorbed by the creditor larger, which tends to discourage industry and stifle enterprise.

IV. BY ARTHUR I. FONDA.

The value of any commodity is measured by what it will exchange for. It is in fact its purchasing power, or power in exchange. This in substance is the concrete definition of value given by all economists, and they all unite in stating that value is determined by the supply of a commodity relative to the demand for it; all other factors affecting value being secondary and acting through their effect on either supply or demand.

Since both the supply of and the demand for every freely produced commodity is variable, and since a true standard of value, like a true standard of weight or length, must be invariable as regards that which it measures, it necessarily follows that no single freely produced commodity can be a true standard of value. But while it is true that every single commodity must vary in value, it is also true that all commodities taken together cannot do so. This principle is also accepted as correct by all ecocomists.

It is evident then that a true standard of value can only

be found in a composite unit containing a definite quantity of every commodity, or practically speaking, a definite quantity of each of a large number of the most important commodities. This is what is known as the "multiple standard," or the "commodity standard," and has long been in use by economists in the form of tables of index numbers to show fluctuations in general prices, or what is the same thing, changes in money values.

The only function of money is to facilitate the exchange of goods. In doing this it acts directly as a circulating medium, and the demand for it for this purpose, relative to the supply, determines its value; for money, whether of coin or paper or both combined in one circulation to meet one need, is subject to the same law of supply and demand which governs all commodities, and which indeed is as universal in the economic world as the law of gravitation is in the physical world.

Incidentally the value of money fills the important function of serving as a measure of the values of goods transferred without the direct use of money, both immediate and deferred. This, however, has no effect on the demand for money or on its value.

The people are accustomed to regard money as of constant value, and an honest money must necessarily conform to this belief. If money varies in value, the people are deluded, and many are wronged if they are unaware of the fluctuation. If they become aware of it,—as they generally do by a bitter experience,— they are confronted with an uncertainty that is most detrimental to any business or enterprise. Imagine what our business would be with our measures of weight, length, and capacity all variable! Yet such a condition would be less disastrous than a fluctuating money value when it became fully known that it was so.

The *demand* for money varies from many causes, chief among which are changes in the quantity of goods exchanged, the extent to which other credit instruments take the place of money in such exchanges, and the activity of money, or the extent to which it is hoarded, all of which are entirely beyond control. The *supply* of money, however, can be controlled, and to maintain money at a constant value the supply must be constantly adjusted to the ever-varying demand, so that its gen-

eral purchasing power may remain the same. The test of a constant money must be a constant general level of prices; and this must be judged by the prices in the open market of those principal commodities which would be selected to constitute the standard of value, the quantity of each being proportioned to its importance in trade.

The only function of gold and silver in a monetary system is to *limit the volume of the money*, either by their scarcity when freely coined, or by the laws limiting their coinage. And as this limitation of the supply bears no definite relation to the demand for money, the value of the money necessarily fluctuates. Our industrial system is constantly growing more sensitive to even slight changes in money value, owing to the greater diversification of industries and the greater division of labor, and the need for preventing such changes is constantly growing more imperative.

When the people arrive at a clearer perception of these facts and principles they will understand that the chance production of gold and silver is too clumsy a contrivance to properly control so delicate a matter as the value of money under modern industrial conditions, and I believe they will substitute for the present system a circulating medium of paper money, properly guaranteed, and susceptible of prompt and certain increase or decrease of volume to meet every possible variation in demand, and rigidly controlled to conform in value to a true standard of value, a standard composed not alone of gold or silver or both combined, but of all the leading commodities.

In short, they will separate the standard of value from the medium of exchange, demonetizing both gold and silver as to the latter function, but using both and many other things in conjunction therewith for the former function.

V. BY A. J. WARNER.

From whatever side the question is approached, in the last analysis the value of money of any kind is found to depend upon its quantity, and not upon color, or ductility, or malleability, or any other particular quality of the thing upon which the money function is impressed. There can be therefore, in fact,

no other standard of value, or money standard, except the quantity of whatever is used as money. When gold and silver are used, the value of each unit of money depends upon the number of such units, and these in turn depend upon the quantity of the metal from which the money is made. Any cause, therefore, which restricts, limits, or contracts the quantity of any kind of money, increases the value of each unit. On the contrary, causes that operate to increase the supply of money have the opposite effect.

Hence, only that currency can properly be called "sound" currency which is made to maintain stable relations to things to be bought and sold. In other words, general prices are determined by the proportion between money on the one side, and things offered against money on the other side. Such money only is "honest" money.

The whole question, therefore, of money standard is a question of money supply; for, as the price of single things, money being constant, depends upon supply on the one hand, as against demand for it on the other, so, in general, prices depend on money supply on the one hand, and things to be bought and sold on the other. This I believe to be the fundamental law of money.

THE NEW CIVIL CODE OF JAPAN.

BY TOKICHI MASAO, M. L., D. C. L.

EVER since the establishment of the present imperial government in 1868, the one unceasing aim of Japan's foreign policy has been the abolition of the extra-territoriality régime, under which certain quasi-judicial functions are exercised on the Japanese soil by the ambassadors and consuls of the Occidental nations. This anxiety on Japan's part to rid herself of this shameful régime imposed upon her against her will, will not appear surprising when the fact is learnt that one Occidental nation went so far as to call her consul at Yokohama, "Her Britannic Majesty's the Most Honourable Court for Japan" — a name almost enough to imply that Japan was a British province. Extra-territoriality rests upon the assumption that the laws and procedure of the non-Christian nations are so unlike to and different from those of the Christian nations that without the protection of this system the safety and well-being of the subjects of the latter sojourning in the territory of the former would be placed in constant jeopardy. Accordingly in the early seventies Japan came to the conclusion that the only possible way of emancipating herself from the disgraceful yoke of extra-territoriality was to adopt one of the systems of law obtaining in the Christian world and compile a code of law based upon that system, and applicable alike to the Japanese and to the foreigners residing in Japan.

There were three such systems — the Anglo-American, the French, and the Germanic Roman — each offering itself for adoption. Mr. Yeto Shimpei,[1] who became the Minister of Justice in 1872, seems to have had a personal preference for

1 Those who have followed the course of events in Japan since the beginning of the new era will remember that upon the return of Prince Iwakura, in 1873, from his around-the-world embassy, Mr. Yeto had to withdraw from the cabinet, owing to a difference of opinion between him and the Prince with regard to the Corean problem then pending. Returning to his native province, Saga, he tried to raise troops against the government (to carry out, of course, his own convictions in regard to the Corean problem), resulting in the famous "Saga rebellion" of 1873. Defeated by the government troops, he betook himself to the interior of the country in disguise, was arrested, found guilty of treason, and executed according to law. It is a familiar saying in Japan that Mr. Yeto died a criminal at the hand of his own Penal Code.

the French system. He called to his assistance some of the most eminent jurists of France and entered upon the work of drafting a code. At the same time he established in Tokio a law school known as the "Department of Justice Annex Law School," in which French law was taught by those same jurists whom he had called from France. About this time there was also established in the University of Tokio a law school in which instruction was given chiefly in English law. It was while teaching in this university law school that Mr. Henry T. Terry (a New York lawyer and an alumnus of Yale College) wrote his memorable book on English law, designed especially for the use of Japanese law students. From henceforth "Terry's Leading Principles of Anglo-American Law" became as familiar to them as are "Blackstone's Commentaries" to the law students of this country.

Thus, side by side there existed in Tokio two law schools in which two distinct systems of law were taught — the English and the French. The primary object of the Department of Justice in establishing the French law school being to make it a training school of judicial officers, the students of that school were, upon graduation, to render, for a limited number of years, an obligatory service to the government in the various capacities of judges, magistrates, and prosecuting attorneys. On the other hand, the University of Tokio being a strictly independent institution in which learning is pursued for the sake of learning, the graduates of the university or English law school were at entire liberty in their choice of professions. Naturally enough the majority of these did not wish to enter the same service which the graduates of the other school were obliged to enter as a matter of fulfilment of contract. Thus it happened that the bench was recruited from the French law school, while the bar was recruited from the English law school. This state of affairs lasted for about twenty years, during which time there was also established a German law school in the University of Tokio. Those who know something about the rivalry that existed in ancient times between the Sabinians and the Proculians, or even about the rivalry which exists to-day between the Yale method and the Harvard method, between the Waylandians and the Langdel-

lians, can readily imagine what intellectual competition was carried on between these three Japanese law schools representing three distinct systems of law.

After twenty years of assiduous labor the Code Commission submitted a draft of a Civil Code to the two Houses of Parliament in 1890, accompanied by the recommendation from the Bureau of Legislation that the draft might receive the parliamentary sanction in such a manner that it might be possible for it to be put in effect by the year 1893. As might have been expected from the personnel of the Commission, consisting, in its conception, of Mr. Yeto Shimpei and the eminent French jurist Prof. Boissonade, etc., the draft was a genuine French code, being almost a literal translation of the Code Napoleon in all its parts excepting the part dealing with the Law of Persons. The question may well be asked why it took the Commission twenty long years to produce this imitation draft code when we know that the draft of the Code Napoleon itself was completed within the short period of four months. The answer seems to be that the Commission spent almost this entire time in their efforts to reconcile the principles of the French Law of Persons with the Japanese laws and customs bearing on that subject.

As has been the case with many other draft codes this draft Civil Code of Japan was destined to go into oblivion. As soon as it was submitted to the Parliament there ensued a most desperate fight against its adoption. As figuring most prominently among the champions of the opposition I may mention the names of Mr. Kazuo Hatoyama, the present Speaker of the House of Commons of the Imperial Japanese Parliament, and His Excellency Mr. Toru Hoshi, the present Japanese minister at Washington.[1] Inspired by these and other eminent jurists of the English school the entire bar was set against the adoption of the draft code. This was not a case of a bar accustomed to one set of rules and formulas opposing the adoption

[1] I make mention of these two gentlemen as representative of two classes of a fairly large number of Japanese lawyers, viz., those who have been educated in the United States, and those who have received their education in England. Mr. Hatoyama is a D. C. L. of Yale. For nearly ten years (1880–1889) he was a professor of law in the University of Tokio Law School, and during most of this time he was also Dean of the school. Mr. Hoshi is a barrister-at-law of one of the English Inns of Court. For many years he was regarded as the leader of the Japanese bar. Like many distinguished members of the English bar, he is more of a lawyer than of a jurist.

of a new code for fear that they might be compelled to learn a new set of rules and formulas. On the contrary, the bar was composed of men who had studied law as a science, and science for the sake of science. The spirit of their opposition was very plainly shown by the objections they raised against the code. They said: — "The draft Code was a blind imitation of a foreign Code which itself was far from being free from defects. It abounded in definitions, illustrations, and examples, and presented an appearance more becoming to a text-book of law than the Civil Code of a great nation. It went into too minute details and left too little room for voluntary development of jurisprudence. It incorporated, like the French Code, the law of evidence into the body of the Civil Code, which was totally at variance with the modern theory of evidence, being a failure on the part of the Commissioners to distinguish adjective from substantive law. It made too many innovations upon the Law of Persons hitherto obtaining in Japan. It changed the Family Law of the Japanese from the foundation, which was a gross disregard of the historical principle of jurisprudence," etc., etc., etc. Such were some of the grounds upon which they opposed the adoption of the draft code, reminding one of the fight in Europe between the historical school and the analytical school, between the jurists of France and those of Germany; of the fight in Germany between the Code party and the anti-Code party, between Savigny and Thibaut. Who can say, then, that the Japanese are childish imitators of anything that looks well? The fact is that this sort of conflict between the more conservative and the more radical, the more scrupulous and the more unscrupulous, the more positive and the more speculative, is going on all the time.

At last in 1892 the Parliament passed an act deferring the taking effect of the code till 1897 and ordering in the meantime a careful revisal of the draft. A new Commission was appointed which consisted of three most eminent professors of law in Japan, each representing one of the three systems of law recognized there.[1] These Commissioners, aided by a number of efficient assistants, looked into the codes and laws of some fif-

[1] I refer to Professors Hodzumi, Tomii, and Ume. Prof. Hodzumi is a barrister-at-law of the Middle Temple, and is one of the ablest representatives of English law in Japan. Prof. Tomii is a *Docteur en Droit* of the Faculty of Lyons, and is by far the ablest expounder of the French codes in Japan. Prof. Ume, though a bearer of the

teen leading American and European states. As representing the French system they consulted the codes of Louisiana, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. As representing the German system they consulted the codes and laws of Austria, Montenegro, Prussia, Saxony, Switzerland, and the draft Civil Code of the German Empire. As representing the English system they consulted the leading American and English reports and treatises, the draft Civil Code of New York, and the codes of California and British India.[1]

After four years of the most constant application the Commission submitted in 1896 a revisal of a part of the original draft. Had the Commission had the entire code revised they could not have shown greater wisdom. For the parts incomplete were those dealing with the Family Law and Successions, and the Commission remembered that these were the parts that occasioned the most vital objections to the old code. The Parliament referred the revised draft code to a Committee of their own, of which Mr. Hatoyama, the present Speaker, was made the chairman. After making a careful examination and some important modifications, Mr. Hatoyama reported favorably to its adoption. The Parliament acted according to his advice, and the draft became the law.

In its general arrangement the new code follows what the German jurists call the Pandekten system. It is divided into five general parts. Part I is called "Sōsoku," or General Laws, and deals with persons, natural and artificial, as the subjects of rights; with things as the objects of rights; and with juristic acts as setting rights in motion. One cannot help being astonished at and gratified with the remarkable extent to which Prof. Holland's views as expressed in his book on jurisprudence seem to be adopted in this part of the code.[2] Part II is called

same degree from the same Faculty as Prof. Tomii, has attended several German universities, and is more of the German school than of the French. The Commission itself consisted of several other distinguished personages, with the Prime Minister at the head. But these three professors composed what was called the "Compilation Committee," so that practically they were the Commission.

1 Prof. Ume, a member of the Commission, is responsible for these statements so far as they relate to the codes and laws consulted. The classifications, however, are my own.

2 This may be a mere conjecture on my own part. It is possible that the Commissioners never consulted his book, though to assert such a thing of them would be an insult to their scholarship. Be it as it may, it is a fact beyond question that their arrangement of these topics presents a remarkable coincidence to that of Prof. Holland's, and this is a matter upon which every thoughtful Japanese may well pride himself.

"Bukken," or *Jus in Rem*, corresponding to the Sachenrecht of the German code, and dealing with Possession, Ownership, etc., etc. Part III is called "Jinken," or *Jus in Personam*, corresponding to the Forderungsrecht of the German code, and dealing with General Law of Obligations, with Obligations arising *ex contractu*, *quasi ex contractu*, and *ex delicto*. The General Law of Obligations is taken largely from the Forderungsrecht of the Swiss code. The law of Contracts and Torts is taken entirely from the English law. Parts IV and V, dealing with the Family Law and the Law of Successions respectively, have not as yet been published, for reasons already indicated.

Such is the new Civil Code of Japan, adopted by the Imperial Parliament in its session of 1896. Truly, the year 1896 has been an eventful year for Japan. The war with China had brought glory to her arms. Formosa and numerous other islands had been added to her possessions. The insurgents of Formosa had been pacified. The treaties with the leading nations of the world had been revised, providing for the abolishment of the disgraceful extra-territoriality régime in Japan, to take effect, however, upon the taking effect of the new Civil Code. The last and greatest event of all, the new Code was adopted. With equal propriety, then, the Emperor Mutsuhito might have joined Justinian, in proclaiming: — "Imperatoriam Majestatem non solum armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus opportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus et bellorum et pacis recte possit gubernari!"

JOHN RUSKIN:

A Type of Twentieth-Century Manhood.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE name John Ruskin is justly entitled to a foremost place among those of the builders of twentieth-century civilization. In him we find a rare combination of genius, culture, and refinement, blended with a tender concern for all earth's unfortunates. He is at once artist, philosopher, and philanthropist; but he is more than these; there is much of the austere religious reformer, giving a serious gravity to all the utterances of the glad-souled artist, a mingling of the spirit of a Savonarola with the imagination of a Turner.

John Ruskin, more than any other man of our time in like station of life, stands for the civilization which we believe is destined to glorify the coming century, for in his life all thought of ease, fame, and preferment, — all consideration of self, — is overmastered by his love for others. Endowed by nature with the imagination of a poet, the eyes of an artist, the brain of a philosopher, the soul of a prophet, and the heart of a man, he has conscientiously employed all his gifts as a sacred trust given to him that he might bless and enlighten his day, and ennoble his civilization for all time.

He was born amid affluence, and received the best educational advantages the age afforded. After graduating from Oxford in 1842, he studied painting under Copley Fielding and J. D. Harding. Subsequently he spent some time in Italy, finishing his art education in the land of earth's greatest painters.

While in college he composed many poems, but on leaving the university he turned his attention to art and prose composition. His "Modern Painters" was justly hailed as one of the noblest works of the century, and instantly placed its author in the ranks of the foremost art critics of the world.

Few if any of his admirers will agree with all his critical views. He not infrequently falls into those errors which we naturally expect to find in a man of intense feeling, of strong

conviction, and of vivid imagination. If a positive idea takes possession of his mind, it is liable to give a strong bias to his thought, and in a degree interferes with that nice sense of proportion so essential to a great critic. On more than one occasion Mr. Ruskin has frankly admitted that his views and opinions were erroneous owing to being based on a partial appearance or influenced by pernicious ideas. A notable illustration of his thought being biassed by preconceived ideas is found in the religious opinions put forward in the early edition of parts I and II of "Modern Painters." And in a preface written in 1871 for a revised edition of his works, the philosopher calls attention to his early views, declaring that he was "wholly mistaken" and continuing: "I had been educated in the narrow doctrine of a narrow sect, and had read history obliquely, as a sectarian necessarily must."

Such are the blemishes which occasionally creep into the works of this master mind. They are, however, merely spots on the sun, which do not appear frequently enough to seriously dim the splendor of a critical work which in my judgment surpasses in real value that of any English scholar of the century. "Modern Painters," "The Stones of Venice," "The Seven Lamps," and his other works dealing with art are far more than criticisms; they touch the sleeping soul, they fire the spirit and awaken the conscience. They make the reader feel a new love for nature and art alike, and with this pure and inspiring love comes the desire for more knowledge. They appeal to the spiritual aspirations even more than to the artistic impulses or the intellectual apprehension. The moral exaltation which pervades his writings springs from his profoundly philosophical and religious nature. In all his work, as in his noble life, he has ever been moved by an intense desire to uplift and dignify humanity and to impress upon the public mind the subtle but positive effect for good exerted by *true* art. "I have had," he tells us in "The Two Paths," "but one steady aim in all I have ever tried to teach, namely, to declare that whatever was great in human art was the expression of man's delight in God's work."

With Ruskin, life is august; its possibilities for good and evil are never forgotten.

"Remember," he urges, "that every day of your life is ordaining

irrevocably for good or evil the custom and practice of your soul; ordaining either sacred customs of dear and lovely recurrence, or trenching deeper and deeper the furrows for seed of sorrow. Now, therefore, see that no day passes in which you do not make yourself a somewhat better creature. . . . You will find that the mere resolve not to be useless, and the honest desire to help other people, will in the quickest and delicatest ways improve yourself."

The pleasure which springs from loyalty to duty is strenuously insisted upon by Ruskin, and he, more than any other illustrious man in our time, has reached such heights of unselfishness as to enable him to fully appreciate the unalloyed pleasure which flows from a life of sacrifice. If he is austere, he is also very humane. The fountains of pleasure that he would have us drink deeply from would leave no bitter aftertaste. He delights in no pseudo-pleasure; faithfulness to the highest ideal, untiring effort at complete self-mastery, a settled determination to work for the good of all and to be ever on guard lest by some inadvertence we injure some other living creature, — such are some of the lessons upon which our philosopher insists as essential to man's happiness.

"If," he urges, in writing for the young, "there is any one point which, in six thousand years of thinking about right and wrong, wise and good men have agreed upon, or successively by experience discovered, it is that God dislikes idle and cruel people more than any others; that His first order is, 'Work while you have light;' and his second, 'Be merciful while you have mercy.' 'Work while you have light,' especially while you have the light of morning. There are few things more wonderful to me than that old people never tell young ones how precious their youth is. . . . Remember, then, that I, at least, have warned *you*, that the happiness of your life, and its power, and its part and rank in earth or in heaven, depend on the way you pass your days now. They are not to be sad days; far from that, the first duty of young people is to be delighted and delightful; but they are to be in the deepest sense solemn days. There is no solemnity so deep, to a rightly thinking creature, as that of dawn. . . . You must be to the best of your strength usefully employed during the greater part of the day, so that you may be able at the end of it to say, as proudly as any peasant, that you have not eaten the bread of idleness. Then, secondly, I said, you are not to be cruel. Perhaps you think there is no chance of your being so; and indeed I hope it is not likely that you should be deliberately unkind to any creature; but *unless you are deliberately kind to every creature, you will often be cruel to many.*"

Ruskin is often disquieting to conventionalists; he is too candid to be popular with those who make long prayers and descant on charity while they ignore justice. He puts questions to them which they do not want to consider themselves,

or to have others consider. By insisting on the substitution of justice for charity, and by taking the teachings of Jesus seriously, he offends the sleek money-changers who occupy choice pews in the modern palaces of ease dedicated to the lowly Nazarene. Such expressions as the following from the magnificent lecture on "Work" prove far less satisfying to this class than the popular sermons they are accustomed to hear:

"It is the law of heaven," says Ruskin, "that you shall not be able to judge what is wise or easy, unless you are first resolved to judge what is just, and to do it. That is the one thing constantly reiterated by our master — the order of all others that is given oftenest: 'Do justice and judgment.' That's your Bible order; that's the 'service of God.' The one divine work — the one ordered sacrifice — is to do justice; and it is the last we are ever inclined to do. Anything rather than that! As much charity as you choose, but no justice. 'Nay,' you will say, 'charity is greater than justice.' Yes, it is greater; *it is the summit of justice;* it is the temple of which justice is the foundation. *But you can't have the top without the bottom;* you cannot build upon charity. You must build upon justice, for this main reason, that you have not, at first, charity to build with. It is the last reward of good work. It is all very fine to think you can build upon charity to begin with; but you will find all you have got to begin with begins at home, and is essentially love of yourself.

"You well-to-do people, for instance, who are here to-night will go to 'Divine Service' next Sunday, all nice and tidy, and your little children will have their tight little Sunday boots on, and lovely little Sunday feathers in their hats; and you'll think, complacently and piously, how lovely they look! So they do; and you love them heartily, and you like sticking feathers in their hats. That's all right; that *is* charity; but it is charity beginning at home. Then you will come to the poor little crossing-sweeper got up also — in its Sunday dress — the dirtiest rags it has that it may beg the better: we shall give it a penny, and think how good we are. That's charity going abroad. But what does justice say, walking and watching near us? Christian justice has been strangely mute, and seemingly blind; and, if not blind, decrepit this many a day: she keeps her accounts still, however — quite steadily — doing them at nights, carefully, with her bandage off, and through acutest spectacles (the only modern scientific invention she cares about). You must put your ear down ever so close to her lips to hear her speak; and then you will start at what she first whispers, for it will certainly be, 'Why shouldn't that little crossing-sweeper have a feather on its head, as well as your own child?' Then you may ask justice, in an amazed manner, How she can possibly be so foolish as to think children could sweep crossings with feathers on their heads? Then you stoop again, and justice says — still in her dull, stupid way — 'Then, why don't you, every other Sunday, leave your child to sweep the crossing, and take the little sweeper to church in a hat and feather?' Mercy on us (you think), what will she say next? And you answer, of course, that you don't, because everybody ought to remain content in the position in which Providence has placed them.

"Ah, my friends, that's the gist of the whole question. *Did* Providence put them in that position, or did *you?* You knock a man into a ditch, and then you tell him to remain content in the 'position in which Providence has placed him.' That's modern Christianity. You say, '*We* did not knock him into the ditch.' How do you know what you have done or are doing? That's just what we have all got to know, and what we shall never know until the question with us every morning, is, not how to do the gainful thing, but how to do the just thing."

These thoughts suggest to us Ruskin, the social economist, for we must not lose sight of the fact that this greatest of all art critics, this strong, sane ethical philosopher who has emphasized so forcibly the possibilities, duties, and responsibilities of the individual in all his complex relations, is also one of the most enlightened and broad-visioned economists of our wonderful age. By treatises, essays, and letters he has striven for a brighter day for the breadwinners. He has sought to elevate the ideals and tastes of all toilers, while he has labored unremittingly to secure for them that meed of justice which is their right, but which has so long been denied them.

So far back as 1868, when few people of position dared advocate so sane a proposition as the governmental ownership of "natural monopolies," John Ruskin published these bold and thoughtful words in the London *Daily Telegraph:*

The ingenious British public seemed to be discovering to its cost, that the beautiful law of supply and demand does not apply in a pleasant manner to railroad transit. But if they are prepared to submit patiently to the "natural" laws of political economy, what right have they to complain? The railroad belongs to the shareholders; and has not everybody a right to ask the highest he can get for his wares? The public have a perfect right to walk, or to make other opposition railroads for themselves, if they please, but not to abuse the shareholders for asking as much as they think they can get. Will you allow me to put the *real* rights of the matter before them in a few words?

Neither the roads nor the railroads of any nation should belong to any private persons. All means of public transit should be provided at public expense, by public determination, where such means are needed, and the public should be its own shareholder. Neither road, nor railroad, nor canal should ever pay dividends to anybody. They should pay their working expenses, and no more. All dividends are simply a tax on the traveller and the goods, levied by the persons to whom the road or canal belongs, for the right of passing over his property, and this right should at once be purchased by the nation, and the original cost of the roadway — be it of gravel, iron, or adamant — at once defrayed by the nation, and then the whole work of the carriage of persons or goods done for ascertained prices, by salaried officers, as the carriage of letters is done now.

Happily these suggestions of the distinguished Englishman have been followed, in part at least, by several enlightened nations, but to the disgrace of our republic, and to the great cost of the producing and consuming masses, we are lagging behind in these respects, becoming a camp-follower instead of a leader in the march of progress, because of the influence exerted by a small class, who have grown so powerful through special privileges given to them by the nation that they now assume to thwart beneficent legislation in order that they may continue to grow richer through this vicious form of governmental paternalism, which places the multitude in the power of a few.

Ruskin's views on money are as disturbing to the usurers and those who through special privileges in money have amassed fortunes of unearned wealth as his sound position on railroads is distasteful to the monopolists who impoverish the producer and consumer by exorbitant rates on transportation.

The great Englishman is also too clear-sighted to accept the fallacious doctrines of the money-changers in regard to the medium of exchange. He is too honest to hold his peace in the presence of a great wrong, hence his definition of money is far more nearly correct than the false and essentially injurious definitions so industriously promulgated by special pleaders for an interested class. "The final and best definition of money," says Ruskin, "is that it is a documentary promise ratified and guaranteed by the nation to give or find a certain quantity of labor on demand."

In 1873 our author carried on a spirited discussion with some conventional economists regarding the money of the rich. One writer undertook to defend the lavish and reckless expenditures of the wealthy by calling to his aid the well-worn plea that money thus paid out finds its way into the pockets of poor families, and that thus through the bounty of the rich the starving are blest. Ruskin, in the course of his reply, observed that, were he a poor man instead of a moderately rich one, he would be sure that the paper referred to would suggest the question:

> These *means of living*, which this generous and useful gentleman is so fortunately disposed to bestow on me — where does he get them himself? . . . These are the facts. The laborious poor produce "the means of life" by their labor. Rich persons possess themselves by various expedients of a right to dispense these means of life, and, keeping as much means as they

want for themselves, and rather more, dispense the rest usually only in return for *more labor from the poor*, expended in producing various delights for the rich dispenser. The idea is now gradually entering poor men's minds, that they may as well keep in their own hands the right of distributing "the means of life" they produce; and employ themselves, so far as they need extra occupation, for their own entertainment or benefit, rather than that of other people.

The conventional economist replied to the question relating to how the rich man got his wealth by stating that it was obtained by the possessor or his ancestors through a "mutually beneficent partnership" between the rich and the poor by which the poor had their share of the joint returns advanced to them. Mr. Ruskin in his reply stated the question again, and then proceeded to answer it by a telling personal illustration. He says:

"Where does the rich man get his means of living?" I don't myself see how a more staightforward question could be put! so straightforward, indeed, that I particularly dislike making a martyr of myself in answering it, as I must this blessed day — a martyr, at least, in the way of witness; for if we rich people don't begin to speak honestly with our tongues, we shall, some day soon, lose them and our heads together, having for sometime back, most of us, made false use of the one and none of the other. Well, for the point in question, then, as to means of living: the most exemplary manner of answer is simply to state how I got my own, or rather how my father got them for me. He and his partners entered into what your correspondent mellifluously styles "a mutually beneficent partnership" with certain laborers in Spain. These laborers produced from the earth annually a certain number of bottles of wine. These productions were sold by my father and his partners, who kept nine-tenths, or thereabouts, of the price themselves, and gave one-tenth, or thereabouts, to the laborers. In which state of mutual beneficence my father and his partners naturally became rich, and the laborers as naturally remained poor. Then my good father gave all his money to me.

Space forbids a more extended notice of Mr. Ruskin's broad and thoughtful views on economic problems, but before closing this paper, I wish to notice how the life of this great philanthropist has touched and brightened other lives. Many men think noble thoughts and at times are stirred by the loftiest aspirations, but in actual everyday life they sadly fail to live up to their teachings; but he who can and does master himself, he who gives his life for justice and thinks of the welfare of others before he considers himself, has reached a far higher summit than have the most gifted intellects who, while apprehending the beauty of goodness, fail to express that beauty in their daily

lives. John Ruskin's life has been at once earnest, pure, and unselfish.

Of the unexampled manner in which he gave up his beautiful wife to his friend — how he quietly secured a divorce that she might become the wife of the man she loved — electing to pass the rest of his life alone rather than destroy her happiness, — these facts are well known, and Mr. Ruskin has been severely criticised for not holding his wife in unwilling bondage. But he was so constituted that it was impossible for him to endure the thought of being directly or indirectly the cause of another's misery.

Another striking illustration of his unselfishness is seen in the manner in which he has disposed of his fortune, which at the time of his father's death amounted to a million dollars. With this money he set about doing good. Poor young men and women who were struggling to obtain an education were helped, homes for working men and women were established, and model apartment-houses were erected. He also promoted a work for reclaiming waste land outside of London. This land was used for the aid of unfortunate men who wished to rise again from the state into which they had fallen through cruel social conditions and their own weaknesses. It is said that this work suggested to General Booth his colonization farms. Ruskin has also ever been liberal in aiding poor artists, and has done much to encourage the artistic taste among the young. On one occasion he purchased ten fine water-color paintings by Holman Hunt for $3,750, to be hung in public schools of London.

By 1877 he had disposed of three-fourths of his inheritance, besides all the income from his books. But the calls of the poor and the plans which he wished to put into operation looking toward education and ennobling the toilers, and giving to their gloomy lives something more of sunshine and joy, were such that he determined to dispose of all the remainder of his wealth except a sum sufficient to yield him fifteen hundred dollars a year on which to live.

Of all English writers of our century no one has left a more valuable literary legacy than has John Ruskin, but the splendid and voluminous works of his brain are even less priceless than

the example of his wonderful life. That he is in the shadow in his old age is by no means strange; a nature so sensitive, so finely strung, so keenly alive to the sufferings of others on every hand, has necessarily felt what the well-kept and self-engrossed animals around him knew nothing of. Indeed, just here we find the chief reason why the finest natures suffer so keenly in this age of heartless greed, self-absorption, and gold madness, of wanton extravagance and biting poverty, of wide-spread misery and growing discontent. Sensitive natures who are spiritually alive to the misery around them must suffer while they sow the seed-thoughts of a new day — suffer uncomplainingly until the waiting-time of this great transition period has passed.

In John Ruskin we find great breadth of thought and a wide range of intellectual vision, going hand in hand with a profound philosophical grasp of life's deepest problems; and, what is more, these excellences are rendered luminous by the influence of an enlightened soul. His life has been characterized by nobility of purpose, purity of thought, a passion for nature and art, and an enthusiasm for humanity.

THE SINGLE TAX IN OPERATION.

BY HON. HUGH H. LUSK,
Ex-Member of the New Zealand Legislature.

FEW if any of the various economic theories that have been advanced, claiming attention in virtue of their practical benefit to the existing conditions of human affairs, have gained so immediate or so widespread an acceptance amongst intelligent persons as that which is familiarly known as "the single-tax" theory propounded by Mr. Henry George. In all parts of the English-speaking world, at least, the theory has obtained many and enthusiastic disciples, who have believed, and probably still believe, that they find in Mr. George's doctrine a panacea for many of the most apparent of the evils which oppress society not less under our advanced civilization than they did at any former period of the world's history. It may be said, indeed, that we hear less of Mr. George and the single tax now than we did a few years ago, and from this some will argue that the idea has died or is dying out of men's minds; this, however, is almost certainly a mistake.

In the history of any great system of alleged reform there may be traced at least three distinct stages which are marked by different degrees of prominence in the public regard. The first of these may be called the period of promulgation, the second that of fermentation, and the third that of experiment. If the evils proposed to be reformed are manifest and widely recognized the first of these stages is almost certain to excite wide attention and much controversy on both sides. The earliest stage, that of mere discussion, however, soon wears itself out, and the theorists who argued in favor of, as well as those who argued against, the new system, having exhausted their ingenuity in argument, turn for the most part to something newer, and let the matter drop.

Then follows the period of incubation. Removed from the din of controversy a certain number of people are always found who are keenly sensible of the evils which the new system was

supposed to cure, and who continue to meditate upon the possibility of its possessing the power to do so. These persons, it may be, make but little noise in the arena either of literature or politics, but they are not the less active, nor perhaps in the end the less really influential, on that account. Their influence is of the sort that depends upon a solid conviction, right or wrong, that the theory which they support is the true one; and as long as the evils, which the system they adhere to professes to cure, continue to exist, so long their influence may be expected to increase.

It is the third or experimental stage which is the critical one, and generally speaking it is well when that stage can be reached without any needless delay. By experiment alone can the value of such theories be tested to the satisfaction of the practical mind of humanity, and it is only as the result of a trial that men will either consent to admit the value of a proposed reform or to abandon a specious theory to which they have once given their adherence.

The single-tax theory of political economics advanced by Henry George, having passed through the first of these three stages with something more than the usual publicity and controversy, has already been in its second stage for a good many years. The cessation of active discussion, which appears to some people to argue that it has passed into oblivion, or is at any rate well on the way toward such a consummation, is only evidence that it is in its second, or fermentation, period. Nobody can pretend for an instant that any one of the evils pointed out by Henry George as the things that called loudly for reform, have actually been reformed since the date of the publication of his original essay on "Progress and Poverty." No reasonable man can doubt that many, if not all of these evils, ought in some way to be dealt with, and if possible amended. While such is the case it is impossible wholly to get rid of the theory which trenchantly pointed out those evils and professed at least to offer an effective remedy.

Under these conditions few things could be more desirable than that the matter should be advanced to the third of its natural stages by being submitted to the critical test of experience. Nothing short of this will ever satisfy the mass of

mankind of the feasibility of the system proposed, or of its adequacy to meet the evils complained of; nothing less will set free the minds of many thousands of intelligent persons to inquire into other methods of reform than the fair trial of the single-tax system, and its failure to cure the evils which its author expected it to cure. The difficulty, which indeed is by no means a slight one, is to find a favorable arena in which the experiment can be tried, and a community prepared to make the experiment.

It must be remembered that, if the evils aimed at by the proposed remedy of the single tax are great and far-reaching, its complete application could hardly, in most communities, amount to less than a practical revolution. Striking as it does at the whole received theory of land tenure, as sanctioned throughout the civilized world by the practice of many centuries, it arrays against itself the prejudices of the most influential classes in every long-established community, and its introduction is necessarily surrounded by difficulties and at least apparent injustices which must indefinitely delay any attempt to bring it to the test of experiment there. The only reasonable hope, indeed, of reducing the theory of the single tax to the plane of experience is to find a country not yet fully committed to any other system, and occupied by a self-governing people sufficiently intelligent to perceive the evils of other existing systems of land tenure, and sufficiently enterprising to be willing to experiment in this direction.

It may perhaps prove of no little benefit to other communities that one self-governing country has been found which has been both able and willing to make trial of the principle which has been so strongly contended for by the author of "Progress and Poverty," and by those who have seen in his proposals a way of escape from many of the most serious difficulties that beset civilized communities at the present day. There is probably no other country which is to-day in so good a position to enter upon experimental legislation in this and other directions as the British colony of New Zealand. An island community separated by more than a thousand miles from its nearest neighbors, possessed of practically unlimited powers of self-government, and inhabited by a prosperous and intelligent population,

substantially of unmixed British race, there is little either in their external relations or internal circumstances to prevent the colonists of New Zealand making many experiments in economic legislation. And during the last quarter of a century this fact has been fully realized by the people and their leaders. They have established a system of education which is at once more popular, free, and comprehensive than even the most complete systems in force in this country; they have placed local option in the control of the liquor traffic upon a broad and entirely popular basis, which has rendered New Zealand the most sober and law-abiding of communities, without introducing the doubtful principle of prohibition; they have thrown open the franchise unreservedly to all persons of full age and competent education, without regard to sex; and they have successfully introduced life insurance and trusteeship of estates by the government, as well as many others of the proposals which are generally comprehended under the term "State Socialism."

It is by no means surprising that a community which has made so many experiments in legislation should have turned its attention to the question which may perhaps be looked upon as most specially inviting attention from social reformers in a new country. The circumstances of New Zealand in relation to the land were from the first exceptional. In every other country occupied by savage tribes in modern times which has been taken possession of for purposes of settlement by people of European race, the ownership of the soil has been assumed, as a matter of course, to vest not in the aboriginal natives, but in the intruding settlers. Spain, England, France, Holland, Germany, and the United States have one after the other adopted this convenient theory of international morality, and entered with a cool assumption of right upon the inheritance of their comparatively helpless predecessors. In New Zealand the conditions of the country and its inhabitants rendered this popular system wholly inapplicable. The area of the country was limited, to an extent which rendered it impossible to adopt the fiction which has lain at the root of nearly all the forcible confiscation of the territory of native tribes, namely, that they could make no profitable use of so great an area. The islands of New Zealand contain only a little more land than Great Britain itself,

and sixty years ago, when England first thought of annexing them to her empire, the native inhabitants numbered little if anything short of a hundred thousand souls. They were besides a settled people who cultivated the soil, and moreover they were warlike, and formidable to any invader. In consequence of these things a wholly new departure was made in the case of New Zealand. The country was not occupied on any plea of discovery or of conquest, as had been done in so many parts of the world before, but the sovereignty of the islands was obtained by treaty with the chiefs of the native tribes, upon the distinct guarantee that the full rights of the aboriginal inhabitants to their lands should be recognized and protected by England against all comers.

From the first, therefore, the lands of New Zealand have been purchased by the government before they could be disposed of to the settlers. The community had no vast tracts of land to dispose of which had cost nothing but the expense of survey, but as a matter of fact had to look on every acre as an investment which must be sold for a certain definite price unless the transaction was to result in an absolute loss of money to the people at large. It may well have happened that the result of so unusual a condition of affairs was to lead the community to regard the public lands in a somewhat different light from other people. At any rate it led to all lands being sold for a price which prevented their being lightly esteemed or as a rule held as freeholds in large areas. So much was this the case that from the first nearly all pastoral lands were held under leases from the government at fixed annual rentals. Fully forty years ago the southern, and larger, of the islands was nearly all purchased from the comparatively small native population by the government, and in that island a very large proportion of the land has always been let on lease for grazing. In the northern island nearly one-half of the land even now belongs to the original native owners, and much of this area is leased from them by Europeans for farming or grazing purposes.

In this way it has happened that in New Zealand, more than in any other country occupied by people of European race, the inhabitants have grown accustomed to the idea of holding land on lease, with the people at large, as represented by the government, for landlord. Under these conditions it is easy to under-

stand how the doctrine of the single tax found a peculiarly congenial home in the minds of New Zealand public men. It is true that large areas of the lands of the country had been disposed of in freehold to settlers. It is true that the freehold tenure of the native inhabitants had in a certain sense been guaranteed to them by treaty, at least in so far that it should never be taken from them without compensation. It is true that the mass of the people were very fully possessed by the apparently almost universal preference for the idea of a freehold over every other tenure of lands so far as they were personally concerned. But, on the other hand, they had grown accustomed to the practice of holding areas of land on lease both from the government and from the native owners, whose tenure was not individual, but tribal, and they had learned the lesson that there was no intolerable hardship in the system.

The attempt to introduce a system which should give effect to the principle underlying the economic theory of Henry George in New Zealand was not hastily made, nor was it attempted on a scale that could be fairly open to the charge of being revolutionary in its incidence. The first step taken by the legislature was in the direction of so dealing with the public estate of the country as to encourage settlers to lease rather than to purchase the freehold. With this in view a system of leases in perpetuity was established, and areas of the best and most accessible of the land still unsold were set apart to be dealt with under the new plan. Any person, not already the holder of land in freehold, which, together with the land applied for under perpetual lease, would make an area of more than six hundred and forty acres, or one square mile, could apply for a lease of not more than three hundred and forty acres on perpetual lease. Five dollars per acre was fixed as the price of the land, such being the average price of first-class freehold land unimproved in the country, and the applicant was entitled to a lease for 999 years of the land applied for, subject to the conditions that he resided upon the land during the first ten years of the tenancy; that he improved it to the extent of thirty per cent of its upset value within six years; and that he paid as annual rental interest at the rate of five per cent on the price or value of the land.

Each lease contained clauses rendering the land subject to revaluation at the end of each period of twenty-one years, on which the rental would be calculated. If the new valuation, which it was provided should rigidly exclude all improvements on the land, was assented to by the tenant, the matter was settled for another twenty-one years; but if he objected to the new valuation as excessive, it was provided that he could demand that it should be offered by public auction (subject to payment of the value of his improvements), and that the amount bid for it either by himself or by anybody else at the sale should be esteemed the value on which the rental was to be calculated during the twenty-one years next following the sale. In case the present holder of the lease was the highest bidder, this was the only result of the sale; but in case he was outbid he was bound to transfer the lease to the best bidder, on receiving from the government the amount at which his improvements had been valued. This payment might be made in government bonds, bearing interest at four per cent, at the option of the government, and the new holder of the lease was charged as rent the interest on the value of the land as bid by himself and also interest at five per cent upon the former leaseholder's improvements. By this means it was proposed to retain for the community at large the increased value of the lands of the country which was not due to the improvements made from time to time by the leaseholder. The inducement held out to the public to accept such leases in preference to a freehold was the saving of capital involved in not paying for the land when taken up, but only interest on the amount. This, it was hoped, would suffice to render it popular with a considerable class of actual working settlers as distinguished from speculative buyers.

It is only fair to say that in spite of every effort that could be made by the government, the system did not commend itself to the judgment or the prejudices of the persons interested to any very great extent. What they wanted — what it may be taken for granted is wanted by nearly everybody in dealing with land — was a fixed tenure. It was not enough to know that they had a lease for 999 years; they wanted to know what they were to pay for it, not only during the first twenty-one years, but at any time during the 999. Eventually this had to be conceded, and

as the land law of New Zealand now stands the holder of a perpetual lease gets it for a rental of four per cent upon the original price fixed by government on the land, subject still, however, to the conditions as to residence and improvements on the land during the first ten years.

Having abandoned this promising and theoretically perfect plan for securing to the state all state-produced increase in the value of the public lands, the New Zealand parliament was still anxious to secure for the country the other advantages held out by the author of the single-tax doctrine. These advantages may be briefly summed up in the words, the discouragement of large holdings and the prevention of speculation in future land values. To obtain these results without laying the community open to the charge of practical confiscation, which has been, and probably will always be, the strongest argument against the practical application of the doctrine of the single tax, as propounded by its author, was felt to be no easy matter. Even in New Zealand there were already some large freehold estates, and these naturally included some of the most desirable and valuable of the land. It was eventually decided to impose a land tax, the incidence of which would tend at least to discourage speculation, while it supplied revenue for the public expenditure.

A uniform tax of one penny in the pound sterling, equivalent to one two-hundred-and-fortieth part of the capital value of all land in the country held in freehold by Europeans, was imposed, the value of improvements being in all cases deducted from such valuation. Each owner of land is, however, allowed an exemption of land to the value of two thousand five hundred dollars, on which no tax is payable, as well as of all mortgage money secured on the freehold. Thus all freehold lands held by any individual are liable to be taxed above the value of $2,500, so far as he is really interested in them; while all money lent on mortgage of land is subject to a tax of five per cent on the annual interest reserved by the terms of the mortgage. New Zealand is mainly a country of small holdings, and the result of this system has been that, out of about 90,000 holders of land in freehold, only about 13,000 actually pay the tax on land. In other words, the settlers of the colony who own land which, apart from improvements and mortgage debts, is worth more

than $2,500, are found to be only about one-seventh of the whole number.

To provide for the discouragement of land speculation on a large scale a further provision is made by the enactment of a further tax upon all lands held by individuals or corporations of a value exceeding $25,000 clear of incumbrance. This is called the graduated land tax, and provides for a farther taxation on all such lands, beginning at one-eighth in addition to the original tax, and rising by advances of an additional eighth for each sum of $25,000 at which the land is valued, until a maximum rate of three times the original tax is reached in the case of large estates. To provide for the risk of vexatious opposition to valuations on the part of owners, there is a farther provision that the government may at its option elect to purchase, at an advance of ten per cent over the valuation objected to, any unimproved land held in freehold. It is also a part of the system that the government may compulsorily purchase at a valuation any lands not in actual use in case any association of persons shall apply to have this done, undertaking satisfactorily to take the land upon its purchase under the conditions of perpetual lease, which of course includes subdivision into small areas, with residence and improvement.

By these means the people of New Zealand confidently expect to secure the subdivision of the lands of the country into small areas; to discourage to the utmost the holding of land by capitalists in expectation of greatly increased values at the expense of the less wealthy classes; to render practically impossible the establishment on any extensive scale of private landlordism in respect of agricultural lands; and gradually to substitute, as far as possible, the payment to the state of a yearly interest on value, for the purchase of the freehold in the land of the country.

So far as the experience of the last eight years, during which the system has been in force, may be taken as a reliable guide, the experiment shows many signs of success. It has certainly checked the tendency to speculate in lands with a view to a rise in price, which threatened to become a great, as it certainly was a growing, evil. It has been found that it will not pay to do this in the face of taxation, and particularly of the gradu-

ated tax; and owners of large areas of land have developed a strong inclination to subdivide and sell lands which they formerly were disposed to hoard and increase. The power given to the government to purchase lands where the owners have objected to the valuation for taxation purposes has not been widely exercised, but several very important and considerable compulsory purchases of estates have been made in cases where associations of persons wishing to take the land on perpetual lease have applied to the government for that purpose. The chief benefit of such examples, indeed, seems to have been in compelling owners either to use the land themselves or to offer it for sale to persons anxious to use it; but from the New-Zealand point of view this would appear to be almost if not quite equally desirable. Finally, the land tax has largely enabled the country to do without other taxes, which would necessarily have fallen more heavily upon the class of workers with small incomes, instead of being levied on the classes best able to bear them.

It yet remains to be seen whether evils may not lurk, as yet unnoticed, in the system, which may impair if not destroy its usefulness. One consequence which was predicted by its opponents, however, has not been found to follow upon the introduction of the system. It was said that capital would be withdrawn from the country, and that poverty and stagnation would result. No such result has followed up to this time. New Zealand, with its less than a million inhabitants, is to-day looked on as one of the soundest dependencies of the British empire; it continues to draw to it from the mother country as much capital as it can profitably use; its exports steadily increase; and its people, if not rich, are well-to-do and comfortable.

It may be said, indeed, that New Zealand has not accepted Henry George's doctrines as they were propounded by their author, and this is literally true. It is, however, also true that they have accepted the essential spirit of those doctrines, and, applying that spirit to the circumstances of their own country, are giving probably the most useful practical illustration of all that is best in them for the world's acceptance. No doctrine in economics yet propounded for the acceptance of humanity

has ever been found to be applicable in exactly the same form or to exactly the same extent under all circumstances, and this, it may be safely said, will prove emphatically true of the doctrine of the single tax. The single tax, like all other economic plans, is not an end, but only a means. The end must be the amelioration of the condition of the masses of the people, and the consequent prosperity and happiness of the great majority. In New Zealand the people and their leaders believe this to be secured by taxing wealth rather than comparative poverty; by giving every encouragement to those who will devote themselves to the cultivation of the land; and by throwing every obstacle in the path of those who would fain establish and promote the pernicious system of private landlordism, which everywhere tends to create and perpetuate class distinctions, with their long train of attendant evils.

In these respects New Zealand presents an object-lesson which can hardly fail to be of value to other countries, even if their conditions differ widely from her own. Her successes may be noted with advantage, her mistakes may be criticised with profit, in every free country and by all those who see that existing conditions are far from perfect in any part of the world, and that the safety as well as the advancement of society may depend largely upon the introduction of wise and, it may be, far-reaching reforms.

NATURAL SELECTION, SOCIAL SELECTION, AND HEREDITY.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN R. COMMONS,
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THE term "natural selection" is a misnomer, as Darwin himself perceived. It means merely survival. "Selection" proper involves intention, and belongs to human reason. Selection by man we call artificial. Natural selection is the outcome of certain physical facts: 1. Environment: the complex of forces, such as soil, climate, food, and competitors. 2. Heredity: the tendency in offspring to follow the type of the parent. 3. Variation: the tendency to diverge from that type. 4. Over-population: the tendency to multiply offspring beyond the food supply. 5. Struggle for life: the effort to exclude others or to consume others. 6. Consciousness of kind: the tendency to spare and coöperate with offspring and others of like type. 7. Survival of the fittest: the victory of those best fitted to their environment by heredity, variation, numbers, and consciousness of kind.

These biological facts underlie human society, but a new factor enters with novel results. This is self-consciousness. Society is based not merely on consciousness of kind, as worked out by Professor Giddings, but peculiarly on individual self-consciousness.

Self-consciousness is a product of evolution, at first biological as explained by natural selection, and second, sociological. The biological character is the prolongation of infancy, i. e. the prolonged plastic and unfolding state of the brain. This makes possible a new kind of development unknown to the animal, namely, education. Education is preëminently a social activity. I say education instead of environment. In natural selection there is a physical environment which presses upon individuals, and only those survive who are fitted to sustain this pressure. In social selection society enters between the individual and the physical environment, and, while slowly subordinating the

latter, transforms its pressure upon the individual, and he alone survives who is fitted to bear the social pressure. This pressure reaches the individual through the educational media of language and social institutions, especially the family, the state, and property. Institutions rest upon ideas and beliefs, and these are epitomized in language. Language in turn, by giving names to things and relations, and by thus transmitting to each individual the accumulated race experience, gradually brings him to the consciousness of himself. This is education.

But self-consciousness is at first only vague, capricious, and unprincipled. It grows by becoming definite, self-controlled, and conscientious; that is, more regardful both of its own higher self and of others. It thus develops into moral character, which we call personality. Personality is the final outcome of social selection. When once liberated it becomes a new selective principle to which all others are subordinated. What, then, are the social conditions which promote or retard the survival of personality?

It is a debated question where we shall place the dividing line between pre-social and social man. In view of what precedes we should look for that line at the point where self-consciousness begins to throw about itself a social covering. This covering is private property. The former view that primitive property was common property is now nearly abandoned. The supposed village communities of free proprietors were really villages of slaves and serfs. The semblance of common property in primitive times belongs to the pre-social or gregarious stage, and differs but little from the common use of a given area by a colony of beavers.

Private property involves two facts: 1. Perception of enduring value in external objects; 2. Exclusive control and enjoyment of those objects. Its psychological basis is therefore self-consciousness, which is the knowledge not of an abstracted and isolated self, but of self as related to external nature and human beings.

The first private property was animals and tools. Artificial selection begins with the domestication of animals. Soon it lays hold on man himself by means of social institutions, all of which originate as private property. The primitive social fam-

ily was not a state of promiscuity nor even the voluntary pairing of animals and birds, but it was private property in women, beginning as wife-capture and becoming wife-purchase and polygamy. Natural selection, too, is transcended when cannibalism ceases. The self-conscious victor enslaves his enemy and reduces him to property. Next, government arises as private despotism, and with it the land becomes the property of the chief. Thus the family, the state, protracted industry, and the control of social opportunities begin with that artificial selection denoted by private property.

Property in its early forms means the domination of the powerful over the weak. Social institutions develop out of this primitive tyranny, where the caprice of owners crushes the personality of the masses, towards a state of equal rights and opportunities for all. The industrial classes emerge from slavery and serfdom into a wage system, which in turn is modified in the direction of fair wages, short hours, and security of employment — fundamental conditions for personal development.

The family has arisen from the private property of a despot to the mutual coöperation of lovers, and the woman becomes a person instead of a chattel. The legal successor of polygamy — the slavery of women — is not monogamy, but prostitution, which is the wage system of the sexes, grounded on the subordinate position of women and their meagre opportunities for self-support.

Government is passing into democracy, and property in land and capital is being hedged about by the police and taxing powers, or diffused and socialized in the interest of the personal equality of all.

Social evolution is therefore the evolution of freedom and opportunity, on the one hand, and personality, on the other. Without freedom and security there can be no free will and moral character. Without exalted personality there can be no enduring freedom. The educational environment, therefore, which develops personality must itself develop with freedom. The ruling ideas of justice, integrity, morality, must move in advance, else the personality of individuals will not survive the temptations of freedom. To what extent, therefore, can education modify the individual? The answer is to be sought in the problems of heredity and degeneration.

The human degenerate is essentially different from the animal degenerate. The latter is solely a physical product, and by losing certain organs is better fitted for survival, as parasites and snakes.

Human degenerates, however, do not form a new type, but are on the decline to extinction. They are those who lack personality; that is, they are not moulded into harmony with a social environment which unfolds self-consciousness. They are strictly biological only when they are congenital and therefore not educable. They are social degenerates when they are the product of a degraded education. Both factors are radical. A born idiot can never be other than an idiot. On the other hand, the deprivation during childhood and youth of language and education, as shown by Caspar Hauser, or the wolf-boy of Agra, or the experiment of Emperor Akbar, leaves the normal natural endowments as idiotic as though they never existed. The two factors vary independently through all degrees. Education ranges from the slums to the pure firesides. The congenital equipment varies from the idiot to the genius.

The relative weight of these two factors is a matter of statistics. Absolutely speaking, heredity is everything; relatively, its social significance depends upon the actual proportion of abnormal to normal births.

The highest estimate I am able to make of the total number of degenerates, both born and induced, is five and one-half per cent of the population, as follows:

ESTIMATED TOTAL OF DEFECTIVES PER MILLION POPULATION.

Census estimate (1890).		
Insane	1,697	
Feeble-minded	1,526	
Deaf and Dumb	659	
Blind	805	
Prisoners	1,315	
Juvenile delinquents	237	
Almshouse paupers	1,166	
		7,405
Outdoor Criminals (five times the number of inmates)		7,760
Tramps (McCook, 1895, New Haven Conference of Charities and Correction, 85,768)		1,308
Drunkards (Crothers, 1893, Chicago Conference, 1,200,000, equal to about 10 per cent of voting population)		19,000

Prostitutes (weighted average of Levasseur's estimate for rural (600) and urban (11,200 to 17,200) France, in "La Population Française," vol. ii, p. 434)	5,000
Outdoor Paupers (weighted average of report at Nashville Conference, 1894, 46 per cent in Penna. to 2.2 per cent in N. Y.)	15,000
	55,473

This estimate would make the maximum number of all degenerates 5.54 per cent of the population. From these must be deducted those who are not congenital. We can estimate the congenitals by three methods: by statistics of *atavism*, or *consanguinity*, and by *experiment*.

In the statistics of atavism we add together the physical abnormalities of the individual, assuming that a criminal type is found when these abnormalties reach the number of three or more. The statistical method always suffers the limitation that it indicates not identity, but probability. Yet it has an important value, provided it discovers ratios of probability which concur. This is not the case in the method by atavism. Sixty to seventy per cent of criminals do not belong to the assumed criminal type; and sixteen per cent of normal males are classed as criminals, whereas the actual number is less than three per cent of the males of criminal age. (See Lombroso, "The Female Offender," pp. 104, 105.)

While atavism itself is unquestioned, this method seizes upon rigid physical characters to measure educable qualities. And where the latter are themselves abnormal the causes may lie with education and not heredity.

The method by consanguinity seeks not the abnormalities of the patient himself, but the signs of disease and degeneracy in his blood relatives. It therefore greatly increases the apparent weight of heredity, for it collects symptoms from several individuals instead of one. The medical authorities ascribe fifty to eighty per cent of inebriety to heredity. This method fails as does the other, for, as seen in the Jukes or the drunkard, the child gets both its heredity and its education from the same degraded parents, and the method provides no measure for separating the two.

In sociology the method of experiment has but limited employment. The modern sociologist cannot mate the parents nor vivisect the soul, after the methods of the biologist.

He can only move the child from one education to another, and his experiment is incidental to the larger purpose of saving the child. His results, too, can appear only as a ratio of probability; but this ratio measures the mental and moral qualities themselves directly and not by inference. Elmira Reformatory and others cure eighty per cent of their charges. Model placing-out institutions and free kindergartens save nearly all. And these are taken from the most vicious and criminal parentage in the land. Our five and one-half per cent of degenerates must therefore be greatly reduced in order to find the residuum of congenitals. I have made the following deductions:

ESTIMATED DEFECTIVES NOT CONGENITAL, PER MILLION POPULATION.

Criminals (80 per cent of total)	7,369
Prostitutes (80 per cent of total)	4,000
Outdoor Paupers (80 per cent of total)	16,000
Tramps (80 per cent of total)	1,046
Drunkards (50 per cent of total)	9,500
	37,915
Which deducted from	55,473
leaves congenital defectives	17,558

equal to 1.75 per cent of the population. Overlappings would diminish this ratio; greater infant mortality and the omitted youthful defectives would increase it.

If less than two per cent of the births are below the normal Aryan brain level, on the other hand possibly two per cent are above the average, and should be classed as the geniuses who could achieve eminence regardless of surroundings. The remaining ninety per cent or more are born with ordinary equipment; they are hereditarily neither good nor bad, criminal nor virtuous, brilliant nor stupid. With these masses of the people the first fifteen years of infancy and youth are decisive.

We may now classify the selective forces of society. Social selection is partly natural and partly artificial. It originates artificially in the self-consciousness of dominant individuals. Struggle and conflict ensue, out of which private property survives in its various forms as an intended control over others. This control is then transmitted as the various social institutions to succeeding generations and becomes for them natural

and unintended. These social institutions then constitute a coercive environment, not over wholly unwilling subjects, but over those whose wills are shaped by education and social pressure to coöperate with the very institutions that suppress them.

Gradually, as subordinate classes become self-conscious, innovations are made which aim to check the unbridled despotism of private property; new conflicts thereupon take place and certain innovations survive, which, at first artificial, become natural for the next generations.

As society becomes more definite, reflective, and humane, as it acquires fixed laws and government, it increases the range of artificial selection; it supplants custom by statute, and remodels its inherited institutions.

It is now animated by a new motive, the development of moral character in all the people. With reference to this new motive social selection is either direct or indirect. Direct selection is highly artificial, but it is only negative. It consists in segregating the degenerates to prevent propagation. Society cannot, of course, directly interfere with the marriage choice of normal persons, for that would be to choke the purest expression of personality. But it can isolate the two per cent who will never rise to moral responsibility. This would doubtless increase the wards of the state, but it is needed both for the reason already given and, more especially, to clarify the public mind on the causes of delinquency and dependency. As long as these evils can be charged to heredity the public is blinded to the share that springs from social injustice.

The increase and classification of the custodial population here contemplated is a problem for administrative charity. Possibly the colony system would make that population mutually self-supporting and also remove the current sentimentalism against long isolation of the incurables.

With the ground cleared of the true degenerates, the operations of indirect social selection can be seen. This also is artificial, but in a less mechanical way. It consists in so adjusting the political, industrial, and social environment as to affect personality, either to suppress or develop it. The two instruments are legal rights and education. For example, the tenement-house congestion, with its significant educational environment,

is the product of laws of property and taxation which favor owners and speculators instead of tenants, and of private property in rapid transit which puts a tax on exit to the suburbs. It cannot be said of this and other selective factors, such as the profit-making saloon, long hours of work, low pay, irregular employment, that they permit natural selection to operate. They suppress personality, which preëminently is the natural fact in the human being. Social selection is therefore tending to become less and less arbitrary, but is making room for a higher natural selection — a natural selection where not brute force and cunning are the fittest to survive, but where, with freedom, security, and equal opportunity, the human personality will work out its own survival. Man alone of all the animals can rise to the angels, but he alone can fall below the brutes. This is the glory and the penalty of personality. It becomes a unique selective agency whose standard is raised with the advance of civilization. The Australian cannibal, without opium, tobacco, alcohol, or syphilis, may survive with a low morality. The American exposed to these destroyers must be a better man or perish. Personality, thus becoming a keen selective principle, is based not necessarily on overpopulation and competition, but on that self-destruction which comes from vice, disease, and drunkenness. Its degraded offspring will perish or feed the ranks of the hereditary degenerates to be properly segregated and ended.

But with education and opportunity the higher forms of human character will naturally increase and survive. With the independence and education of women sexual selection becomes a refined and powerful agent of progress. With the right to work guaranteed, the tramp and indiscriminate charity have no excuse, and the honest workman becomes secure in the training and survival of his family.

We hear much of scientific charity. There is also a scientific justice. The aim of the former is to educate true character and self-reliance. The aim of the latter is to open the opportunities for the free expression of character. Education and justice are the methods of social selection. By their coöperation is shaped the moral environment where alone can survive that natural yet supernatural product, human personality.

PSYCHIC OR SUPERMUNDANE EXPERIENCES.

BY CORA L. V. RICHMOND.

FROM between ten and eleven years of age I have been endowed with gifts and favored with experiences that, I am well assured, are very exceptional, and that, until quite recently, have not been admitted to the realm of psychical investigation, philosophical discussion, or even human credence. Lately, however, there have been found a sufficient number of well authenticated facts in similar lines of experience to warrant the investigation and classification of them (if possible) under a modern name, "Psychic Research," and under a well established and not so recent one, Spiritualism.

I am not intending to discuss these subjects, *per se*, nor to endeavor to classify or explain the experiences I am about to relate. They are *experiences*, as real as any of those in my human or mundane existence; indeed, if I were called upon to decide that one is real and the other illusion, I should say without hesitation that these, and similar ones throughout my lifetime, are the real, and the ordinary mundane experiences unreal.

At the age above referred to I was, without any seeking, and without any surrounding circumstances to "suggest" such a state, taken possession of (entranced) by intelligences, distinct personalities in thought, word, and action, who spoke through my organism, unfolded and educated my mind, in fact became my mental and spiritual instructors. The public discourses and teachings given under these conditions are well known to many of the readers of THE ARENA, as these labors are the work of a lifetime.

It is not of this public work that I am constrained to write; but I may as well say here that I have had no other teachers, no other instructors, and have pursued no course of study or reading of human books; those whom I call my guides and guardians have been my teachers. During the time that these outside intelligences are controlling and speaking through my organism I am wholly unconscious of what is passing in human

life and wholly unaware of that which is being uttered through my lips. I am also unaware of the lapse of time.

It may be best for me to here declare that I am not, in the usual sense, peculiar, nor was I different in my childhood from other children, save as each differs from the other. I was very diffident, and — not using the word in the psychical sense — sensitive. I was not given to morbid states or to the "dreaming of dreams." Perhaps I was imaginative; most children are; and I loved fairy tales, but not unduly. This is simply to show that there was no abnormal condition of mind or body to produce the supernormal results that I have referred to.

I ought also to say that I never made the slightest preparation for the discourses and poems given through my lips, many of which, as the reader may know, were listened to by able and thoughtful minds, and from them received the highest praise. I tell this, not boastingly, but with humble gratitude that I have been made the instrument of giving the message of immortality to the world.

My own experiences during this period of entrancement, or while in the supernormal state, may be of peculiar interest to the reader, since they seem to be almost unique. While passing into this state I experience no physical sensations that are describable; a sense of being set free, of passing into a larger realm, — not of being transported or going anywhere, — is all that I can ever recall as sensation. Before I have time or opportunity to think how I feel, I am in the other state. Then I see, but I now know it is perception more than sight; I sometimes experience that which we call hearing in the human state, but I am fully aware; perception supersedes the senses.

Those whom I meet are individualities; many are friends known to me in the form before they passed from the mortal state; many are those who were unknown to me personally, only known by name and fame; and many I have never known until they revealed themselves to me in this "inner," "higher," other realm. When returning to outward consciousness, I often see, or remember as sight, such visions of surpassing loveliness that no language, no gift of art, even with genius-portraiture, could describe or picture them. These scenes and visions are associated with individuals who exist in that state, and, appar-

ently, are objective; yet I am fully aware that they illustrate or depict the states and tastes of the individuals with whom they are seen, and are not organic physical forms, but psychic projections of the individual spirits. These forms and scenes readily pass and change according to the state of the one seeing them, or according to the state of the individual with whom they are associated. The "sphere" of a spirit, or of spirits, is the state or condition, not the environment.

In early life, before my mind had thought on the "objective" and "subjective" meanings of thoughts and things, I thought these scenes were "objective" in the human, mundane sense. I am now perfectly aware that every sensuous faculty — seeing, hearing, etc. — is superseded by this "perception" to which I have before referred; in fact, that the bodily senses as well as the mental faculties — brain expression — are but the different avenues of perceiving and conveying the intelligence of the individual spirit while associated with material form, this perception, or awareness, being the one supreme state of the spirit.

Still I have been shown series after series of beautiful scenes, — gardens, landscapes, visions of art, transcendent pictures of tint, form, and tone that no language can portray; and I am sure these abide for all who wish for or have need of them, and are the illustrations of the spiritual states of those with whom one comes in spiritual contact — *rapport*. Yet the greater the degree of perception, the less important become these illustrations of states; we not only see "face to face," but perceive soul to soul. I became ashamed, almost, of the state of mind requiring these illustrations or any similar presentations. I found knowledge, however, in all the methods employed by my teachers, for they knew my needs.

Conversation in that state is not by means of speech or even language; sometimes before the thought is formulated the answer comes. Such is the rare sympathy existing between teacher and pupil in this state that the guide knows before the question is formed. Still, there must be the conscious desire for knowledge, or no knowledge can be received; reminding one of the "Seek, and ye shall find" of the ancient Truth-Teller.

When in that state I readily pass to a knowledge of what intimate friends in earth-life are doing and thinking. I even

enter into such *rapport* as to be aware of their material surroundings, their states of mind, and their bodily health, obtaining all this from their minds, not from physical consciousness or sensation. Many times they have been also conscious of my presence, and we have afterward verified these experiences by outward correspondence, mostly to satisfy our friends. One or two instances will suffice to illustrate this class of experiences.

When I was yet a child, twelve years of age, my father accompanied me on one of my pilgrimages of spiritual work to western New York, our former home. During that visit or tour a circle for investigation and experiment was formed in Dunkirk, N. Y. After we returned to our then home in Wisconsin, I was one evening entranced, — as was usual, — and while in that state was distinctly conscious of being in Dunkirk, of seeing every member of the circle, with all of whom I was acquainted except one lady. She proved to be the seer of the evening. She saw me and described me so accurately that everyone in the circle recognized me, and, of course, thought I was dead. This so disturbed her mental or psychic state that I could not impress upon her mind that my body was entranced and that this was but one of my usual spiritual pilgrimages. On returning to my mundane state I narrated what I had experienced, and asked my father to write at once to the circle in Dunkirk and relieve their minds. He did so, but, as naturally would occur, they had also written, the letters crossing each other on the way, and their letter confirmed what I had told in every particular.

Later in life I had a lady friend whom I repeatedly visited and comforted, for she was in great sorrow. One time I made her see my body, or its apparition, so plainly that she saw the dress in which it was clothed — precisely what I had wished, as it was the color she most liked to see me wear. Another friend in California became so susceptible to my presence that she wrote long letters from me — automatically — which I, in this state, dictated to her, thus rendering correspondence between us almost superfluous except for verification to our outward senses. My own mother was aware of my presence almost daily; and it was a curious fact that my telltale spirit would go to her and reveal the very things I wished to keep from her, — any little surprises or presents, or the time of my

arrival home on a visit. However late the hour, I always found her ready with a warm supper to receive me. When arriving after the journey home she would say: "You came to me last night in spirit and told me you were coming in body." All important things connected with my welfare she knew in a similar way.

Two friends, Mr. and Mrs. B———, were extensive travellers. At one time they were absent three years, taking a tour of the Orient. We did not keep up a regular correspondence, as mutually our time was too much taken up with our respective duties or pleasures, but I could always locate them while I was in this "inner" state. At one time I saw them surrounded by what seemed more like a scene in the spirit state than in earth-life. They were on an island, surrounded by water-lilies; the skies were full of golden light, and they were amid pavilions, grottos, and altars of quaint and unique design. I could not place them, but on returning to my mundane state I related to my family what I had seen, and I wrote down the date. In about three or four weeks I had a letter from them dated at Tokio, giving a description of this very island I had seen; they were there on that very day when I saw them, and the island was as I had seen it. It proved to be one of the sacred islands in Japan.

This consciousness of visiting earth friends is, however, only the smallest part of these inner experiences; and usually occurs when I am passing into or out of the deeper or more spiritual states. Although I could fill volumes with these interesting experiences, — verified by being shared with others in human life, — I feel it due to the reader that I narrate my more inner experiences; at least in sufficient degree that they may be recorded, and that there may be some perception, however inadequately expressed, of what is possible in this surpassing realm.

I cannot pass from this subject of my visits to human friends, however, without here recording one other phase of this many-threaded line of experiences. While in this realm of spirit I often meet and converse freely, or commune, with friends that are yet in human forms, but who appear as spirits and seem to possess all the activities of the spiritual state. They meet and mingle freely with those who have "died" to human life, yet I

am perfectly sure they recall nothing of this when in their human state. Why I should remember or take with me these experiences that the others whom I saw within this realm could not recall, I could not divine until it was explained by my guide.

The explanation is this: "In sleep mortals pass into this realm for spiritual rest and change, as it is the normal realm of the spirit; but they do not pass through the spiritual awakening of the faculties as those do who are endowed with 'spiritual gifts,' therefore the experiences cannot be recalled *as experiences;* still, they sometimes have vague reminiscences or glimpses of 'unremembered dreams' that aid them throughout the whole day, often for days; and thus the outward life is sustained and fed from this realm. By and by the race will have spiritual growth to know and remember the experiences of the spirit as they now do of the human life." I have frequently met those in that state who were strangers to me here, and who were still in human life; and in after years I have met them face to face in outward form, often wondering if they thought they had seen me before, as I was certain I had seen them. When the whole of this other side of human experience is made known, how many things now veiled will stand revealed! By far the greater number of volumes could be filled with those transcendent experiences referred to earlier in these pages, with friends in spirit states, with teachers and guides in their own realm.

My mother, always intuitive, sympathetic, religious, and caring much for the sick and ailing while in earth life, I was accustomed to see in a sphere or state of her own near the "Healing Sphere" of one of my teachers. She was surrounded with her own favorite flowers — old-fashioned hollyhocks, sweet-williams, and fragrant healing herbs. My guide explained that in *her thought*, or spiritual, state she requires these things to aid her in healing or ministering to those on earth. Whenever I visited her state it seemed to be in the midst of scenery such as she loved on earth, and under a morning-glory-covered lattice, where she sat in a low chair like one I had seen her use in earth life. Though not limited to that state, she always revealed herself thus to me; and I would return to my earth state with a sense of homesickness, and with the odor of thyme and rosemary clinging to my *psychic olfactories.*

My father was interested in all the reforms of the day; he was a truly practical Christian, though not a professing one. He was looking for that ideal social state which we all hope is sometime coming, of "peace on earth and love to all." His spirit state was revealed to me as among those arisen workers and reformers, whose work for humanity he loved and shared on earth, and learning of the wise ones, — a vast and wonderful sphere of individualities, who are still laboring for the good of humanity. I wished to know of my father, who passed out from the mortal form when I was thirteen years of age, and who was often my spirit teacher in my early life, why, after my mother had passed on, he was not always with her as in earth life. He replied, with a rare smile: "We are together; our work is different, but when we need each other we cannot be apart."

Singly or in groups, or as my needs seemed to require, I was aware of every relative and friend who had passed from mortal life, whom our mutual wish or need attracted toward me. I am sure there may be those related by ties of consanguinity whom I have not seen, and many related only by spiritual sympathy and kinship whom I have met and loved in that state.

My babe, now a beautiful young woman in the spirit state, is my almost constant companion in those visitations and experiences. I have "seen her grow," to use our mortal speech; have noted her spiritual unfoldment, and have many times been her pupil, — so wise are these "little ones" in the love of the angels, so sweet and simple is she in her teaching.

How few know the real meaning of "nearness" as applied to those they love! One thinks of the friend whose bodily presence is removed by mountains, rivers, and oceans as being far away; yet London, China, and India are as near in thought as the chair beside one, and doubly near the one whose body may be sojourning there. This very nearness of sympathy debars any separation. If people would turn to the real indications, — sympathy, intuition, — whenever desired the friend *is* near. Doubly true is this of those who have passed the barrier of death and are revealed to the heart of love. They have not died, they have not gone; they are so near as not to be seen or felt by the grosser sense that governs the physical state of recognition; so very near that even the thoughts of the friend still

immured in the earthly form are shared by them, the very innermost longings responded to. Yet people unaccustomed to seek them in the inner instead of outer realm of existence, cannot find them, and say, "They are gone." With space and time annihilated, what shall prevent the loved from being ever near?

Teachers and guides bear a nearer relationship than those in human states, and teach by the magic law of adaptation and love. I cannot name, in earthly language, the tie that binds me to those who have led me through these many realms, who have taught by vision, illustration, and thought, until the awakened *perception* knew, the *a priori* knowledge came.

I have often been conscious of visiting at desire a realm of music that led through the world of tone, through the spheres of matchless harmony in which the great masters of music abide,— Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Mozart, and to the divine realm of Wagner.

The realm of art, leading through color and form to the images of perfect life, until form and tint and tone are merged in the supreme soul of beauty, and sculptured image or architectural grandeur is lost in the eternal, all-forming, all-changing changelessness of the Soul of Art.

The realm of nature (the material universe), seen from the inverse side, appears to be the effect of causes that are in that realm of consciousness; laws that are the operation of the Supreme Will, the Logos. There science is reconstructed and made plain, and made secure by the knowledge of these fundamental principles.

The realm of philosophy, traced to its primal sources, reveals the truths concerning universal knowledge, often perceived by the great teachers, but dimly stated by minds enshrouded by the environments of earth.

The realm of religion, — the ineffable meaning of the All-Love and Wisdom; the nearness, the perfectness, the absoluteness of the Divine; the kinship of souls, the fraternity of spirits,— never in all this realm was there a thought, or teaching of thought, separate from a conscious individual entity.

I find that there is no Time or Space in this inner realm; the entity is not governed by the limitations of the person, so the terms and usages of earthly existence must fall into desuetude.

One is not hampered by an ox-team while flying across the plains in a palace coach impelled by steam, and one does not need winter garments and furs in the tropics. The state of spirit needs no earthly day and night; all these are but incident to the physical earth and physical existence. The spirit is free from these limitations — time, space, and sensuous environment.

It will be interesting for the reader to know that my physical health does not suffer from these experiences, nor from the active duties incident to my spiritual work in human life.

I enter this spirit realm as naturally and easily as one enters the realm of sleep; yet it is not sleep. The body and brain are actively employed by another intelligence, loaned as an instrument might be, while the individual consciousness, the *ego* of the human being, is set free to visit these illimitable realms or states of the "inner," the vaster, life.

When the mundane consciousness returns, it is instantaneous; but the mental and physical sensations vary according to whether the experiences have been "near or far" from the human state, with reference not to distance, but to resemblance or similarity in quality. When the experiences have been furthest removed from those usual in human consciousness, many minutes, and sometimes hours, are required to adjust myself to the conditions. This inner state is far more intense, but not unlike that experienced when one has been wholly wrapped and folded from the outer world in perusing a favorite author — living with and experiencing the scenes depicted; or when one has listened for hours to the all-absorbing strains of music in the grand operatic creations of Wagner. On returning to the mundane state my food has often tasted like chips or straw; the fabric of my dress would feel coarse to the touch, as though woven of cords or ropes; and every sound seemed harsh or far too loud. Gradually these supersensitive conditions would depart, leaving the usual state of mind and body.

I have said it is easy to pass into that state; not so easy is the returning to the human environment; yet one *must* return. Like the child bidden to the task, reluctant to leave the garden of flowers and the freedom of the outer world, yet, constrained by love and duty, one consents to return. I suspect that these sensations I experience, of return to the human state, are some-

thing like those of resuscitation after one has been nearly drowned. The drowning is easy, because one is going into life; the restoration is painful, because one returns, if not to death, to mere existence. The work, the duty, the loved who are embodied here must win one to the form which has been loaned; but the spirit seems reluctant sometimes to leave that freedom and knowledge for the narrow walls of clay, the prison-house of sense. The only true way is to bring that realm with one into daily life. One learns after a time to do this: to clothe the earthly scenes with the inner brightness, and the human tasks with the spiritual aura of love and wisdom.

I cannot judge whether the scenes of earth seem lovelier to me than to most mortals; whether there is more ravishing sweetness in the springtime, more glory in summer, more richness and beauty in the autumn, more rest and whiteness in the winter, more transcendent splendor in the sunset sky and glory in the starlit heavens. But it is certain that in being admitted to this inner realm the writer has not lost any blessing of earth, — of love, of home, of friends, of practical knowledge and interest in the daily duties and work of life; nor, I believe, can one be barred from any needed experience, however bitter. These teachings, visions, and experiences of soul-life have given to earth an exquisite beauty; to life's work a meaning and impetus; to trials a lesson and interpretation; to the change called death a glory and radiance; to spirit states a nearness, and to soul a reality. Nor do these experiences rob one of one's individuality; the petty *personality* to which mortals cling is, happily, forgotten or cast aside, but the *individuality* cannot be lost, merged in another, or governed, except for its good. When the *personal* is cast aside, one is grateful for the impersonality of the *individual.*

Trailing clouds of glory accompany me across and into the barriers of time and sense, and when the sharp contrast is over — which the guide ever prevents from being too sudden — I realize the great sweetness of the gardens of paradise by the fragrance that is filling the earthly dwelling, and I know that being aware of the visitations of angels, and of somewhat of the light which is theirs, does not hinder, but helps human endeavor and accomplishment.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

BY HENRY RANDALL WAITE, PH. D.

THE standard represented by popular institutions will seldom be higher, and as time goes on may become lower, than that set for themselves by the majority of the people who established and are intrusted with the duty of maintaining them. They may represent noble aims and point to high ideals, but the extent of their duration and salutary influence must always be dependent upon a sufficient manifestation of the spirit which called them into being.

Institutions and laws, however perfect in other respects, cannot, therefore, safely omit from their functions provisions for the fostering and developing of the spirit which gave them birth. This spirit, it is to be remembered, may, and too often does, without extinguishment, actually become a thing so much apart from the machinery which it has established, as to have little appreciable influence in controlling its operation.

The institutions and laws of the United States, in their inception, represented the spirit of a people who were actuated by the highest concepts of human duty, and who sought to establish a political system which should realize the highest ideals. The possibilities of the system have been demonstrated by the experience of more than a hundred years. Functionally considered this experience has made painfully evident the failures which have attended the system in its operation. It is evident to every intelligent student of American history that these failures have been chiefly due to the fact that the spirit which gave life to the American Republic has too often and too far been supplanted in the control of its affairs by a spirit utterly hostile to that which it was intended to be, and which, if the partial or complete failure of the system is to be averted, must, everywhere and always, be dominant. It is undoubtedly true that citizens whose character and ability fit them for the service necessary for the proper control of political affairs, constitute a sufficient number in the voting population to assure the ascend-

ency of right ideas if their efforts can be united for the purpose. The fact that intelligent and controlling convictions of duty are absent, and that they do not thus unite, however explained, clearly accounts for the subversion of the spirit which founded our institutions, and the ascendency of a spirit of chicanery, greed, and corruption.

It is also evident that the political evils which challenge our attention are primarily due, not to faults in our institutions themselves, but to failures in the assertion of the spirit of true Americanism by which they are intended to be controlled. How to secure ascendency for this spirit and thus to restore, in every part of the republic, the sovereignty of highest manhood, is the most pressing problem which can engage the attention of patriotic and intelligent American citizens.

For more than fifteen years this question has been a matter of profound interest to the writer. The fact that ordinary uprisings against political evils fail to accomplish permanent results, seemed to him to afford convincing evidence that attention must be given to the roots and not confined to the branches; and that this foundation work must represent patient, persistent, and unselfish efforts for the promotion everywhere of the basic virtues of true patriotism, intelligence, integrity, and fidelity in citizenship relations. Believing that this work could be best accomplished through a permanent national institution which should invite and command the coöperation of good citizens everywhere, regardless of party, creed, sex, or class, he sought the advice and coöperation of a few distinguished men in the preparation of plans for such an institution. The assistance sought was willingly extended by such citizens as Morrison R. Waite, William Strong, and S. F. Miller, then respectively Chief Justice and Justices of the United States Supreme Court; by Theodore Woolsey, Noah Porter, F. A. P. Barnard, Mark Hopkins, Julius H. Seeley, and Theodore W. Dwight, among educators; and by such other eminent Americans as U. S. Grant, William Fitzhugh Lee, Robert C. Winthrop, Hugh McCulloch, John J. Knox, Orlando B. Potter, A. H. Colquitt, George Bancroft, Hannibal Hamlin, John Jay, Right Reverend William I. Kip, David Swing, and Phillips Brooks.

The result of conferences and correspondence with these and other citizens of like character led to the founding, in 1885, of the American Institute of Civics, which was subsequently chartered under the laws of Congress, and was dedicated to the service of promoting the qualities in citizenship which Washington sought to promote by his latest labors and final bequests, and which he, in common with Jefferson, Hamilton, and Madison, believed to be necessary "to the security of a free constitution," and to the welfare of the government and people of the United States. Its distinctive purposes are succinctly set forth in its charter as follows:

1. To promote on the part of youths and adults generally, without reference to the inculcation of special theories or partisan views, a patient and conscientious study of the most essential facts relating to affairs of government and citizenship, to the end that every citizen may be qualified to act the part of an intelligent and upright juror in all affairs submitted to the decision of the ballot.

2. To promote, in the same spirit, such special attention to the study of Civics[1] in higher institutions of learning, and otherwise, as shall have a tendency to secure wise, impartial, and patriotic action on the part of those who shall occupy positions of trust and responsibility, as executive or legislative officers, and as leaders of public opinion.

Organized under such auspices and with such purposes it represents the only practical and sustained effort which has been made by the people of the United States for the realization of the aims above outlined; and with persistency of purpose and increasing usefulness it has for more than twelve years prosecuted its mission for the safeguarding of American institutions.

Political conditions past and present clearly justify the views of Washington and his contemporaries, and the opinions of the Institute's founders, as to the need of a central source of salutary influences in the form of a national institution wholly devoted to a propaganda of the principles and ideas comprehensively described in Washington's words as "the fundamental maxims of true liberty."

The sole object of this national, non-partisan, non-sectarian, popular, and permanent institution, is to voice these maxims, to inspire the spirit and give force to the principles which should

[1] Defined in the Standard Dictionary as follows: "The science that treats of citizenship and of the relations between citizens and the government: a new word directly derived from the adjective *civic*, introduced by Henry Randall Waite."

have supreme control in affairs of government, citizenship, and social order.

What the national military establishments at West Point and Annapolis are intended to accomplish in the way of preparing a few citizens for useful service in times of war, it is the purpose of this popular civil institution, with patriotic insistency and through all available efficiencies, to aid in accomplishing through provisions for properly preparing all citizens for the highest service of their country at all times.

In the accomplishment of its objects, it directs its endeavors not so much to the creation of new agencies as to the giving of inspiration and energy to those already existing; and in pursuing this wise policy it has been a most useful factor in establishing the solidarity and increasing the power of the influences which represent civic virtue and true patriotism.

Its efficiencies include, beside its National Board of Trustees, composed of thirty-three members, and its advisory faculty, composed of twelve members, the following departments:

1. Department for the extension of information and activities promotive of good citizenship, through which provisions are made for home studies, and for lectures, discussions, studies, etc., in connection with schools, lyceums, civic associations, labor organizations, and institute clubs; this work being carried on with the coöperation and under the supervision of councillors in the communities where they reside, and with the aid of a corps of lecturers now numbering more than two hundred.

2. Department of Educational Institutions conducted in coöperation with State and local officers of public instruction, teachers in elementary and high schools, and members of faculties in nearly two hundred and fifty higher institutions of learning.

3. Publication Department, through which the equivalent of nearly twenty million pages of octavo matter has been issued under its auspices.

4. Department of Legislation, in connection with which councillors and citizens generally have efficiently aided in securing needed reforms in the administration of public affairs, the protection and elevation of the suffrage, and the conservation of the highest interests of citizens and the state in other respects.

5. Department of Applied Ethics, in connection with which efforts are made to properly and efficiently enlist the great body of citizens, including youths as well as adults, who profess to be governed by the highest concepts of duty, in practical labors for the establishment of wise, just, and salutary civic and social conditions.

It is obvious that an institution of this character cannot depend for its maintenance upon citizens of merely negative virtue, nor can it expect the sympathy of scheming politicians to whose plans and power it is in direct opposition. Its dependence must be solely upon the willing services and financial support of those members of the body politic who are animated by the spirit of Washington, and who believe that in matters affecting the highest interests of our free institutions, such as civic virtue and civic fidelity, formation is better than re-formation, and that to constantly maintain salutary political conditions is infinitely preferable to frequent and disappointing struggles with corruptible elements, which through neglect of civic duty have been permitted to secure controlling power; in other words, that it is better to safely guard our inheritance of freedom than to battle for its rescue from unworthy hands.

The Institute admits to membership in its National Body of Councillors all citizens who are commended to its Board of Trustees, by those already members, or by other citizens of known high character, as worthy of such membership by reason of their ability to contribute in some degree to the accomplishment of its purposes. It does not solicit the membership of citizens whose political affiliations are such as to rank them among those who are contributing to the evils which it seeks to correct. Its councillors are asked to share in an undertaking which tests the character of their citizenship by offering no rewards for their coöperation. It has employed no paid officers and no paid agents for the solicitation of funds. The united activities of its members have enabled it, and it is believed will continue to enable it, to present in itself an eloquent object-lesson in patriotism and a potent appeal to the spirit in citizenship — the true Americanism — which it seeks to foster. Its contributing councillors are asked for annual remittances of sums of from $2.00 upward, in accordance with their financial ability

and the degree of their interest in its work. Those contributing $3.00 or more annually are entitled to receive all of its own publications, and also THE ARENA, whose aims are largely identical with its own, and through which its official announcements will hereafter be published.

It will be seen that the degree of responsibility resting upon its councillors financially and otherwise is a matter for their own determination, and one which will be decided in accordance with the disposition of each to recognize the truth, that the patriotic and unselfish labors of those who have gone before us, and of which we enjoy the priceless benefits, have laid upon us a sacred obligation which we can discharge only by the performance of similar labors.

The foregoing statements, however encouraging, are chiefly significant as indicative of what may be, rather than of what has been, accomplished. Gratifying as the results of the Institute's work have been, they represent but a tithe of what it might have accomplished with a larger degree of moral and pecuniary support. The extent of its field and the magnitude of the labors necessary in order to make it widely and effectively useful, when compared with the resources at its command, have constantly presented difficulties which would have discouraged its officers but for their abiding confidence in the ultimate willingness of the American people to give to it the measure of support warranted by the importance of the objects to which it is devoted. It has been not inaptly compared to a noble piece of enginery, whose highest possibilities in the way of efficiency and usefulness cannot be realized because the fuel furnished is insufficient for the supply of motive power. Its highest possibilities are, in truth, little more than dreams, the fulfilment of which may not be realized in the lives of those who are now giving it such unselfish service as they find possible in the midst of other pressing occupations.

The time must soon come when it will be necessary to make arrangements for the permanent establishment of its central efficiencies, with adequate provision for its maintenance, at some suitable point yet to be selected. The suggestion has been made by some of the most distinguished of its councillors, that the descendants of American patriots cannot more worthily

honor the memory of their sires, or more effectively promote the safety and perpetuity of the institutions for which they battled, than by making it their mission to maintain the American Institute of Civics. The fact that it was conceived, established, and has been conducted in the spirit of truest patriotism, and the results which it has already accomplished through services rendered wholly in the spirit of the words upon its corporate seal, "Ducit Amor Patriæ," would seem to prove its title to the confidence and support of all who are proud of the fact that their forbears have been among the founders and defenders of our American institutions. It may not be a vain hope that this thought will, in some manner and at some time, take definite shape, perhaps in the form of a national memorial building at the capital, devoted to the collection and preservation of material illustrative of the nation's history and progress, and to memorials of its illustrious dead. As has been said elsewhere,

> Such a building, dedicated by enfranchised manhood to the cause of human freedom, may include a Hall of History and Civics, for the collection of appropriate relics, manuscripts, and books of colonial, continental, revolutionary, and subsequent periods; an Army and Navy Hall, devoted to exhibits illustrative of military and naval affairs, including battle-flags, arms, accoutrements, and similar material; a Memorial Hall, where the memory of illustrious Americans, statesmen, soldiers, philanthropists, and other great leaders, may be honored, and their memory perpetuated in statuary, paintings, mural tablets, and other appropriate ways, and which shall be to the people of America what Westminster Abbey is to the people of England — a place where the great exemplars of virtue, wisdom, and patriotism, the noblest citizens of the passing years, though dead, shall yet speak and have salutary influence, through successive generations; and a Hall of Instruction, which shall be the centre of the nation-wide activities of this noble American institution, and also of a school of civics to which American youth may come from every part of the land to avail themselves of exceptional opportunities for studies and investigations which shall qualify them for highest usefulness in the public service and in all the walks of citizenship.

However this may be, the Institute, by its many years of patient, persistent, and, in view of the circumstances, remarkably successful activities, has established a claimupon the confidence and support of good citizens which must in due time receive suitable recognition. Further than this, these activities may be regarded as a necessary and fitting preparation for labors which shall be more fruitful in results, and in the hope of which those who have hitherto directed its affairs have found inspiration and encouragement.

It has been truly said that,

If any honor attaches to the citizenship in which intelligent, loyal, and unselfish devotion to the highest interests of country are made paramount, the names of those who have united in efforts for the establishment of this Institute of Patriotism constitute a roll of honor. Its ability to fully realize its objects is dependent upon the number and the efforts of those whose names are upon this roll.

Here is an opportunity for, and an appeal to, citizens of wealth. Money cannot be more worthily or wisely bestowed than in feeding the streams in whose life-giving power is the strength of the republic. Honorable names may find their noblest memorials by the gifts and endowments which shall forever connect them with this National School of Patriotism.

AN INDUSTRIAL FABLE.

BY HAMILTON S. WICKS.

THE King of a certain country, whose power was absolute and whose will was despotic, issued an edict that all the laborers of his dominion who were engaged in honorable toil should exchange places with those persons who did no work or were engaged in dishonorable or merely speculative avocations, so that the laboring man should fare sumptuously and the non-laborer poorly. Those who worked up in the sunlight on the tall buildings should sit down in the evening to bountiful banquets and should sleep in fine linen on luxurious couches; while those who crawled below in the bleak valleys between the beetling cliffs of architecture should go to frugal meals and sleep amid the rough surroundings of the abodes of the poor. The monarch reasoned that those who did the world's work were more deserving of the good things of the world than were the idle or the vicious, however wealthy. He imagined that the world was turned upside down socially and economically, and he proposed to turn it back again by his royal fiat.

Backed by his sword, "which is the badge of temporal power wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings," he apprehended no failure in his plans, which had been worked out in their minutest detail. His army was the largest of any nation, and was to a man devoted to its King. His genius had won many victories and extended the borders of glory. Through his impartial system of promotion men from the ranks had risen to be commanders. The soldiery were well fed, well housed, and well paid. A word, a nod, from their King would set in motion this mighty machine to crush out all opposition. Supplementing the military arm of his government the King had organized the most elaborate system of *espionage*, so that all secrets were open to him, and no whisperings in the street or the club but were conveyed distinctly to his royal ear by the microphone of his spy system. The press was gagged or inspired; the legislature was composed of fawning sycophants; his judiciary was

merely a reflection of the royal will; and Holy Church itself displayed its purple robe and golden bowl but to ornament his processions or to hallow his feasts.

Thus matters stood on the evening of the day this great social revolution was inaugurated. It fell out that a group of honest laborers were descending the elevator that carried the brick and mortar to the twentieth story of a certain downtown sky-scraper. While all of them knew of the edict of their King, none had taken it seriously or imagined for a moment that it would be carried into effect literally. On their arrival at the ground floor, a policeman stationed there stopped them and, motioning to an elegant equipage standing across the way, informed them that it was the King's command that they should enter it and be driven to one of the avenue clubs which had been assigned for their accommodation. Into it they were thrust, dinner-pails and all. They had scarcely time to recover their equanimity, as they were rapidly whirled through one thoroughfare after another, till the avenue in question was reached and they were deposited in front of a stately brown-stone mansion. Their coming had been expected, and the great doors swung open as they alighted, whilst a uniformed lackey motioned them to enter. Their astonishment was redoubled at the splendor of the interior furnishings. Each was assigned a room, where they were bathed and groomed and dressed in garments suitable for their surroundings. Dinner was served by the time they were ready, and into the glittering *salle à manger* they were duly ushered. A fashionable *table d'hôte* was a new sensation to every man of them, and they certainly astonished the *table d'hôte*. It (the *table d'hôte*) never realized before what it was to be fully appreciated. An evening of cigars, wine, and billiards followed; and then they stretched their tough and sinewy workmen's legs between the whitest of silken sheets, spread over the springiest of hair mattresses, on the brightest of brass bedsteads. There we leave them to such dreams as their surroundings invited, to turn our attention to four bachelor brokers on the stock exchange, whose apartments at the club our bachelor workingmen were inhabiting.

With as little thought of the reality of the great King's edict as the workingmen themselves, they were sauntering forth from

the exchange at the hour of 3 P. M., when they were pounced upon by a quarter score of stalwart policemen and landed inside a rough luggage conveyance. Baxter Street was a Garden of Eden compared to the slums to which they were driven, and they were finally sheltered in a dirty tenement that arose in a series of rickety stories to a dizzy height. Their fastidious taste would not permit them to indulge in sleep amid such commonplace surroundings, where the only furniture of their room consisted of two dirty beds and a filthy sink. So they sat up all night smoking the cigars they happened to have in their clothes when captured, and muttering deep curses against their eccentric ruler.

The following morning the awakening of the laborers resembled that of Christopher Sly in "The Taming of the Shrew." They were bewildered with astonishment at the appointments of their surroundings and the service of their attendants. A champagne headache was a natural accompaniment to the previous night's drinking and gorging; so that fashionable "coffee and rolls," though served in the most delicate of faïence, seemed but meagre fare upon which to commence the arduous labors of the day. At precisely 5:30 A. M. the same carriage they had occupied the previous evening, with its crested panels, its liveried coachman, and its spanking span of bays, was at the door to convey them back to work.

The same routine was substantially carried into effect each day, a natural consequence of which was that they became weary of their enforced luxury, and their hearts yearned for the humble living of their tenement, with its rough and hearty jollity, and its freedom from constraint and the supervision of lackeys, however well dressed or polite. In the case of the fastidious brokers kept under surveillance, tired nature at last, reluctant, yielded. There came a day, or rather a night, when even they were able to sleep — an uneasy, troubled sleep, it is true — amid the mean surroundings of the tenement.

The determined will of the monarch so ordered affairs that the conditions under his edict were kept in force for many days. He proposed to give a thorough test to his quixotic ideas. The portion of the workmen was hard manual labor by day in the upper regions of air and light, and by night the relaxation of

enervating luxury; and the portion of the brokers was deep dejection, deep curses, and haggard sleeplessness.

The culmination of this condition of unrest occurred at a great ball which another royal edict had blazoned forth to be given as a tribute to the laboring masses, and at which the non-producers would be compelled to assist, not indeed as menials, but as experienced advisers. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars at least would be expended on the pomp and glory of the occasion. The sage counsellors of state, men deeply versed in the lore of the past, were called together to devise costumes for the crude working people and to frame rules of etiquette for their behavior. The most elaborate descriptions appeared in the daily press of what was proposed. For weeks the vast preparations went steadily forward. Everything of luxury and ornament that the commerce of the empire sucked up from the farthest confines of the earth was made to minister to the great event.

At last the auspicious day arrived. One of the grandest palaces of the King himself was the scene of the festivity. The costumes worn represented many of the great names of history, from Julius Cæsar to Napoleon Bonaparte, and from Cleopatra to Marie Antoinette. The height of the great occasion was reached somewhat after midnight when the *quadrille d'honneur* was announced. The great King sat upon a raised dais, or throne, the better to view the gorgeous pageant. A mighty fanfare of trumpets, which seemed to whirl the feelings for a moment into the forces beyond mortality, invited to the initial movements of the quadrille. It was as though an army with banners was about to launch its squadrons upon the foe in some majestic Friedland or Gettysburg. As the sound died away, there was a pause. The great King looked up in amazement, and stamping that foot whose heel had rested upon the necks of mighty potentates, now his willing vassals, he arose with frown black as midnight.

Suffer me, O reader, to recall the elements of this unparalleled occasion: On the one hand, almost omnipotent power, backed by transcendent though wayward genius, a will that hitherto had never been balked, an unsullied prestige, a front of Jove to threaten and command, upon which great thought registered

every varying expression, one of the least of which would have endowed an ordinary prince with lasting renown. On the other hand, "fantastic compliment strutting up and down tricked in outlandish feather." A motion from the hand of majesty, now fully erect, sent another mighty wave of martial music flying on invisible wings, in thousand forms, throughout every corridor. As this second summons for the masterpiece to be set in motion died away in turn, two bands of men detached themselves from the distant throng massed in the farthest background, and came slowly forward with bowed heads and deferential tread. At the same instant a hundred brilliant officers of the household stepped out of the corridors behind the King with drawn swords, and other hundreds crowded behind them prepared to do their master's instant service.

The Great Strategist comprehended the situation with a single sweeping glance of his eagle eye, and drawing himself up full height motioned his servitors with his left hand back into their concealment, while with his extended right hand he encouraged with benignant gesture the approach of the representatives of the people, who had shrunk back in dismay when the King's guard sprang forth so abruptly. It was now seen that the approaching bands were composed in equal parts of the gaudily caparisoned workmen and their plainly dressed advisers. Each party bore in its midst an enormous roll, whose weight impeded anything like rapid progress. On arriving at the front of the throne, they deposited their burdens and then prostrated themselves before the King. When bidden to arise and state their purpose, a stalwart son of toil stepped forward in front of his comrades. He was attired in a $10,000 costume, representing Henry of Navarre. This costume sat upon his rugged limbs as though they had been melted into it. The King gazed complacently upon his manufactured nobleman and bade him proceed.

"August and Sovereign King!" thus began the blacksmith, for such he was when not intoxicated or attending a costume ball — "August and Sovereign King, I have been pushed forward by my fellows who have joined in this petition, with a vast multitude of their co-workers, similarly gorged with hateful luxury. They ask me to state plainly to your Majesty that they now know from actual experience how hollow and worth-

less are all the glories of the merely rich, whose time is devoted to vain shows and in devising new delicacies for the palate. They beseech your Majesty that you, in accordance with your gracious pleasure, should restore them to their simple and humble paths of life, wherein they will dwell in reasonable contentment hereafter."

The workman ceased, and the spokesman for wealth and idleness stepped forward and pleaded his case very eloquently. He showed, in the petition which many thousands of his class had signed, that through their recent experience they all had been made to feel the weight of life as it rests upon those under them. He averred that he and his fellows were heartily sick of their lives thus ordered, and that they petitioned the King to send them beyond his confines, or place them in his army, or, better still, allow them to seek honorable employment in vocations more in accord with their taste and inclination.

The King, esteeming that he had sufficiently disciplined the wealthy and had measurably cast out the "daimon of unrest" from the mind of labor, while at the same time he had given a notable illustration to all his people of the folly of outrunning too far the sentiments of your age, and the arrant rot of placing edicts upon the statute books that at once become a dead letter unless backed by despotic force, and feeling the security of his position, stood before his petitioners, lightly leaning on his left foot, with his right hand in the breast of his coat, and thus addressed them:

"My people, the results flowing from my edict are not otherwise than I fully believed would result; I am satisfied at the real good that has been accomplished. Many there are who would like to see human nature changed by an equally absurd upheaval of the social fabric, which would instantly place the limbs of labor between cambric sheets and line their stomachs with sweetmeats. The truly wise base their expectations for the race upon no such sudden revolution, but rather see salvation for their fellows in a gradual and natural betterment of conditions, a growth upwards that can be maintained through all the spasms of reform, a lifting of the whole fabric of society by the great forces of education, faith, and persistency, which are and have ever been the architects of the race."

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

REPLY TO "LOCKSLEY HALL SIXTY YEARS AFTER."

BY BARTON LOMAX PITTMAN.

Nay, my grandsire, though you leave me latest lord of Locksley Hall,
Speak of Amy's heavenly graces and the frailty of her fall,
Point me to the shield of Locksley, hanging in this mansion lone,
I must turn from such sad splendor ere my heart be changed to stone.

While you prate of pride ancestral and the dead dreams of your youth,
I, despite my birth and lineage, am a battler for the truth.
To the work-worn, half-starved peasants of this realm my heart goes out —
Those who, plundered and forgotten, find this life a ruthless rout.

In the rustling robes of Amy bloomed the roses that had fled
From the cheeks of pauper maidens forced into the brothel-bed;
In her saintly smiles and glances flashed the sunlight that was shut
By the iron-hand injustice from the cotter's humble hut.

Nay, 'tis wrong that we should range with science glorying in the time,
While we force our brother mortals into squalor, need, and crime;
Wicked we should pose as Christians singing songs to God on high,
Heedless of his tortured creatures who in pauper prisons lie.

Christless is the crime of turning creed-stopped ears to teardrops shed
By the women whom oppression robs of virtue for their bread.
Satan's blush would mantle crimson could he see the stunted child
Slaving in our marts and markets, helpless, hopeless, and reviled —

See its pallid face uplifted from the whirling factory wheels,
Tear-stained with the grief and anguish of a baby brain that reels,
Tortured in life's budding springtime, toiling on with stifled cries,
Seeing, through its tears refracted, rippling cascades, azure skies;

Skies and birds and flowery meadows made for children wealthy-born,
While God's outcasts, with their parents, robbed and drudging, live forlorn,
Men in whom the fires of hope have sunk into a sordid spark,
Mothers rearing helpless infants for the brothel's dawnless dark.

While this world seems far too crowded to provide us work for all,
Acres spread their untilled bosoms, while the nations rise and fall.
Nature's storehouse, made for all men, is monopolized by some,
Robbing labor of its produce, making almshouse, jail, and slum.

Side by side with art and progress creeps the haggard spectre, Want —
Creeps the frightful phantom, Hunger, with its bloodless body gaunt.
Wider, wider spreads the chasm 'twixt the wealthy and the poor,
Social discontent declaring that such wrongs cannot endure.

And this yawning of the chasm is the curse of every race,
As it saps and kills its manhood ere it reach the zenith-place;
Spartan valor, Grecian learning, Roman honor had their day,
But land plunder rose among them, dooming death by slow decay.

Shall we wait for evolution, let it right these monstrous wrongs,
While the helpless, young, and tender writhe and groan 'neath social thongs?
Nay, 'tis better all should perish in a battle for the right,
Than let philosophic cowards keep us in this stygian night.

Locksley Hall has now a master who would claim the earth for all,
Who would make the titled idler cease to rob his tenant-thrall;
Wreck the Church and State if need be (better such in time will rise),
But who from this glorious purpose nevermore will turn his eyes —

Never, till the arms of nature clasp in joy her outcast child,
Long since driven from the meadow and the dell and woodland wild,
Till to each belongs the produce of his hand and heart and brain,
And glad heralds of millennium thrill along our path of pain.

Though the world has piled its fagots round the great and good and brave;
Thrust its Socrates the hemlock, scourged its Jesus to the grave;

Though its sneer has chilled the tender, and its frown has cursed
the good,
While its Nero sways the sceptre and its Emmett dies in blood;

Yet in Truth there is a power that through ceaseless cycles slow
Will inscribe the doom of Error in an ever-fadeless glow,
That will trample on oppression, burst the chains and crush the
throne,
Rearing on the blood and ruin justice-reign from zone to zone.

Idealistic dreamer, say you? In your youth you once felt so?
Well, I only pray life's sunset, bowing down my head with snow,
Shall not swerve me from my purpose, though the victor-laurels
twine
In my reach, and if forsaking my convictions they are mine.

Do not so condemn the realists, rhymesters, authors, and their way,
Just because they point about us to the errors of to-day;
Spare them, though they gaze not upward from our self-wrought
piteous plight,
For, though blinded and desparing, they are struggling toward the
light.

Let the realist dip his falcon in the boiling blood of life,
Tracing in heartrending horror all the hoary wrongs and strife,
Till the world shall sick and sadden of its folly and its sin,
Hearkening through the roar of traffic to the still small voice
within —

Voice which murmurs Christ's own message as we circle round the
sun:
That, though greed and creed divide us, still humanity is one —
One in all its godlike longing, one in all its hopes and fears,
With its calvaries, scaffolds, hemlocks, and its seas of unshed tears.

Then this star of sorrow swinging through the vast immortal void
Shall, regenerated, slumber while man's heart is overjoyed,
Thrilled with yearnings altruistic, triumphing o'er clods of clay,
As we march into the love-light of the grand Millennial day.

JOHN BROWN.

BY COATES KINNEY.

The Great Republic bred her free-born sons
To smother conscience in the coward's hush,
And had to have a freedom-champion's
Blood sprinkled in her face to make her blush.

One Will became a passion to avenge
Her shame — a fury consecrate and weird,
As if the old religion of Stonehenge
Amid our weakling worships reappeared.

It was a drawn sword of Jehovah's wrath,
Two-edged and flaming, waved back to a host
Of mighty shadows gathering on its path,
Soon to emerge as soldiers, when the ghost

Of John Brown should the lines of battle form.
When John Brown crossed the Nation's Rubicon,
Him Freedom followed in the battle-storm,
And John Brown's soul in song went marching on.

Though John Brown's body lay beneath the sod,
His soul released the winds and loosed the flood:
The Nation wrought his will as hest of God,
And her bloodguiltiness atoned with blood.

The world may censure and the world regret:
The present wrath becomes the future ruth;
For stern old History does not forget
The man who flings his life away for truth.

In the far time to come, when it shall irk
The schoolboy to recite our Presidents'
Dull line of memorabilia, John Brown's work
Shall thrill him through from all the elements.

DEMOS.

BY W. H. VENABLE, LL. D.

America, my own!
  Thy spacious grandeurs rise
Faming the proudest zone
  Pavilioned by the skies;
Day's flying glory breaks
  Thy vales and mountains o'er,
And gilds thy streams and lakes
  From ocean shore to shore.

Praised be thy wood and wold,
  Thy corn and wine and flocks,
The yellow blood of gold
  Drained from thy cañon rocks;
Thy trains that shake the land,
  Thy ships that plough the main!
Triumphant cities grand
  Roaring with noise of gain!

Yet not the things of sense,
  By nature wrought, or art,
Prove soul's preëminence,
  Or swell the patriot heart;
Our country we revere
  For that from sea to sea
Her vast-domed atmosphere
  Is life-breath of the free.

Brown Labor, gazing up,
  Takes hope, and Hunger stands
Holding her empty cup
  In pale, expectant hands.
Brave young Ambition waits
  Thy just law's clarion call,
That power unbar the gates
  Of privilege to all.

Trade's fickle signets coined
From Mammon's molten dust,
With reverence conjoined,
Proclaim "In God we trust."
Nor doth the legend lie:
The People, patient, bide,
Trusting the Lord on high,
To thunder on their side.

Earth's races look to thee;
The peoples of the world
Thy risen splendors see,
And thy wide flag unfurled;
Kelt, Slav, and Hun behold
That banner from afar,
They bless each streaming fold,
And cheer its every star.

For liberty is sweet
To every folk and age, —
Armenia, Cuba, Crete, —
Despite war's heathen rage,
Or scheming diplomat
Whose words of peace enslave.
Columbia! Democrat
Of Nations! speak and save!

As mightful Moses led
To Canaan's promised land;
As Christ victorious bled,
Obeying Love's command;
So thou, Right's champion,
God's chosen leader strong,
Gird up thy loins! march on!
Defend mankind from Wrong.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

Leaf From My Samoan Notebook.
(A. D. 2297.)

IN that age (*siècle* XIX, *ad finem*) great attention was given on the continent of Am-ri-ka to increased speed in locomotion. Men and women went darting about like the big yellow gnats that we see at sundown on the western coast of our island when the bay is hazy. The whole history of that century in both Am-ri-ka and Yoo-rup might well be written around the fact of *transit*, for transit was the spinal cord of the whole social, civil, and political order. Man-life then seemed to oscillate more rapidly than ever before, as if in sympathy with the vibration of the universal ether.

The struggle for the increase of speed began in the early part of the century referred to — about 1822. Scarcely had the wars of Na-Bu-Leon subsided when the matter of getting over the earth's surface at a greater velocity was taken up as eagerly as if life consisted in going quickly to a certain point. Men, it would appear, had not yet learned that the principal aim of this existence is the *going*, and not the *getting there*. Then it was that the steam En-jo-in was invented. The Bah-lune had been frequently tried, but always with ludicrous or fatal results. A young man by the name of Dee Green once essayed this method in Am-ri-ka, with a most ridiculous catastrophe. A poem was written about the affair beginning thus —

An aspiring genius was Dee Green.

For more than half a century locomotion by steam prevailed in Am-ri-ka, though it did not satisfy the demand for swiftness. When this method no longer sufficed, several expedients were found to *avoid* going anywhere. It was observed that the necessity of going depended upon the limitation of the human voice; that is, of hearing vocal utterances. The voices of human beings could not then be heard beyond a certain limit. To hear the voice of a man from Am-ri-ka to Ing-land was then thought to be impossible. The possessors of voices, therefore,

had in that age *to get together* before they could communicate. True, there were some men upon whom this necessity did not rest, for they could be heard at a great distance. It might be noted, however, that this kind, called *Homo politicus*, had so little sense that nobody cared to hear them, so that their success in vociferation amounted to nothing.

All the people of Am-ri-ka who were civilized spoke in a low tone, and any who cared to communicate must seek each other's presence. This had been the reason for the old invention of E-pistol-ary correspondence. This method, however, was not satisfactory, since it required much time to say only a little, and since what was said in this manner was found so wide of the mark as to produce disastrous results. Society was, on this account, frequently rent with lawsuits, having no better foundation than a bundle of Let-yers.

To avoid this trouble another invention, called the Far-talker (or Tel-ef-oan), was made; and by means of this conceit the people of Am-ri-ka could speak to one another many miles apart. The Far-talker was a remarkable sort of invention by which one merchant, by stretching a copper thread across the country to the ear of another merchant, could talk to him *through the wire*. The other merchant could reverse and talk back! Sometimes a young woman would tiptoe up to the box where the wire ended and say the most absurd things to her favorite fop down-town; this was often overheard. People had not yet learned the method of understanding each other's thoughts without the ridiculous contrivance of speech, written scratches, wires, and Fo-ny-grafs.

It was at this time that men, in their effort to carry themselves from place to place, seem to have taken the first hints from nature. It was remembered that *between* swimming and flying, and *between* flying and walking, certain forms of locomotion, quite rapid withal, are used by our poor relatives on land and sea. Thus the flying-fish rises from the water and shoots, quite parabolically, for some distance through the air. The genus Cheiroptera also gives a hint of progress by means of wings that are not made of feathers. The flying lemur, nearly akin to *Homo bifurcans*, shows how one may rise and go by a sort of aërial progress along the ground.

Out of these hints the men of Am-ri-ka, at the epoch of which we speak, sought inventions by means of which they might keep close to the ground for safety, but otherwise fly; for the age was very fast! Under these conditions some Unknown Man invented what was called the By-sigh-kel. It was a sort of flat-sided, rotary ground-skimmer, very thin and notorious. It came coincidently with another invention called the Trol-lee. The latter was an electrical wagon for general travel in cities and suburbs, while the By-sigh-kel was a personal carriage for one or possibly two. The passenger in this case had to start his machine and then jump on. The propulsion was effected by a pump-like action of the legs, very tiresome and elegant. The passenger generally leaned forward in a position strongly suggestive of the favorite attitude of his arboreal ancestors. It was the peculiarity of the Trol-lee that it made a sort of humming roar as it went that sounded like a hundred prisoners groaning in unison; but the By-sigh-kel made no noise in going except in collisions and wrecks. The latter were so frequent that a whole cycle of restorative arts had to be undertaken of which the principal was dentistry. At the close of the century there were few front teeth remaining — except artificials.

Many accounts of the Age of the By-sigh-kel and Trol-lee have been preserved among the old records of Am-ri-ka, and traditions of it are found in the antiquarian papers of other countries. We have seen pictorial representations made by Fo-to-graf-ure of scenes from the age referred to. The streets of extinct cities are found pictured in this way. There was an instrument called the Cow-dack which was used in taking pictures in an instantaneous manner, so that the scene would look like life.

A busy street, thus pictured, in that time, shows many Trol-lees rushing by, filled with merry people. Along the side-ways scores of passengers are seen, mounted on their 'Sigh-kels, going in divers directions at full speed. The passengers present many aspects; for riding the 'Sigh-kel was an art which had to be acquired; and by some this could not be done — at least not gracefully done. Many tried, but few were chosen. Two classes of people suffered much in this particular, namely, the very fat and the very bony. Those whom nature had favored in form

and feature, and who had acquired the art of sitting upright, look well enough in these old pictures of a past age. But the clumsy and obese, the slender and angular people may well be laughed at even through the shadowy retrospect of four centuries.

One of the 'Sigh-kel machines was made *double;* and an old cartoon which is now before me gives to this kind the name of Tan-doom. On this men and women frequently rode together, the woman going before, for that was the age in which the woman, becoming new, showed her newness by being forward.

Nor may we leave these reminiscences of a bygone age without reflecting upon the absurdities of our ancestors, who had not yet imagined the ease and excellence of our own method of locomotion by skimming at will the surface of the earth. The facile beauty and natural art with which we now rise from the ground and propel ourselves by our own thought and wish to any distance — thus vindicating our superiority to all other creatures in our method of excursion — are facts so obvious and ever-present that we fail to reflect upon the impediments and hardships of the people of Am-ri-ka and indeed of the whole world in the nineteenth century. . . .

Thinking on these things I can but imagine that I have myself seen them in some previous epoch of my existence. The facts which I have recorded appear dimly, as if in memory of what I once beheld; but the vision of it is so obscure that I still doubt whether it be dream or reality. I have long imagined that we retain from one epoch of our existence to the next a vague recollection of our experiences in the remote ages of the past. I sometimes think that it is not impossible that I myself, in some forgotten avatar, used to sit alone at the window of my office, looking into the street of one of the old towns of Am-ri-ka where the Trol-lees were going one way and the By-sigh-kels the other way, crossing and darting hither and yon, according to the wills of the riders; but the vision is so dim that it looks like the fictions of sleep.

Vita Longa.

The question is not how long this bodily life may last, or how long the mind, so conditioned, can endure. It is not even

how long the mind may continue to produce; for the mind, like a poor, half-exhausted field, urged with rain and fertilizers, may produce only potatoes, mullen, and cockle. The real question — the deep-down essence of it — is how long the mind, or soul, may retain the enthusiasm and passionate power of *creation*. That is the only true test of longevity; and when that ceases there is nothing left. The real duration of man-life is measured only by the persistency of creative power.

Longfellow, standing in the old pulpit, on the fiftieth anniversary of his class at Bowdoin, and saying to those who would introduce him, "I wish the desk were large enough to conceal me all," makes a beautiful section of this theme by citing some of the most inspiring instances of the long life of the soul:

> Cato learned Greek at eighty; Sophocles
> Wrote his grand Œdipus, and Simonides
> Bore off the prize of verse from his compeers,
> When each had numbered more than fourscore years;
> And Theophrastus at fourscore and ten
> Had but begun his "Characters of Men;"
> Chaucer at Woodstock with his nightingales
> At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales;
> Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last,
> Completed Faust when eighty years were past:
> These are indeed exceptions; but they show
> How far the Gulf Stream of our youth may flow
> Into the arctic regions of our lives,
> Where little else than life itself survives.

Measured by this test of creative power and its persistency, how variable is the duration of human life! Sometimes the creative power appears in early youth; but when that happens there is generally an early surcease. Sometimes the power comes late and remains long. Sometimes it flashes forth in the early morning and remains in the after twilight. Estimated by years this productive power (which goes by the name of genius) sometimes reaches only to a few score moons. Sometimes it reaches to a score of years. Sometimes, though rarely, it extends to three-score years or more.

Thomas Chatterton went to a suicide's grave in Potter's Field when he was only seventeen years, nine months, and four days of age. I know of no other case of so great precocity; it is beyond belief. His mind had been productive for about three years. Byron's productive period covered sixteen

years — no more. Pope began at twelve and ended at fifty-six.

In our own age, Tennyson has done well. Making an early effort to begin, he, like Dryden, did not really reach the creative epoch until he was fully thirty. His creative period covers about fifty-nine years. It extends from "A Dream of Fair Women," in 1833, to "Crossing the Bar," in 1892.

The best example, however, in the history of the human mind, is that of William Cullen Bryant; that is, Bryant has real creations that lie further apart in time than can be paralleled, so far as I know, in the case of any other of the sons of men. The date of "Thanatopsis" is not precisely known. It belongs, however, to the years 1812–13. Bryant was then eighteen — in his nineteenth year. Add to 1812 sixty-four years and we have 1876, the date of the publication of the "Flood of Years." The two poems in question lie apart in production by the space of fully three-score and four years. It is a marvel! And why not?

> To him who in the love of nature holds
> Communion with her visible forms,

why should not life, productive life, enthusiastic fruitful life, be extended until its last acts of creation, shot through with the sunshine of experience and wisdom, shall flash in great bars of haze and glory over the landscape of the twilight days?

Kaboto.

Old John à Venice in his cockleshell
  Breasted the salt sea like an Englishman!
  He saw the bleak coast of the Tartar Khan
To left-hand in the distance. "All is well!"
He cried to Labrador. The roaring swell
  Bore him to shore, whereon his hands upran
  The Lion flag and flag republican
Of the old Doges' wave-girt citadel.

Dominion and Democracy are ours!
  From the first day unto the last we hold
    To Liberty and Empire! We shall be,
Under the Star-flag, for eternal hours,
  Even as Cabot's *two* flags first foretold,
    Both free and strong from mountain crag to sea!

A STROKE FOR THE PEOPLE.

HERE is a message for all: FROM AND AFTER THE ISSUANCE OF THE NUMBER FOR JULY THE REGULAR SUBSCRIPTION PRICE OF THE ARENA, THE MAGAZINE OF THE PEOPLE, WILL BE REDUCED TO $2.50 A YEAR. The reasons for this reduction are not far to seek. The stringency of the times, the hardships of the people, — their lack of money, the decline in the prices of their products, the relentless grip of the mortgages on their homes, — and the absence of any symptom of present relief from a Government under the domination and dictation of the money power, have induced the managers of THE ARENA to bear their part of the common burden and distress, and to express in a practical way their sympathies with the masses by reducing the price of the magazine to the lowest possible figure consistent with its maintenance at the present standard of efficiency and excellence.

One of the immediate causes and suggestions of this course will be found in the following private letter written to THE ARENA by a plain Kansas farmer. We have obtained his permission to use his letter as an appeal to the public:

"SYLVAN GROVE, KANSAS, May 22, 1897.

"*To* THE ARENA.

"GENTLEMEN: I enclose my subscription for THE ARENA for the current year. The only reason for my tardiness in doing this is pinching, grinding poverty. If we farmers do not assist the OLD ARENA, so loyal to our interests, we shall deserve the fate many of us have already accepted; that is, the doom of serfdom under the club of plutocracy.

"We, at *our* home, are straining every nerve and denying ourselves of almost the comforts of life for the purpose of meeting our mortgage that falls due on the first of July. Our farmers here in the West are divided into four classes:

"*First.* Those who have failed to meet even the interest on loans, who have been closed out, and are now renters, often, of the very farms which they once fondly hoped to make their own.

"*Second.* Those who are still paying interest or keeping the companies at bay in the courts until one more crop may ripen, but without any well-founded hope of saving their homes.

"*Third.* Those who are skimping, pinching, almost starving to

pay their mortgages. I belong to this class. I still struggle with the incubus.

"*Fourth.* A very few who wisely have never encumbered their homes. I have given the classes in the order of their numerical importance.

"I live in the beautiful little West Twin Creek valley about seven miles in length. There are but two pieces of unencumbered property in the valley; one belonging to a poor widow, and the other to a bank president. Thirty-five per cent of the farms have already passed into the hands of mortgagees; many of the remainder have changed hands, shifted under renewals and various expedients to avoid the ruination of closing out. This is more than an average well-to-do community, selected from this or any other central county of Kansas. We are realizing to the full that 'Beneficent Effect of Falling Prices' which was so ably set forth (from his standpoint) by Dean Gordon in THE ARENA for March. If all people were out of debt, falling prices might not work so great injustice. But when a vast majority of the people are in debt, and heavily in debt, and when a man talks of the blessings that fall from falling prices, the conviction is forced upon us that the killer of fools in his annual round has missed one conspicuous example. The trouble is, our dollar of debt, instead of decreasing, has more than doubled in its power as compared with labor and the products of labor. Meanwhile our Solons talk glibly of 'vested rights,' 'corporate rights,' etc., strenuously objecting to squeezing the water out of their stocks, while they have by legislation for the last thirty-five years remorselessly squeezed the *value* out of our property.

"When our debts were contracted the values of everything were double what they now are. I could then have sold my farm for three thousand dollars; now, although it has been much improved, it would go a-begging at one thousand dollars. Perhaps there is not as much distress in our country as there was three or four years ago. People have adjusted themselves somewhat to their straitened circumstances, and a few are becoming actually reconciled to their condition! I heard one man who had recently failed in business as a grain-dealer say, 'Well, Cleveland is right on this money question; we want a money good in Yurrup or any other part of the world.' As I looked at the battered hat of this personage, at the split toes of his shoes, the ragged elbows of his coat, and the rents in his demoralized nether garments, I could but ejaculate, 'May the Lord have mercy on your ignorant soul! what does it matter to *you* what kind of money they use in Europe?'

"We are now taking the advice of Governor Morrill, who says: 'If you cannot get seventy-five cents a day, work for fifty cents.' Our Republican speakers advise us to dress plainly, live the same, and work still harder. We are told to 'stop running around to Alliances and picnics.' We have taken this advice. *We had to take it!* But we have now reached the bottom. We can curtail our dress no further without making our garb identical with our complexion. We cannot further reduce our rations and live. We cannot extend

the hours of labor, for most of us have already adopted the blessed eight-hour system; that is, we work eight hours *before* dinner and eight hours *after* dinner.

"However, Kansas is coming to the front again. Since the mortgage companies are willing to do business once more our Governor is no longer 'ashamed of the State.' Occasionally a Republican politician squirms and kicks as the pressure is turned on. The eloquent and volcanic Ingalls breaks out at intervals. In these eruptions he pours lava upon his party in fine style. But he does not break out often enough!

"The most serious bar to the progress of reform is that the people are too poor to pay for reform papers and magazines; out of these they might get the truth. The publishers of such are unable to send their periodicals for less than cost. Not so the party in power. Thousands of people get complimentary copies of the gold-bug papers, and other thousands get them for a nominal sum. Somebody pays for them. Who?

"I have been pleased with THE ARENA, both old and new. I first subscribed to it in order to get 'The Bond and the Dollar,' which I consider the most succinct exposition of the American money question ever written. No publication that I am acquainted with equals THE ARENA as an educator. I wish you godspeed in your efforts for the betterment of our people and of humanity in general. I hope (almost against hope) for the peaceful solution of the difficulties that now beset our beloved country.

"Sincerely yours,

"A. BIGGS."

Moved by the foregoing communication and scores of others of the same purport, and knowing the truth of what the honest producers (who are the very blood and sinew and soul of this Republic) say of their trials and of the wrongs to which they have been mercilessly subjected for years, THE ARENA has decided to share the common lot. With the people we shall stand or fall. Let all who *can* rally, therefore, rally to the support of THE ARENA, and the management will try to show the nation what a great and free American magazine devoted to American interests and American democracy really is, and will be, in the battle for human rights.

Address all subscriptions and all other business communications to

JOHN D. MCINTYRE,
Manager of THE ARENA,
Copley Square, Boston.

BOOK REVIEWS.

[*In this Department of* THE ARENA *no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.*]

The Emperor.[1]

At the hour when, on the evening of the first day of this century, the first asteroid was discovered by Piazzi at Naples, an olive-complexioned man was sitting smileless in a box in the opera house in Paris. He sat back where nobody could see him. It was his way not to be seen — except on business.

The man was thirty-one years, four months, and sixteen days of age. He had already done something. If he had not equalled the work of Alexander at the corresponding age, he had at least surpassed Cæsar; for Cæsar at thirty was still a comparatively unknown roué in Rome.

The figure in the opera box was slender and trim. He who sat there was only five feet, four and a half inches high: but his head was fine, heavy, symmetrical. His features twitched when he was disturbed, but were beautiful when he smiled. To a profound observer he looked dangerous. He had the faculty of making his face signify nothing at all. He had been begotten an insular Italian, but was born a Frenchman. His wife, a Creole, more than six years older than he, was in the box with him. She sat at the front, and was seen by thousands. She *wished* to be seen; and when the pit shouted in the direction of the box she smiled a little smile, with a puckered mouth — for her teeth were not good.

The birthplace of this man had been oddly set on the map of the world, for the meridian of Discovery and the parallel of Conquest intersect at the birthplace of NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. The birthlines of Cæsar and Columbus — drawn, the one due west from Rome, the other due south from Genoa — cross each other within a few miles of Ajaccio! It is a circumstance that might well incline one to astrology.

About the birth of great men cycles of fiction grow. Friends and enemies alike invent significant circumstances. The traducers of Napoleon have said that he was illegitimate — that his father was the French marshal Marbœuf. They also say, on better grounds,

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[1] "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte." By Willian Milligan Sloane, Ph. D., L. H. D.; Professor of History in Princeton University. Four volumes, imperial octavo; pp. 1120. New York: The Century Company. Boston: Balch Brothers, 1896.

that the marriage of Letitia Ramolino to Carlo di Buonaparte was not solemnized until 1767 — that the first two children were therefore born out of wedlock. On the other hand, the idol-worshippers would fain have Napoleon born as a god or Titan. Premature pangs seize the mother at church. She hurries home, barely reaching her apartment when the heroic babe is delivered, without an accoucheur, on a piece of tapestry inwrought with an effigy of Achilles! This probably occurred. It was the 15th of August, 1769.

Thus, as it were before the Corsican saw the light of day in this world, dispute began about him. It has been continued for a hundred and twenty-eight years. Whatever else he succeeded in doing — whatever else he failed to do — he at least did succeed in dividing the civilized world into two parties; he made himself the subject of a controversy which has not ceased to the present hour. The reason, no doubt, is that we do not as yet understand human history and the part which the individual plays in the progress of events. Nearly all men begin with a prejudice in judging all other men, and nearly all men end as they begin. So it has been in the case of Bonaparte. After a while we shall see things more clearly; after a while we shall be able to interpret *men* — but not yet.

The writings relative to this man constitute a cycle. The books on him and his times make a library, the perusal and study of which might absorb a large section of an active life. The name of such productions is legion. Most of them will fortunately perish. The controversial aspect of the life of the Emperor must at last subside. Nine out of ten of the books about him will go down to the nether oblivion. Then the judicial aspect will arise — if it has not already arisen — and will occupy the attention of those who are still curious to study the career of him who shares with the son of Philip and the matchless Julius the triune honor of being the greatest warriors known to human history. If a fourth should be added to the group it would be Hannibal, and if a fifth, Charlemagne.

Here at the date of a century from those days in which the star of Napoleon emerged from the mists and clouds and began to climb the sky the interest in his life revives. In America this revival is attributable in part to general and in part to special causes. The general causes are to be found in the fact that society *de la fin de siècle* is in such a state of profound disturbance, and the existing order feels so insecure, that that order — as it always does — begins to cast about in the shadows to find, if it may, some Big Man with a Sword; him when found we will make our Imperator, and by sharing some of our estates with certain of his military subalterns we

will make sure of the rest — and after us the deluge. The special cause — at least in America — is the tremendous and growing tradition of General Grant. Albeit, General Grant hated the Bonapartes, from the Great One to the Little One; yet his own luminous setting has left a glow in which the nation sees men as trees walking — and among these the greatest simulacrum is Napoleon Bonaparte.

Of this man, who began as the son of a Corsican peasant-mother working in a mulberry orchard, and who, after fifty-one years, eight months, and twenty days, ended in a cyclone on the rock called St. Helena, having meanwhile for nearly a third of his life bestridden western Europe like a colossus, — a new biography claiming to be the ultimate summation of the Emperor's life and character has appeared. Professor William Milligan Sloane, of Princeton University, has entered the lists which may be said to have opened with Walter Scott and finished with the McClure Syndicate, passing meanwhile by way of such personages as De Staël, Las Cases, Victor Hugo, and Lanfrey, and such drudges as Bourrienne and Méneval, to lodge at last with the miscellaneous hacks who get three dollars a column for their boiler-plate philosophy in American newspapers! Heavens, what a scrimmage!

It were difficult to say when the *final* biography of a man has been produced. Hard, hard is it to decide when anything in this world is final. The never-ending progress of events shapes and readjusts not only the present materials of history, but also by reaction the materials of the past. Much that is supposed to be complete is seen to be unfinished; the done becomes undone, and the peroration of an epoch has to be rewritten for an exordium.

This is as true of the individual lives of men as it is of great events. If the ages have to be reconstructed, so also must the men of the ages. If only a mummy now turn over in his porphyry sarcophagus, a papyrus is generally found under him; and the finder, with the papyrus in his hand, may go forth fully warranted to revise every event from the first cataclysm of the Devonian age to the last earthquake in Java, and every man from Moses to Cagliostro.

On the whole I incline to the opinion that Professor Sloane has brought the Emperor Napoleon to a kind of final interpretation; I will not say to a full stop, but to something very much resembling a period. In the first place, I offer on the "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," the eulogium that the work has, in a great degree, *naturalized* the Corsican as he was never naturalized before — thus bringing him out of cloudland and mere impossible fog to the plain level of human action and purpose.

This is much. In accomplishing thus much Professor Sloane has vindicated his claim to be regarded as a great biographer. It has been the bane of nearly all biographical writing that the subjects of it have been completely mythologized. Thus far in the history of mankind biography might be defined as the art of myth-making. I scarcely know what exceptions to cite to this universal vice except only and always Boswell's "Life of Samuel Johnson." As for American biographies thus far produced, there is scarcely a single example of a work which is not to be classified as a recorded myth. The trouble in all this business has been that the myth-makers, living in a certain atmosphere, have imagined that they are obliged to make their characters conform to the established antecedents of greatness. These established antecedents of greatness have for the most part been created out of superstitions, credulities, blank idealism, and mere dogmatic bosh. No living, active men have ever conformed, or could conform, to the standards which the logicians, the philosophers, and the priests have fixed up for them; and if any of them should conform to such a standard, their place under classification would be with automata, not with living men.

Nevertheless, our biographers have been so weak and servile as to make their characters according to this pattern. One character is labelled Washington, another is labelled Franklin, another is labelled Adams, and still another, Lincoln.

All this, I think, Professor Sloane has studiously avoided. As a literary doctor he has done much to destroy the mythical disease. He has written an elaborate work in which the man Napoleon moves and acts, neither as an angel nor as a devil, but as a man, moved upon and moving by the common human passions, though inflamed, in his case, to a white heat in the furnace of his ambition.

All this was to have been expected in view of the plan of Professor Sloane as expressed in his preface:

"Until within a very recent period," says he, "it seemed that no man could discuss him [Napoleon] or his time without manifesting such strong personal feeling as to vitiate his judgment and conclusions. This was partly due to the lack of perspective, but in the main to ignorance of the facts essential to a sober treatment of the theme. In this respect the last quarter of a century has seen a gradual but radical change, for a band of dispassionate scientific scholars have during that time been occupied in the preparation of material for his life without reference to the advocacy of one theory or another concerning his character. European archives, long carefully guarded, have been thrown open; the diplomatic correspondence of the most important periods has been published; family papers have been examined, and numbers of valuable memoirs have been printed. It has therefore been possible to check one account by another, to cancel mis-

representations, to eliminate passion — in short, to establish something like correct outline and accurate detail, at least in regard to what the man actually did. Those hidden secrets of any human mind which we call motives must ever remain to other minds largely a matter of opinion, but a very fair indication of them can be found when once the actual conduct of the actor has been determined."

From this point of view Professor Sloane has proceeded with his tremendous work. His studies at home and abroad have been ample. We may remark, in passing, upon the physical vigor of the author as shown in his portrait. From such a face and figure we can but expect energy, persistency, accomplishment. I do not pretend to disclose the reasons of Professor Sloane for indulging in this prodigious Napoleonic dream and for delineating it in what is likely to be regarded as the best product of his intellectual career. We can only take what he has produced and give it such cursory notice as our space will permit.

The first volume of the work extends from a survey of the conditions under which Napoleon was born and reared to the conclusion of his twenty-eighth year. The first events depicted are those historical movements in which the Bonapartes, within the narrow limits of their island, were involved in the seventh decade of the eighteenth century; and the last event recorded in this volume is the fall of Venice, at the end of May, 1797. I incline to regard this as the most interesting, though not the most important, of the four great volumes of Professor Sloane's work. In the nature of the case the ascendant of a man is the more inspiring part. In it he appears as an orb whose full majesty, not yet revealed, solicits the imagination and kindles by sympathy the ambitions that in some measure are common to us all. Here in volume I is portrayed the youth of the man Napoleon Bonaparte. In this he is revealed in the full charm of that electrical audacity which had as yet lost none of its sharpness and burning flash. Nor had Napoleon, as a *man*, as yet become sufficiently involved with the general maze of history, sufficiently immersed in the storm-cloud of that tempestuous epoch, to be lost from view. This volume shows the man emerging from boyhood into the full career of a military conqueror. It shows him in his magical transformation from the character of an adventurer into the character of a leader of armies and a dictator of events. It also shows Napoleon with the still fluid heart of boyhood passing through the lava floods of his first loves, in particular his love for Josephine, into the age of cynicism and calculation.

This first volume brings sufficiently to memory the progress of the youthful Napoleon. Here we see him at his mother's knee;

then in the time of his school days; then in Paris and Valence; then as a neophyte author, quite absurd in his dreams; then on garrison duty, and then swept away with the tides of the oncoming revolution. In the smoke of the South his slender figure is seen here and there until he emerges at Toulon. In his character of Jacobin he becomes a general in the army at a time of life when most men are happy to be lieutenants. Then for the first time he touches the revolutionary society of Paris. He meets Josephine; Barras delivers her to the coming man. They are wedded, and from that date the stage widens, the wars in Italy break out, and the young general begins to whirl his sword at Mantua, Arcole, and Rivoli — from which he was wont to date his military birth, saying on that occasion, "Make my life begin at Rivoli;" and finally at Montebello and Venice, where, in the late spring of 1797, he is joined by Josephine. There from the French capital they seemed to stand afar as the cynosure of all revolutionary eyes, expecting a greater light.

In the second volume Professor Sloane begins with the rescue of the Directory. Hard after we have the great episode of the Treaty of Campo Formio, and then the expedition to Egypt. The story of that expedition is known through all the world; so also the return, and the overthrow of the Directory.

From that day Bonaparte became the embodiment of the revolution. He became a statesman and a strategist. He found himself in the geographical and historical storm-centre of Europe. Then came the epoch of great wars. Marengo marks the close of the old century, and the treaty of Lunéville the beginning of the new. Napoleon undertakes the pacification of Europe, and reorganizes France. He steps cautiously towards the restoration of monarchy. There is a life-consulate, transforming itself quickly into an empire. The old royalism is extinguished, and the new military imperialism is glorified in its stead. The third coalition of Europe succeeds the second. Trafalgar strews the sea with the wrecks of France, and Austerlitz strews the land with the wrecks of Russia and Austria. The sea is virtually abandoned by the man of destiny, but over the land he rises as War-lord and Emperor.

The second conflict breaks out with Prussia and ends with the ruin of that power at Jena and Auerstadt. The year 1806 sees the parvenu emperor, now thirty-seven years of age, the master of all the better parts of Europe. Here ends the second volume of his life, according to Professor Sloane's division, and the third begins with the devastation and humiliation of the Prussian kingdom.

In this volume the author views Napoleon for the first time as the arbitrary diplomatist of the West. It is evident that from this time the emperor's vision widens to a more remote horizon than he had ever scanned before. The Berlin decree was issued. The battle of Eylau was fought, and then was achieved the victory of Friedland. Nor may we pass without noticing the acme which Napoleon, according to the judgment of many, now reached on that memorable field. Here it is that art has caught and transmitted him. For it is in the trodden wheat-field of Friedland that Meissonier's pencil has delineated Napoleon with his marshals around him, in one of the greatest pictures of the world.

By this epoch ambition in the emperor had swallowed up all other passions. He goes on from conquering to conquest. The dream of a French Empire, coextensive with the borders of Europe, seizes the Napoleonic imagination. The emperor's armies strike left and right. They are seen first on one horizon, then on another. The Corsican on his white horse is now upon the Pyrenees, now on the Germanic frontier, and now in Poland. He faces Alexander of Russia, and laughs at him! His gray coat and three-cornered hat become the best known symbols of military genius in modern times.

Kingdoms and principalities are transformed. Already the mythical Roman empire has passed away. Austria is threatened with extinction. The Corsican is seen first in one and then in another of the ancient capitals of Europe. Aspern follows Eckmühl, and Essling and Wagram follow Aspern. The treaty of Schönbrunn promises peace to the nations, but the hope is broken to the lips. In this crisis Josephine goes down in the shadows, and the daughter of Austria is led to the imperial chamber — this from the necessity of establishing a dynasty. The relations between France and Russia are strained to breaking. The fatal year 1812 comes, and there is a congress of kings. Alexander gives his ultimatum, and the invasion of Russia is begun. There is an indescribable struggle on the Moskwa, and then the flames of Moscow are seen across the deserts of Russian snow.

The fourth and last volume begins with the return of the allied armies from Russia. Then follows the universal revolt of the nations. Insurrection breaks out on every horizon, and treachery, as might have been expected, is added to the combinations that are rapidly formed against the imperial Corsican. The borders of France are broken in. There is a narrowing rim of fire bursting into battle flame here and there; and then the catastrophe of the capture of Paris. There is an ambiguous abdication and an equiv-

ocal exile of a few months' duration to Elba. It was much like the establishment of a live lion on Governor's Island!

The lion got away. Then came an instantaneous upheaval of old revolutionary France, which had now become imperial France. The Emperor was welcomed home as a returning god. The country was drained to the last drop of its resources, and everything was staked on the final stategy of the Hundred Days and the hazard of the ever-memorable battle.

"There was a sound of revelry by night,"

and then the imperial eagle was seen stretched upon the plain, pierced through with the shafts of banded nations. He was caged and transported to that far rock which in his school-essay at Autun he had described thus: "St. Helena is a *small* island!" He found it so. For nearly six years his captivity continued until his stormy career ended in a May hurricane that might well have shaken the desolate foundations of his ocean-girt prison. Then the historical tide rolled on without him. France was transformed into the old image, but her soul was still imperial. At last the bones of her great dead were recovered, to be placed at rest in that red-black sarcophagus over which the world looks down and wonders.

Such is the fiery but fruitful chaos through which the life-line of Napoleon is drawn with a master hand by Professor William Milligan Sloane. My judgment is that, on the whole, he has produced the greatest biographical work which has yet appeared in American literature. I think that in the main his accomplishment has been equal to his ambition. It is not an unworthy thing that an *American* professor, at the seat of an *American* university, turning his energies to this great task, has succeeded in making a well-nigh final record of the life and work of that unequalled organizer, that sublime dissembler, that cruel reformer, that heartless philanthropist, who, for half a lifetime, converted old Europe into a mire of murder and desolation, for the ultimate good of man.

Only one thing may be said in adverse criticism of Professor Sloane's book, and that is, that his style is too mathematical and too little imaginative for the subject which he has in hand. His rather cold precision, however, we concede to him; for it is, no doubt, the natural method of his expression. We do our part to acknowledge and welcome the remarkable work which he has produced, and to commend it to all readers as the best existing and best probable account of the personal and historical career of Napoleon Bonaparte.

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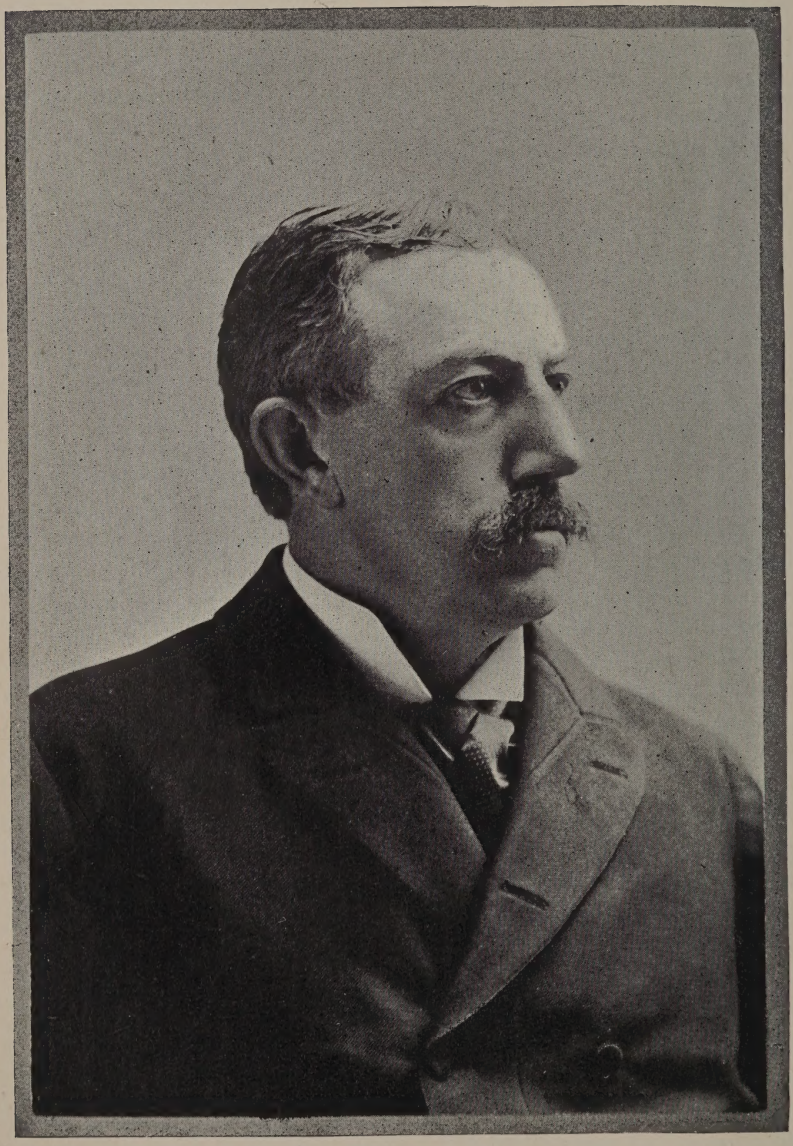

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EVOLUTION: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.[1]

BY DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN,

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I. WHAT EVOLUTION IS.

THIS is the age of evolution. The word is used by many men in many senses, and still oftener perhaps in no sense at all. By some it is spoken with a haunting dread as though it were another name for the downfall of religion and of social stability. Still others speak it glibly and joyously as though progress and freedom were secured by the mere use of the name. "The word evolution (*Entwickelung*)," says a German writer, "fills the vocal chords more perfectly than any other word." It explains everything, and "puts the key to the universe into one's vest pocket."

So various has been the use of the word, so rarely is this use associated with any definite idea, that one hesitates to call himself an evolutionist. "Evolution" and "evolutionist" are almost ready to be cast into that "limbo of spoiled phraseology" which Matthew Arnold has found necessary for so many words in which other generations have delighted, and which they have soiled or spoiled by careless usage.

But as the word evolution is not yet put away, as it is the bugbear of many good people, and the "religion" of as many more equally good, it may be worth while to consider what it still means, and what it does not mean. For if we that use the word can agree on a definition, half our quarrel is over.

It seems to me that the word evolution is now legitimately used in four different senses. It is the name of a branch of

[1] Address before the Starr King Fraternity of Oakland, Cal.

science. It is a theory of organic existence. It is a method of investigation, and it is the basis of a system of philosophy.

The Science of Organic Evolution, or Bionomics. As a science, evolution is the study of changing beings acted upon by unchanging laws. It is a matter of common observation that organisms change from day to day, and that day by day some alteration in their environment is produced. It is a matter of scientific investigation that these changes are greater than they appear. They affect not only the individual animal or plant, but they affect all groups of living things, classes or races or species. No character is permanent, no trait of life without change. And as the living organism or group of organisms is undergoing alteration, so does change take place in the objects of the physical world about them. "Nothing endures," says Huxley, "save the flow of energy and the rational order that pervades it." The structures and objects change their forms and relations, and to forms and relations once abandoned they never return. But the methods of change are, so far as we can see, immutable. The laws of life, the laws of death, and the laws of matter never change. If the invisible forces which rule all visible things are themselves subject to modification and evolution, we have not detected it. Its cosmic movements are so fine as to defy human observation and computation. In the control of the universe we find no trace of "variableness nor shadow of turning." "It is the law of heaven and earth, whose way is solid, substantial, vast, and unchanging."

But the things we know do not endure. Only the shortness of human life allows us to speak of species or even of individuals as permanent entities. The mountain chain is no more nearly eternal than the drift of sand. It endures beyond the period of human observation. It antedates and outlasts human history. So does the species of animal or plant outlast and antedate the lifetime of one man. Its changes are slight even in the lifetime of the race. Thus the species, through the persistence of its type among its changing individuals, comes to be regarded as something which is beyond modification, unchanging so long as it exists.

"I believe," said the rose to the lily in the parable — "I

believe that our gardener is immortal. I have watched him from day to day since I bloomed, and I see no change in him. The tulip who died yesterday told me the same thing."

As a flash of lightning in the duration of the night, so is the life of man in the duration of nature. When one looks out on a storm at night, he sees for an instant the landscape illumined by the lightning-flash. All seems at rest. The branches in the wind, the flying clouds, the falling rain are all motionless in this instantaneous view. The record on the retina takes no account of change, and to the eye the change does not exist. Brief as the lightning-flash in the storm is the life of man compared with the great time-record of life upon earth. To the untrained man who has not learned to read these records, species and types in life are enduring. Thus arose the theory of special creation and permanence of type, a theory which could not persist when the fact of change and the forces causing it came to be studied in detail.

But when man came to study the facts of individual variation and to think of their significance, the current of life no longer seemed at rest. Like the flow of a mighty river, never returning, ever sweeping steadily on, is the movement of all life. The changes in human history are only typical of the changes that take place in all living creatures. In fact, human history is only a part of one great life-current, the movement of which is everywhere governed by the same laws, depends on the same forces, and brings about like results.

The facts and generalizations of change constitute the subject-matter of evolution. And as the fact of life is a fundamental one, and in some degree modifies all phenomena which it concerns, we have as the central axis of the science in question, the study of organic evolution. In fact, while inorganic evolution, or orderly change in environment, exists, we do not know to what degree the laws and forces of organic evolution can be reduced to the same terms of expression. The theory of the essential and necessary unity of life and non-life, of mind and matter, is still a matter of philosophical speculation only. We can neither prove the truth of Monism, nor understand it; nor is the contrary hypothesis either comprehensible or credible. The fundamental unity of organic evolution and inorganic evo-

lution is yet to be proved, while the laws which govern living matter are certainly in part peculiar to life. For this reason the evolution of astronomy, of dynamic geology, of geography, as well as the purely hypothetical evolution of chemistry, must be separated from life evolution. Cosmic evolution and organic evolution show, or seem to show, some divergence from each other. There are some elements which are not held in common, or which, at least, are not identical when measured in human terms. For the latter, the science of organic evolution, there is therefore certainly need of a distinctive term. This has been lately furnished by Professor Patrick Geddes, who has chosen the term bionomics. Bionomics (*βίος*, life; *νόμος*, law or custom) is the science which treats of the changes in life-forms, and of the laws and forces on which these changes depend.

Even as thus restricted organic evolution, or bionomics, is the greatest of the sciences, including in its subject-matter, not only all natural history, not only processes like cell-division and nutrition, not only the laws of heredity, variation, natural selection, and mutual help, but all matters of human history, and the most complicated relations of civics, economics, or ethics. In this enormous science no fact can be without a meaning, and no fact or its underlying forces can be separated from the great forces whose interaction from moment to moment writes the great story of life.

And as the basis to the science of bionomics, as to all other science, must be taken the conception that nothing is due to chance or whim. Whatever occurs does so as the resultant of moving forces. Could we know and estimate these forces, we should have, so far as our estimate is accurate and our logic perfect, the gift of prophecy. Knowing the law, and knowing the facts, we should foretell the results. To be able in some degree to do this is the art of life. It is the ultimate end of science, which finds its final purpose in human conduct.

"A law," according to Darwin, "is the ascertained sequence of events." The necessary sequence of events it is, in fact, but man knows nothing of what is necessary, only of what has been ascertained to occur. Because human observation and logic can be only partial, no law of life can be fully stated. Because the processes of the human mind are human, with organic limita-

tions, the study of the mind itself becomes a part of the science of bionomics. For it is itself an instrument or a combination of instruments by which we acquire such knowledge of the world outside of ourselves as may be needed in the art of living, in the degree in which we are able to practise that art.

The necessary sequence of events exists, whether we are able to comprehend it or not. The fall of a leaf follows fixed laws as surely as the motion of a planet. It falls by chance because its short movement gives us no time for observation and calculation. It falls by chance because, its results being unimportant to us, we give no heed to the details of its motion. But as the hairs of our head are all numbered, so are numbered all the gyrations and undulations of every chance autumn leaf. All processes in the universe are alike natural. The creation of man or the growth of a state is as natural as the formation of an apple or the growth of a snow-bank. All are alike supernatural, for they all rest on the huge unseen solidity of the universe, the imperishability of matter and the immanence of law.

We sometimes classify sciences as exact and inexact, in accordance with our ability exactly to weigh forces and results. The exact sciences deal with simple data accessible and capable of measurement. The results of their interactions can be reduced to mathematics. Because of their essential simplicity, the mathematical sciences have been carried to great comparative perfection. It is easier to weigh an invisible planet than to measure the force of heredity in a grain of corn. The sciences of life are inexact, because the human mind can never grasp all their data. Nor has the combined effort of all men, the flower of the altruism of the ages, that we call science been able to make more than a beginning in this study. But however incomplete our realization of the laws of life, we may be sure that they are never broken. Each law is the expression of the best possible way in which causes and results can be linked. It is the necessary sequence of events, therefore the *best* sequence, if we may imagine for a moment that the human words "good" and "bad" are applicable to world-processes. The laws of nature are not executors of human justice. Each one has its own operation, and no other. Each represents its own tendency towards cosmic order. A law in this sense can-

not be "broken." A broken law would be a discarded universe. "If God should wink at a single act of injustice," says the Arab proverb, "the whole universe would shrivel up like a cast-off snake-skin." If God should wink at any violated law the universe would vanish.

Not long ago, in an examination in a theological seminary, the question was asked of the candidates for the ministry, "Is it right to pray for a change of season?" The candidates thought that it was not, for the relations which produce winter and summer are fixed in the structure of the solar system and cannot be altered for man's pleasure or man's need. "Is it right to pray for rain?" The candidates generally thought that it was, because the conditions of rain are so unstable that a little change in one way or another would bring rain or fair weather, and that it was proper to ask for such change, as it did not concern the economy of the universe.

The third question was: "When the signal service of the United States is well established, so that weather conditions are perfectly known, will it then be right to pray for rain?" And the candidates for the ministry could not tell, for they began to see that even simple changes of weather may have the strength of the whole universe behind them. It has never yet rained when by any possibility it could do otherwise. It has never failed to rain when rain was possible. The Spanish padres in California, wise in their generation, allowed prayers for rain only in winter, when the wind was in the south. The wind is only in the south when the air is affected by a cyclonic movement, and this in the California winter means rain.

We hear good men say sometimes that the crying need of this strong and sceptical age is that it may see some law of nature definitely broken, that it may rain when rain is impossible, or that some burning bush may, unconsuming, proclaim that the force which is behind all law is also above it and can break or repeal all laws at will.

Emerson somewhere speaks of the purpose in life — "To be sound and solvent." As his life was in all ways "sound and solvent," perhaps such rule of conduct was his own. But one may say, That is only a rule. The man himself should be all rules and requirements of his own establishment. Let Mr.

Emerson show that his life is above his principles. Let him break these rules. Let him be "unsound and insolvent" for a time. Then only will his greatness appear.

The laws of nature are the expression of the infinite soundness and solvency. They will not be broken, nor through their unsoundness and insolvency will the "heavens roll away as a scroll," nor "the universe shrivel up as a cast-off snake-skin."

In the growing recognition of law has been the progress of science. From the casting aside of human notions of chance and whim the "warfare of science" has had its rise. For every event carried over into the realm of law some man has given his life. As the Panama railroad is said to have cost the life of a man for every cross-tie, so has every step in the progress of science. And such men!

Many a time in the growth of humanity has it been necessary that the wisest, clearest, most humane, should die on the stake or the gibbet or the cross, that men should come to realize the power of an idea; that they should know the value of truth.

Evolution as a Theory of Organic Development, or Darwinism. In a different sense the word evolution is applied to the theory of the origin of organs and of species by divergence and development. This theory teaches that all forms of life now existing or that have existed on the earth have sprung from a common stock, which has undergone change in a multitude of ways and under varied conditions, the forces and influences producing such change being known as the "factors of organic evolution." All characters and attributes of species and groups have developed with changing conditions of life. The homologies among animals are the result of common descent. The differences are due to various influences, chief among these being competition in the struggle for existence between individuals and between species, whereby those best adapted to their surroundings lived and reproduced their kind.

This theory is now the central axis of all biological investigation in all its branches, from ethics to histology, from anthropology to bacteriology. In the light of this theory every peculiarity of structure, every character or quality of individual or species, has a meaning and a cause. It is the work of the investigator to find this meaning as well as to record the fact.

"One of the noblest lessons left to the world" by Darwin is this, Mr. Frank Cramer tells us, — "this, which to him amounted to a profound, almost religious, conviction, that every fact in nature, no matter how insignificant, every stripe of color, every tint of flowers, the length of an orchid's nectary, unusual height in a plant, all the infinite variety of apparently insignificant things, is full of significance. For him it was an historical record, the revelation of a cause, the lurking-place of a principle."

According to the theory of evolution every structure of to-day finds its meaning in some condition of the past. The inside of an animal tells what it really is, for it bears the record of heredity. The outside of an animal tells where its ancestors have been, for it bears record of concessions to environment. Similarity in essential structure is known as *homology*. By the theory of evolution homology, wherever it is found, is proof of blood-relationship.

The theory of organic evolution through natural law was first placed on a stable footing by the observations and inductions of Darwin. It has therefore been long known as Darwinism, although that term has been usually associated with the recognition of natural selection as the great motive power in organic change. Darwinism was at first regarded as a "working hypothesis." It is now an integral part of biological science, because all opposing hypotheses have long since ceased to work. It is as well attested as the theory of gravitation, and its elements are open to less doubt. All investigations in biology must assume it, as without it most such investigations would be impossible. Naturalists could no more go back to the old notion of special creation for each species and its organs than astronomers could go back to the old notion of guiding angels as directors of planetary motion. Without the theory of organic development through natural selection, the biological science of to-day would be impossible.

Evolution as a Method of Study. In a third sense the word evolution is applied to a method of investigation. It is the study of present conditions in the light of the past. The preliminary work of science is the descriptive part. This involves accuracy of observation and precision of statement, but makes

no great demands on the powers of logical analysis and synthesis. The easy work of science is largely already done. Those who would continue investigation must study not only facts and structures, but the laws that govern them. In the words of John Fiske, "Whether plants or mountains or mollusks or subjunctive moods or tribal confederacies be the things studied, the scholars who have studied them most fruitfully were those who have studied them as phases of development. Their work has directed the current of thought." The most difficult problems in life are susceptible of more or less perfect solution if approached by the method of evolution. They cannot be even stated as problems in any other terms. In every science worthy of the name the history of origins and the study of developing forces must take a leading part.

Evolution as a System of Cosmic Philosophy. In a fourth sense the word evolution has been applied to the philosophical conceptions to which the theory of evolution gives rise. Philosophy is not truth. When it is so it becomes science. At the best it points the way to truth. The broader the inductive basis of any system of philosophy, the greater its value as an intellectual help. The system of Herbert Spencer, the greatest exponent of the philosophy of evolution, is based wholly on the results of scientific investigation. It consists of a series of more or less broad and more or less probable deductions from the facts and laws already known. Systems like these, which rest on scientific knowledge, do not rise high above it. They can therefore be revised or rewritten as knowledge increases. They provide the means for their own correction. Systems resting on aphorisms or assumptions or definitions must disappear as knowledge increases.

Philosophy is never wholly identical with truth. The partial truth which it may contain becomes wholly error with the advance of science. The growth of exact knowledge transforms the truth in philosophy into science, leaving the absolute falsehood as the final residuum.

From this necessary fact comes the ultimate decay of all creeds or philosophic formulæ. Throughout the ages science and philosophy have been in conflict. Science is the same to all minds capable of grasping its conclusions. Philosophy changes

with the point of view. It is the evanescent perspective in which the facts and phenomena of the universe are seen. This can never be the same under changing times and conditions. With the larger knowledge of to-morrow, there will be large modifications in the accepted philosophy of evolution. Each succeeding generation will give to the applications of the laws of organic life a different philosophical expression.

II. What Evolution Is Not.

In these four senses the word evolution is used with some degree of accuracy. But in the current literature of the day the word has many other meanings, some of them very far from any just basis. Some things which evolution is not we may here notice briefly.

Evolution is not a theory that "man is a developed monkey." The question of the immediate origin of man is not the central or overshadowing question of evolution. This question offers no special difficulties in theory, although the materials for exact knowledge are in many directions incomplete. Homologies more perfect than those connecting man with the great group of monkeys could not exist. These imply the blood-relationship of the human race with the great host of apes and monkeys. As to this there can be no shadow of a doubt. And as similar homologies connect man with all members of the group of mammals, similar blood-relationship must exist. And homologies, less close but equally unmistakable, connect all backboned animals one with another; and the lowest backboned types are closely joined to worm-like forms not usually classed as vertebrates.

It is perfectly true that, with the higher or anthropoid apes, the relations with man are extremely intimate. But man is not simply "a developed ape." Apes and men have diverged from the same primitive stock, apelike, manlike, but not exactly the one or the other. No apes or monkeys now extant could apparently have been ancestors of primitive man. None can ever "develop" into man. As man changes and diverges, race from race, so do they. The influence of effort, the influence of surroundings, the influence of the sifting process of natural selection, acts upon them as it acts upon man.

The process of evolution is not progress, but better adaptation

to conditions of life. As man becomes fitted for social and civic life, so does the ape become fitted for life in the tree-tops. The movement of monkeys is towards "simianity," not humanity. The movement of cat-life is towards felinity, that of the dog-races towards caninity. Each step in evolution upward or downward, whatever it may be, carries each species or type farther from the primitive stock. These steps are never retraced. For an ape to become a man he must go back to the simple characters of the simple common type from which both have sprung. These characters are shown in the ape-baby and in the human embryo in its corresponding stages. For ancestral traits lost in the adult are preserved in the young. This comes through the operation of the great force of race-memory, we call heredity.

Evidence of biology points to the descent of all mammals, of all vertebrates, of all animals, of all organic beings, from a common stock. Of all the races of animals, the anthropoid apes are nearest man. Their divergence from the same stock must be comparatively recent. Man is the nomadic, the apes the arboreal, branch of the same great family.

Evolution does not teach that all or any living forms are tending towards humanity. It does not teach, as in Bishop Wilberforce's burlesque, "that every favorable variety of the turnip is tending to become man." It is not true that evolutionists expect to find, as Dr. Seelye has affirmed, "the growth of the highest alga into a zoöphyte, a phenomenon for which sharp eyes have sought, and which is not only natural but inevitable on the Darwinian hypothesis, and whose discovery would make the fame of any observer."

It is no wonder that a clear thinker should have rejected "the Darwinian hypothesis," when stated in such terms as this. The line of junction in evolution is always at the bottom. It is the lowest mammals which approach the lowest reptiles. It is the lower types of plants which approach the lower types of animals. It would be the lowest alga, to use Dr. Seelye's illustration, which would be transmutable into the lowest zoöphyte. It is the unspecialized, undifferentiated type from which branches diverge in different ways. Humanity is not the "goal of evolution," not even that of human evolution. There will be no second "creation of man," except from man's own loins. There

will not be a second Anglo-Saxon race, unless it has the old Anglo-Saxon blood in its veins.

Adaptation by divergence — for the most part by slow stages — is the movement of evolution. While occasional leaps or sudden changes occur in the process, they are by no means the rule. In most cases of "saltatory evolution," the suddenness is in appearance only. It comes from our inability to trace the intermediate stages. When an epoch-making character is acquired, as the wings of a bird or the brain of man, the process of readjustment of other characters goes on with greatly increased rapidity. But this rapidity of evolution is along the same lines as the slower processes. Radical changes from generation to generation never occur. We do not expect to find birds arising from a "flying-fish in the air, whose scales are disporting into feathers." A flying-fish is no more of the nature of a bird than any other fish is. A cow will never give birth to a horse, nor a horse to a cow. The slow operation of existing causes is the central fact of organic evolution, as it is of the evolution of mountains and valleys. Seasons change as the relations which produce them change. But midsummer never gives way to midwinter in an instant. Nor does the child in an instant become a man, though in some periods of growth epoch-marking causes may make development more rapid. Life is conservative. The law of heredity is the expression of its conservatism. It changes slowly, but it must constantly change, and all change is by necessity divergence.

There is in nature no single "law of progress," nor is progress in any group a necessity regardless of conditions. That which we call progress rests simply on the survival of the better adapted, their survival being accompanied by their reproduction. Those that live repeat themselves. The "innate tendency towards progression" of the early evolutionists is a philosophic myth. Progress and degeneration are alike the resultants of the various forces at work from generation to generation on and within a race or species. The same forces which bring progress to a group under one set of conditions will bring degradation under another. In their essence the factors of evolution are no more laws of progress than the attraction of gravitation is. Cosmic order comes from gravitation. Organic order comes from the factors of evolution. Evolution is simply orderly change.

Evolution is not Spontaneous Generation. There is no necessary connection between the one theory and the other. Spontaneous generation, or birth without parentage, on the part of small or useless creatures was accepted in early times without question. As men began to observe these animals more carefully, the fact of their spontaneous generation was doubted. A great step was made when it was found that to screen meat from flies would protect it from maggots. A greater step came in our own time when it was proved that to screen infusions from air dust is to protect them from putrefaction or fermentation. Fermentation is "life without air." It is the decomposition of sugar by minute creatures who disintegrate it in their life processes. Putrefaction and decay are also the same in nature. There is literal truth in Carlyle's statement that there is still force in a fallen leaf, "else how could it rot?" It is the force of the minute organisms hidden in the leaf, and whose life is the leaf's decay. The decay and death of men from contagious diseases is known to be due to life processes of minute organisms, as is the gangrene which follows unskilful surgery. The study of the "fauna and flora" within living organisms has now become a science of itself, demanding the greatest care in observation and the most complete of appliances. "*Omne vivum ex vivo*," "all life from life," was an aphorism of the naturalists of a century or two ago. It was to them a new and broad generalization. It has not yet been set aside. The classic experiments of Tyndall show that this law applies to all creatures we have yet recognized or classified. As far as science can tell, spontaneous generation is still a myth, having no basis in observation, no warrant in experiment. It remains as a pure deduction from the philosophical conception of Monism, incapable of proof, insusceptible of refutation. The argument for it is chiefly this: Life exists on a globe once lifeless. How did life begin? If not through spontaneous generation, how did it come? Must it not have been by the operation of those laws and forces which through all time change lifeless into living matter? Very likely, but we do not know. We know nothing whatever of such laws and forces, and we gain nothing by veiling our ignorance under a philosophical necessity.

Moreover, if spontaneous generation occurs as a resultant of

any forces, like forces would produce it again. We have never known it to occur. Should it occur the organisms thus produced would have no bonds of blood-relationship with those already in existence. With these they should show no homology, as they could have no inheritance in common. But all known organisms have common homologies. The factors of organic evolution are essentially the same for all. The unity of life amid all its diversity seems to point to origin from a common stock. If not from one stock, the lines of division between one and another are hidden from us. The study of embryology breaks down the time-honored branch lines of vertebrates, articulates, mollusks, and radiates. The groups of animals are more numerous, more complex, and more intertangled than Cuvier and Agassiz thought. The number of primary branches of animals or plants is uncertain, their boundaries undefined.

If spontaneous generation exists, it is a factor in evolution. If it is a factor, our explanation of the meaning and nature of homology must be fundamentally changed. But it may be that it should be changed. We cannot show that spontaneous generation does not exist. All we know is that we have no means of recognizing it. If there is now spontaneous generation of protoplasm, it cannot take the form of any creature we know. An organism fresh from the mint of creation would be too small for us to see with any microscope. It would be too simple for us to trace by any instrumentality now in our possession. It could contain but a few molecules, and a molecule in a drop of water is as small as an orange beside the sun. Our race of creatures, spontaneously generated, without concessions to environment, would grow hoary with the centuries before it came to our notice. Its descendants would have belonged for ages to the unnumbered hosts of microbes before we should be aware of its creation.

Evolution is not a creed or a body of doctrine to be believed on authority. There is no saving grace in being an evolutionist. There are many who take this name and have no interest in finding out what it means or in making any application of its principles to the affairs of life. For one who cares not to master its ideas, there is no power in the word. Evolution is not a panacea or a medicine to be applied to social or personal ills.

It is simply an expression of the teaching of enlightened common sense as to the order of changes in life. If its principles are mastered a knowledge of evolution is an aid in the conduct of life, as knowledge of gravitation is essential in the building of machinery.

There is nothing "occult" in the science of evolution. It is not the product of philosophic meditation or of speculative philosophy. It is based on hard facts, and with hard facts it must deal.

It seems to me that it is not true that "Evolution is a new religion, the religion of the future." There are many definitions to religion, but evolution does not fit any of them. It is no more a religion than gravitation is. One may imagine that some enthusiastic follower of Newton may, for the first time, have seen the majestic order of the solar system, may have felt how futile was the old notion of guiding angels, one for each planet to hold it up in space. He may have received his first clear vision of the simple relations of the planets, each forever falling toward the sun and toward each other, each one by the same force forever preserved from collision. Such a man might have exclaimed, "Great is gravitation; it is the new religion, the religion of the future!" In such manner, men trained in dead traditions, once brought to a clear insight of the noble simplicity and adequacy of the theory of evolution, may have exclaimed, "Great is evolution; it is the new religion, the religion of the future!"

But evolution is religion in the same sense that every truth of the physical universe must be religion. That which is true is the truest thing in the world, and the recognition of the infinite soundness at the heart of the universe is an inseparable part of any worthy religion.

But, whether religion or not, the truths of evolution must be their own witness. They can be neither strengthened nor controverted by any authority which may speak in the name of philosophy or of theology or of religion. "*Roma locuta est; causa finita est*" is not a dictum which science can regard. Her causes are never finished. No power on earth can give beforehand the answer to her questions. Her only court of appeal is the experience of man.

HAS WEALTH A LIMITATION?

BY ROBERT N. REEVES.

THERE is in the government of human affairs one order that is best for all. What that order is and how it is to be attained should be the great problem for all who have at heart the betterment of the human race.

Never in the history of our country were the people confronted with greater social problems than they are to-day. The strikes, boycotts, and general discontent of late years prove conclusively that there is yet much room for improvement in our social order. What mean the great outcry and muttering of the masses? What means the cry from the vast army of discontented which wells up from the very heart of the nation, *unless* it signifies the rumbling which is often heard before the storm? Gloss it over as we will, the fact stands out as prominent as ever, that there is something radically wrong with our present economical system.

Many remedies have been suggested, many reforms have been inaugurated with the purpose of relieving the poverty and misery which press so heavily upon a large majority of the people. Stop immigration! Prohibit invention! exclaim some. The population is increasing too fast! reply others. And so the many reforms are advocated, all of which are discussed with more or less fairness. But when it is suggested that wealth is becoming too concentrated, that limitations should be placed upon it, the cry immediately goes up that he who suggests such a remedy is an anarchist, and one whose name should be synonymous with whatever is dangerous, lawless, and subversive.

Nevertheless, the question of wealth limitation cannot be dismissed with threats, epithets, or sneers. It will not dismiss itself, and we cannot dismiss it. Every observant person must admit that the great concentration of wealth, whether it be in corporations, trusts, or individuals, has reached a point dangerous to the future prosperity of the nation.

Millions of people idle, wealth piled up for the few by the toil of the many, paupers and millionaires on every side, and

the conditions growing worse and worse, — these things are enough to make even the most optimistic painfully apprehensive of the future. Our government in some respects is in no better condition than was the old Roman Empire just before its fall, as described by James Anthony Froude. If we are to believe that eminent historian, the Roman Empire was crushed by the same power of unlimited, concentrated wealth that to-day is destroying the life, the liberty, and the happiness of the many in the United States. In mediæval Italy, too, popular freedom was lost through a moneyed oligarchy and proletariat. So in every country where individual wealth has transcended the bounds of justice, the people — the toilers — have eventually been enslaved.

Ours is fast becoming a moneyed nation; and a moneyed nation is generally a weak one. Superfluity of riches, like superfluity of food, causes weakness and decay. Individual prosperity or the prosperity of a community does not mean general prosperity, or the prosperity of a nation. Thus it has been shown that, in New York and Massachusetts and those States in which the greatest wealth is concentrated, the largest proportion of paupers are to be found. In 1833, when Tocqueville visited America, he was struck by the equal distribution of wealth and the absence of capitalists. Half a century later, when James Bryce, author of "The American Commonwealth," visited our country, the trusts, monopolies, and concentrated wealth so amazed him that he exclaimed: "I see the shadows of a new structure of society — an aristocracy of riches."

Fifty years ago there were no great fortunes here, and in fact but few fortunes that could be called large, and in those days there was comparatively little poverty. Now we have many gigantic fortunes and a vast number ranging from $100,000 to $10,000,000. In the past, wealth being more equally distributed, there was but little class distinction, but there were a far greater number of what might be called fortunes, and a noticeable exemption from that pauperism which has become chronic of late years.

The Probate-Court records of the various States disclose the fact that millionaires are becoming more numerous, while the smaller property-owners are gradually sinking into the multi-

tude of people possessing nothing. In a valuable article by Eltweed Pomeroy on "The Concentration of Wealth,"[1] some interesting figures and diagrams are given, proving from probate records the exact extent to which small fortunes have been crowded out or merged into enormous ones. These records are valuable because they are official. But while they prove the *extent* to which wealth is concentrated, they do not disclose the misery which that wealth is causing. For that, we must look to the conditions about us. And in doing so it is not necessary to be a philosopher in order to see the havoc which concentrated wealth has wrought in recent years. Every day, it has been declared, America is over four million dollars richer at night than in the morning. Who receives this wealth? Surely not those who toil; else they would not suffer so. They receive little of it. The national wealth, great as it is, slips through their fingers to be collected in the vast reservoirs of the moneyed aristocracy. They work, but it is the work of those who labor to produce, but who receive none of that which is produced.

It is this condition that causes so many to declare that the present distribution of wealth does not conform to the principles of justice. And how can it be otherwise, when all wealth passes through the hands of the producers and stops only when it reaches those who possess most? Thus wealth is becoming with us not a power for general good, but a power given to the few to control the many — a power of placing upon the masses a yoke little better than slavery itself. The rich, becoming further and further removed from the poor, are also becoming conscious of being in a measure the proprietors of the poor. The poor have a knowledge of this fact, and the strikes, boycotts, and general discontent are but the expression of that knowledge.

In no country in the world does wealth, individual and corporate, exert such an influence as in the United States, and as a consequence, human life is becoming lamentably cheap. Capital is taking the place of men, and is valued more than men. Property is becoming sacred, human life profane. Laws are being made not for the good of humanity, but for the sake of property. One instance may be mentioned here: in the spring

[1] THE ARENA, Dec., 1896, p. 82.

of 1896 a bill was before Congress to remove all criminal cases from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was argued by those in favor of the bill that much of the time of the Supreme Court was consumed listening to criminal cases (cases involving life and liberty), while high-priced corporation lawyers, whose cases involved millions of dollars, were required to wait in Washington until the criminal cases were disposed of. The bill naturally passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House.

This bill was but one of many indications that, in the eye of the law, property is becoming of more value than life or liberty.

In Benjamin Franklin's time it was proposed to make the possession of a certain amount of property a prerequisite for voting. The amount would at the time have bought one ass. Franklin characteristically argued: If a man with an ass could vote, and did vote, but when the ass died the man could not vote, who was it, in fact, voted — the man or the ass? Franklin's argument would hold good against many of the laws advocated to-day — laws in which the object is the stability of property rather than the freedom or happiness of man. This condition of affairs, this conflict between the right of liberty on the one hand, and the right of property on the other, has created a great political problem. Has the state a right to limit wealth? Is there a limit to the accumulations of individuals and corporations? Has the state the power to tax concentrated wealth out of existence when such wealth has become detrimental to the public peace and prosperity? In other words, has the state the power to prevent the acquisition of wealth from becoming a public curse? Government, if it stands for anything, stands for the public interests, and one of the objects of government should be the protection of its citizens from the encroachments of accumulated wealth.

Great individual wealth is an anti-social interest. It is the ascendency of individuals over the interests of the public. Individuals have, it is true, a certain amount of liberty, but it cannot be denied that society has the right to modify the liberty of the individual where such liberty is but the slavery of the public. The right to live also implies the right to use the things about us which go to make life comfortable and

enjoyable, and which have not been already appropriated by others. It is evident, however, that the use of anything by one must necessarily take from the personal liberty of all others who otherwise would be able to use it. And it is perfectly plain that just in proportion as one's wealth increases, the wealth of others must decrease. This to a certain extent is legitimate, and cannot be prevented. But when the wealth of one increases to such an extent as to deprive others of food, shelter, and even existence itself, it infringes upon the equality of personal liberty far more than could any law that placed a limit to individual wealth. When men are starving, when paupers are increasing, when to the misfortune of poverty is added the curse of industrial slavery, when the great concentration of wealth affects the life and liberty of all, is not a law just which takes from a few a portion of their wealth and indirectly restores it to the hands of the many? Does not the right to property involve and rest upon the admission of the right to live?

Cardinal Manning startled the world some years ago when he declared: "The obligation to feed the hungry springs from the natural right of every man to life and to the food necessary to the sustenance of life. So strict is this natural right that it prevails over all positive laws of property. Necessity has no law, and a starving man has a right to his neighbor's bread."

Strong words these for a cardinal. Sentimental philosophy it may be called, but it is the philosophy of justice. Enormous wealth has always been irreconcilable with equality. Its growth has caused the downfall of many democracies. Will it bring about the ruin of the greatest democracy in history? Are we, with the awe with which we regard the institution of property, becoming a nation of millionaires and mendicants?

Property is only absolutely safe when those who hold it are far more numerous than those who do not. When the middle class disappears from a nation and the property falls into the hands of a few over-rich men, then property is unsafe. We call such a condition an aristocracy of money, and an aristocracy of money is always the child of a degenerated or degenerating democracy. Some people, however, regard the concentration of wealth as an indication of progress. In matters political

the obstacle is often taken for the cause. Monopolies, trusts, and other forms of concentrated wealth are regarded by some as the blessings of a prosperous nation. But examined in the light of history we find that concentrated wealth has always been a means of obstructing if not of destroying a nation. Our nation is not an exception. We cannot say that the destructive power of concentrated wealth is not now felt. All that is necessary is to observe the conditions about us. Whenever the people of a nation become subservient and dependent, and are oppressed and abused because they are so, whenever there is little general prosperity but a great deal of prosperity for a few, we naturally come to the conclusion that the cause of the misery and lack of general prosperity is the great concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. It is this conclusion, arrived at by what are termed the masses, that has caused the many conflicts of recent years between labor and capital. And such conflicts are natural. Man always revolts when he suspects his misery is the consequence of a social order capable of reformation. Force, of late years, has often been called upon to subdue the spirit of resentment which agitates the breasts of the poorer classes. The militia of the various States and even government troops have been called upon in order to preserve property and also maintain the supremacy of concentrated wealth.

How long this can go on before a change comes we do not know. It cannot be maintained long. Unless some law is enacted that will stop the encroaching power of wealth, things will go on until the inequality becomes so glaring, so oppressive, that the pent-up social waters, gathering force, will break through the wall of concentrated wealth and allow society once more to regain its natural level. Every statesman, every thinker, should know that we cannot expect a healthy growth with class arrayed against class. Every strike, every riot, is a retrogressive step in our nation's history. If our American civilization is to endure and progress we must bring about a change in the distribution of wealth. If conditions are such as to be beneficial to a small number and injurious to society in general, those conditions should be changed. Unless limited, the alarming development and aggressivenes of great capitalists and powerful corporations will eventually lead to the absolute

degradation of the toiling masses. Unless checked, it will continue to grow until it usurps the entire legislative and executive branches of our government, and, like a huge vampire, slowly draws the life-blood from every healthy, helpful creature. This power of wealth is the greatest danger that has threatened our country since the civil war, and against it we must constantly be on our guard. If the power is permitted to grow it may become too late, and can then be remedied only by putting class against class — by revolution, which always means the rejoicing of the poor at the downfall of their oppressors.

This, then, is to be the battle of the future — concentrated wealth on one hand, concentrated poverty on the other. The battle should not be one of force, but one of reason and agitation until wealth shall be bound by proper constitutional limitations; a battle in which law shall triumph; for the true remedy, the remedy most conducive to equality, lies in legislation. But this legislation should be immediate. If we desire to prevent actual war between class and class, it is imperative that a legal check at once be placed upon the growing power for evil of aggregated wealth.

The limitation of wealth by law has received the approval of some of the most gifted as well as philanthropic of minds. In our own country such men as Horace Greeley, Theodore Parker, and William Ellery Channing have advocated it. Still, a ready objection of some against the limitation of wealth is that any attempt to remedy by legislation the inequality of fortune at once infringes upon the right of personal liberty. Have we no laws in existence now which infringe upon the right of personal liberty? Do not our usury laws take some rights from the individual? Does not our custom-house law, which permits the trunks of every new arrival to be searched, infringe somewhat upon the right of personal liberty? The citizen who would object to these laws would have but a very narrow conception of the true purpose of government. If we examine our laws closely we shall find many that encroach upon individual liberty for the sake of public good. Then why should any objection be made to those laws which tend to limit wealth?

Undoubtedly a tax levied upon all incomes, which would be progressively raised and graduated according to the amount

of the individual or corporate wealth could be constitutionally enacted. And if a progressive income tax can be enacted, the graduated inheritance tax can also be enacted, for the principle is practically the same. Senator David B. Hill, of New York, has called the progressive tax a "modern fad." It is so modern, however that it can be traced back to the Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians. During the palmiest days of Greece — the days of Solon and Lycurgus — a progressive tax was a stern reality.

Our own country has not been without a progressive tax. In 1797 a graded inheritance tax was levied by Congress. This law was repealed in 1802. In 1862 a similar law was passed. But after having been decided to be constitutional by the Supreme Court, it was repealed in 1872.

Other governments at the present time tax the rich. In England, besides the income tax, many other items of revenue are contributed entirely by the rich — contributed upon the principle that those who have acquired riches shall bear the burden of taxation. In the United States we seem to place the burden of taxation upon the shoulders least fitted to bear it. Every effort to tax the rich, to properly tax corporations and trusts, has met with failure. The lobbyist and corporation lawyer have defied the tax-gatherer until they have worn out the patience of the people. The time is now ripe for proper legislation. A progressive income tax and a tax upon inheritances should be made a law in every State. The power to tax, it has been said, is the power to destroy. If a scale of taxation were wisely adopted it would eventually enable us to reach without political disturbance the almost total abolition of an aristocracy of wealth and thus solve the great problem of the day. If we are to consider humanity of any importance at all, wealth must be limited. The rights of all must be considered. When this is done we may be able to have a truly prosperous nation — a nation in which prosperity will not be confined to a favored few, but given to all.

"Prosperity," says Rousseau, "is best secured when the medium-class income prevails, when no citizen is so rich that he can buy others, and no one so poor that he might be compelled to sell himself."

THE BATTLE OF THE MONEY METALS

I. BIMETALLISM SIMPLIFIED.

BY GEORGE H. LEPPER.

THE "free-silver delusion" is not dead, nor will it die unless the McKinley administration shall give it its quietus by providing the country with a sound and popular system of bimetallism. Even the most sanguine of the Republican leaders must admit that the prospect of accomplishing this task by international agreement is not so encouraging as to make the tentative consideration of other plans, not requiring concerted action, unnecessary or useless. The purpose of this article is to present such a plan, and to contrast it with those which have already been tried, or have thus far been proposed.

That the financial policy we have pursued since 1878, the year of the Bland-Allison Act, has been absurd and ruinous hardly admits of two opinions. Secretary Carlisle, in his letter of September 16th last, gave authoritative utterance to what had long been tacitly understood. He said, "If the time shall ever come when the parity of the present silver dollars and silver certificates cannot be otherwise maintained, they will be received by the government in exchange for gold." In other words, the vast stores of silver purchased by the United States under the laws of 1878 and 1890 are a dead asset of the Treasury, and cannot be utilized for purposes of redemption until sixteen ounces of silver shall again be equivalent to one of gold, or until they are re-sold in the open market for gold. To render this treasure available for ultimate redemptions thus becomes a prime condition of our problem.

There is a growing disposition in certain influential quarters to evade the difficulties in the way of international bimetallism by taking the government out of the banking business, and relegating the matter of currency issues more and more to the banks. Whatever may be said in behalf of this course, it is certainly not popular with the masses, who, justly or ignorantly, have come to look upon national banks as favored objects of

legislation, and in league with syndicates and trusts. But, aside from this, the real core of the trouble is not removed. We but shift the burden of responsibility. The ultimate fund for redemption remains limited to the one metal as before, and can serve the banks even less efficiently, for the more divided the responsibility the larger the proportion of gold required for reserve purposes.

International bimetallism at the contemplated ratio of 16 to 1, and bimetallism by independent action at the same ratio, although opposing issues in the late campaign, are founded upon the same errors and misconceptions. Both assume that monetization creates a commercial demand for the metals, thereby enhancing their values; that the use of gold and silver as money substances has been one of choice with us instead of necessity; and that legal-tender laws create value.

It may be going too far to say that monetization creates no demand, but whatever demand it may be supposed to create is not a commercial one. In the latter sense the word signifies both an actual purchase, or the exchange of one thing for another, and a permanent withdrawal from the market of the thing bought. The act of coinage is certainly not a purchase, for, directly or indirectly, it aims to restore to the offerer of the bullion not something else, but the *precise thing received;* nor is the metal retired from the market, since it is actually or virtually, though in an altered form, immediately restored thereto. The whole process is merely one of bailment. It would therefore seem incumbent upon those affirming the efficacy of monetization to raise the price of the metal to show by scientific analysis just how, why, and to what extent it does so. The fact that from 1792 to 1873, with free coinage at a very close approximation to the market value, not once did the legal and commercial ratios coincide, and that the change of the former from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1 in 1834 had no perceptible effect on the market, seems to be conclusive proof that the general belief that free coinage at a fixed ratio appreciates the over-valued metal is delusive.

It is important to inquire into the grounds upon which the use of silver and gold is founded, for if we have *chosen* them for that purpose there is an implication that other substances might

have served the same object almost, if not quite, as well. Such is not the case. Silver and gold are absolutely unique in possessing the qualities indispensable for money, and not only nature, but immemorial custom and deep-rooted prejudice combine to compel their use in the exchanges irrespective, and even despite, of legislation. Monetization, therefore, cannot, for this further reason, add to, or take away from, their respective values, because the exchangeability that monetization is supposed to give them is a natural quality and not the creature of law. But so much more is this true of gold than of silver, that the dependence of modern commerce, and, through it, modern civilization, upon it is almost absolute. If, therefore, free coinage at a ratio unfair to gold were attempted, gold would cease to be offered at the mints, but it would nevertheless continue in use in final settlements, especially in transactions of some magnitude, thus preventing its decline in value.

Suppose, then, that such a law, national or international, should go into effect to-day, would anyone be so fatuous as to part with his gold until the effect of the law could be discerned? If the governments at the same time should exercise the same good sense, they would retain their gold and disburse their silver, but such conduct would defeat the very object of the law. If, on the other hand, they should release their gold, retaining their silver, they would give fresh point to the oft-proved saying, "The fool and his money are soon parted." A *bona-fide* attempt on the part of one or more powers to change the market ratio of the metals could result only in transferring government gold to private coffers, and in a general fall to the silver basis with all its attendant evils. Meanwhile the gold would continue its functions as money in new transactions, but at its market value, never by any chance reaching the public treasuries except on the same basis. The inconvenience of transacting business with a metal some thirty times as heavy, value for value, as that to which they had been accustomed would, without further reason, speedily induce the governments to a restoration of the gold standard at any cost.

As for the legal-tender quality, it cannot be denied that governments here possess a peculiar power which individuals cannot exert; but that fact does not make the exercise of that

power morally right. The quality of legal tender infused into the debased dollar cannot but add temporarily to its exchangeable value in a degree gradually diminishing with the exhaustion of the accumulated credits. When, however, the last debtor in the series is reached, and there is no longer a Peter to rob for the sake of Paul, the fraudulent coin must inevitably sink to the value it had as bullion prior to the act that created it.

Upon such fallacies as these it is sought to erect the elaborate superstructure of the civilized world's monetary system! Some of the more advanced thinkers among the self-styled bimetallists, realizing that some deference must be paid to the lessons of experience, which offers not a solitary instance of the concurrent use of the two metals under a fixed ratio, argue that, even so, the chief blessing of bimetallism — a less variable standard — will have been secured in the automatic oscillation from one circulation to the other. If this oscillatory feature is the object sought, the adoption of a ratio of 16 to 1, or thereabouts, would certainly not secure it, but one almost identical with the market ratio would be imperative. Not once in the history of our country did this alternation occur, although from 1792 to 1873 we were upon the double standard. It is true that in 1834 the circulation changed from silver to gold, but that was due not to the automatic effect of that system, but to an actual change of the legal ratio from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1. But if the legal ratio is now made to conform to the market one, what becomes of our present silver coins? Must they be called in and be replaced by the new? If so the convenience of our subsidiary coinage will be sacrificed, for a silver dollar twice its present size would be intolerable.

The obstacles in the way of international bimetallism need not be enumerated here. The proceedings at the Brussels monetary conference in 1892, though they accomplished little besides, certainly served to make these difficulties plain. The primary object is to make silver coins and gold coins continuously interchangeable in trade at a ratio approximating as closely as possible to 16 to 1, and the discussion of the means to accomplish this has apparently narrowed down to one proposition to be answered by a simple yes or no: Shall the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 1 to 16 be restored? It

will not do to insert any other ratio (except, perhaps, 1 to 15 or 1 to 15½), because if a ratio closely approximating the commercial one is contemplated, each nation might decide the question for itself, and an international agreement would be superfluous. All the civilized nations have their own established ratios of coinage varying from 15 to 15½ or 16 of silver to 1 of gold, and whichever of these should prevail the result could not but be a serious matter to those nations obliged to reform their coinage in accordance therewith. Neither horn of the dilemma presented by the plan of a fixed ratio is practicable; the convenient one of 16 to 1 is impossible, and the commercial one would necessitate recoinages and make the coins prohibitively cumbrous. The choice of an intermediate ratio would be a virtual relinquishment of the principle itself, for how would that ratio be arrived at if not by mere guess? There are no data to guide us, nor is there any formulated rule by which the desired ratio may be determined. Besides, the intermediate ratio would still remain open to the objections advanced against the higher ratio, both in requiring recoinage and in unduly enlarging the coins.

The inevitable result of free coinage at a fixed ratio is to expel the undervalued metal from circulation. There can be but one way to prevent this, and that is by a system of sliding scale whereby scrupulous fidelity to the state of the market from day to day may be preserved. Diurnal recoinages are of course out of the question, but the thing is nevertheless both easy and practicable.

Let us assume that gold only has hitherto been used as money, that 25.8 grains thereof have been taken to be one dollar, and that it is now desired to supplement it with the use of silver. Our proposition will necessarily take this form: If one dollar is equal to 25.8 grains of gold, it must be equal to as many grains of silver as 25.8 grains of gold will buy in the open market. Here we must remember that what is true to-day may not be true to-morrow or a year hence. So many grains of gold may to-day be worth 412½ grains of silver, to-morrow they may be worth but 400, and next day, 420. By *fixing the amount* of silver in the dollar we thus utter through these coins a new falsehood each day. *Constant values, not constant weights,*

is what we are driving at; so in lieu of the silver coin we must substitute a promise to pay a gold dollar, or a gold dollar's worth of silver, whatever the state of the market. This is what I designate *natural bimetallism.* The silver dollar and fractional pieces as we now have them may nevertheless continue in circulation, for the promise can be written into them by legislation to redeem them, upon surrender, in the same manner as the paper promises. It is possible that Hamilton and his successors in office prior to 1837 may have thought of this expedient, but discarded it as not then feasible. We must remember, however, that they had serious practical difficulties to contend with, which are now happily removed. The advantages of the telegraph, the cable, the improved means of transportation, and our admirable system of market quotations, enable us now with certainty and ease to determine daily what any given thing is worth in terms of any other.

In order to make my plan as clear as possible, I shall run the risk of seeming elementary by following through, step by step, a typical transaction under it: Let us fancy that the reader, bearing a nugget of gold in his left hand and another of silver in his right, and desiring to convert them into money, repairs to the Philadelphia mint. He applies there to the proper clerk, who, for simplicity's sake, we will suppose performs all the operations. The clerk weighs and assays the two pieces of metal, and finds the gold one to contain 25,800 grains of standard gold, worth precisely $1,000, which are counted out in bills. A similar operation reveals that the lump of silver weighs 35,500 grains, but the clerk is now observed to consult a table before saying, "The market equivalent of a gold dollar is to-day 710 grains, consequently your 35,500 grains are worth $50;" and he then proceeds to count out the money in bills precisely like those given in payment for the gold. Upon examining these at his leisure the reader discovers imprinted thereon a contract running as follows: "This note entitles the bearer on demand to [the denomination of the bill] dollars in gold or to the market equivalent thereof in silver."

In the course of time, say five years hence, these identical notes, by the accidents of trade, have come into my hands, and I desire to have them redeemed. Applying to the United States

Treasury I find I am granted the privilege of taking payment in silver, in gold, or partly in one and the balance in the other. For the purposes of our illustration, however, we will adhere to the figures already used. In exchange for the $1,000, then, I receive back precisely the weight of gold originally given for them. For the $50 I receive six pieces of silver of different sizes, which I notice are arranged upon a decimal scale of grains. They contain respectively 30,000, 5,000, 1,000, 500, 100, and 50 grains; in all 36,650 grains, or 1,150 grains in excess of the original quantity. Upon inquiry I learn that this excess is not due to any mistake by the clerk, but that since the first transaction silver has fallen so that 733 grains are now commercially equal to 25.8 grains of gold, and that the government has simply redeemed my notes at par. After this first experience I have many subsequent transactions with the mint and with the Treasury. At the former I find that I have the choice of notes, gold coin, or silver coin. At first I reject the silver coins as being under weight, but upon its being explained that they are purposely made light for the sake of convenience, and that they are by general law redeemable in the same manner as the notes, I no longer object to them. At the Treasury, on the other hand, I am sometimes, though rarely, informed that the government is exercising the option reserved in its contract; that it is paying exclusively in gold, or exclusively in silver, or partly in one and partly in the other. These occasional disappointments, however, never affect the integrity of the money I have in hand, for whether redeemed in gold or silver, everyone knows that it will be redeemed at its *face value*, and it accordingly passes unquestioned.

Upon several occasions I present bonds of the government for redemption, some of them issued previous to the inauguration of the new system, and others issued afterward. In either case I find that the same system of redemption prevails as in the example of the notes. Treasury notes, silver coins, and silver certificates — one and all I discover are also redeemable like the new notes or convertible into them, so that I need never concern myself about any matter save their genuineness.

Gold certificates and greenbacks must, of course, be redeemed as their special contract requires, but, once redeemed, they must

reissue in the new bimetallic notes which I have described. Thus a very simple method is provided whereby this form of currency may be transmuted into another without contracting the circulation.

The great desideratum is to make our vast stores of silver available for ultimate redemptions, and this, natural bimetallism effectually accomplishes. Our gold reserve would therefore cease to be indispensable to the preservation of our national credit just as soon as the greenbacks and gold certificates were converted into the bimetallic notes or cancelled. But there need be no fear that the gold reserve would ever become depleted. By removing all danger of the debasement of our money, by insuring the parity of every dollar of our currency with gold, and by permanently retiring the greenbacks, we destroy the incentive to hoard gold, cause its return to the reserve, relieve it of half the burden it formerly had to sustain, and reduce to a minimum the tendency to withdrawals. The copious supply of gold thus secured would enable the Treasurer to waive his option to pay in silver whenever the customer preferred gold, thereby enabling merchants to use the less cumbrous metal for foreign shipments. Indeed, it is entirely probable that the new notes would be preferred to gold in international as well as in domestic exchanges.

An advantage of especial importance is that the metals can be concurrently used. The oscillation from one to the other, even if it be admitted that it would provide us always with the better of them under whatever changes may occur, is certainly not to be preferred to the constant and equal use of both. The unlimited coinage of the two metals upon a plan so equitable, recognizing as it does their precise market relations from day to day, would enable us to view with indifference the fluctuations of the market, however great, and to whatever cause due. Incidental to this advantage, and second only to it in importance, would be the establishment of a par of exchange simultaneously with the gold- and with the silver-using countries by allowing customs duties to be paid in silver bullion at market prices, or in gold.

It may be contended that under the plan here proposed the government might lose by a continued decline in silver, and

that the silver it already has would remain depreciated far below the price the government paid for it. I frankly admit this. But is it reasonable to suppose that silver will continue to decline? The probabilities are that in the succeeding twenty years the production of gold will increase more rapidly in proportion than silver; and it also seems that whereas processes for extracting and refining silver have well-nigh reached their limit of economy, the new processes for treating gold are rapidly improving. Nor must it be forgotten that should such a decline occur the mint deposits are from day to day keeping pace with the withdrawals, the losses on the latter thus being counterbalanced by concurrent gains, and interest-bearing debts being constantly transmuted into non-interest bearing currency. It is equally clear that the utilization of a dead asset, as the government stock of silver now is, is a distinct gain, and will permanently dispense with the future issue of bonds for the repletion of the gold reserve. As for the silver purchased by the government under the Acts of 1878 and 1890 having become depreciated, the fact is there whether we choose to recognize or ignore it. There is no better way for palliating that loss than to make that silver immediately available for the payment of the nation's debts.

Allied to the question of the costliness of the system is that of its tendency toward, or freedom from, speculative disturbances. So long as payment solely in gold was compulsory, speculators had a fertile field for their operations. By giving the Treasurer the option of payment in silver or gold, however, raids upon either metal can be met by paying exclusively in the other until the proper equilibrium is restored. If a real difficulty should still be found to exist in practice, a slight mint charge would effectually put an end to it. In any event, natural bimetallism is much less open to criticism on this score than the existing system, or than that of the fixed ratio.

The pieces of silver with which redemptions are to be made are in no sense to be regarded as money. They are distinctly merchandise, possessing a commercial value precisely equivalent to the number of money units received or surrendered therefor, and when the notes have been redeemed, and the commercial equivalent has been given therefor, the government's

responsibility ends. The government assumes no obligation to maintain silver bullion at a given ratio to gold, but it does assume to make each unit of money the equal of 25.8 grains of gold. In other words, the fluctuations in the value of silver are confined to it in its bullion shape, and cannot enter into its form as money. The idea that paper currency must be redeemed in gold, *as money*, or silver, as money, is erroneous. It is redeemed in those metals because they have value as *merchandise*. In domestic transactions this fact is often lost sight of, but it becomes manifest in international exchanges when the metallic money passes strictly on its merits as bullion, and without regard to the stamp it bears. For these reasons the Treasury should not be understood as guaranteeing the weight or fineness of the metal, except in its immediate transactions, although to facilitate its ready acceptance between reputable merchants, the affixing of the government's seal upon the pieces would be a very proper practice.

Nor is there any mechanical difficulty in the way of the operation of the plan. The silver could be fashioned into pieces of different sizes graduated upon a decimal scale of grains, with the smallest piece containing fifty grains, being somewhat larger than the current dime. By limiting redemptions, then, to fifty dollars and multiples thereof, our pieces will in every conceivable instance enable us to make the exchange, or redemption, to the accuracy of a single grain on each dollar, which is certainly sufficiently close for all practical purposes.

In contrast to the national banking system, the bonds could be retired without derangement to our finances, the metals forming a basis upon which our outstanding currency could directly rest — thus obviating the extravagant features of that system and stripping us of the impediment of an immense debt. And not only this: the encouragement natural bimetallism would hold out to owners of bullion of both kinds would cause our national vaults to be filled to overflowing with the sinews of war, and make us the best equipped nation on the earth for a prolonged struggle, should such a struggle come.

By providing a means for the remonetization of silver at the market rate we are doing its friends a greater kindness than they ask. Free coinage on seemingly more favorable terms

would result in immediate overproduction and a glutted market, from which condition it would be most difficult to escape. If there be any merit in the contention that a "demand" for the metal is what is needed, and that that demand will enhance its price, so much the better, for in that case not only will the condition of the silver industry improve, but the government itself will be benefited by the enhancement in the value of the metal it already holds and may hereafter acquire. The example set by the United States would be gladly imitated by other nations, and the use of silver as a basis for money would speedily rival that of gold.

Viewed as an experiment the trial of it would be inexpensive and without peril, while congressional debates pending its consideration would give no cause for apprehension or disturbance to business, since the gold standard would not be jeopardized. But why should it be regarded as experimental when the most elementary and most familiar business principles are followed?

The question may be raised whether the preservation of the gold standard is desirable, since, it is claimed, it is gradually appreciating in value. To this it may be said that the peril of the gold standard does not consist in the fact that it is rising, but that it has been hitherto accompanied by the non-use of silver in final redemptions. That an appreciating dollar is necessarily an evil is, moreover, fairly debatable. During the period from 1864–1872 (which our Democratic friends delight to laud as the most prosperous in our history), although we were nominally on a bimetallic basis, contracts were made on that of the greenback, which rose during that time an average of ten per cent per annum, to wit: from 49.2 cents in 1864, to 89 cents in 1872. In other words the debtor who borrowed $492.00 in 1864 was obliged, eight years later, to pay his creditor $890.00 of like purchasing power as he had received, in addition to a considerably higher interest than now current. I do not wish to be considered as standing sponsor for the rising dollar, but it is a pertinent question to ask those who decry the gold standard for this reason, why the same cause did not have the same effect in each instance.

The objection may be made that I would make of a silver

mere commodity, but the point is not well taken, inasmuch as the mint offerings are transmuted into paper currency, which is virtually making silver, money; moreover, the silver itself is retained in its present form of subsidiary coinage. Silver is not a moral being possessed of rights and sensitive to insults; it is a mere thing whose function it is to serve us in any way we may deem most conducive to our interests. If under the system of natural bimetallism it does this best, the question as to its money or commodity character is vain. Moreover, under Gresham's law, one metal under the fixed ratio is not only "reduced to a commodity," but is absolutely expelled from circulation and as a basis for circulation; and we have also seen that in the last analysis both silver and gold are commodities under any system of specie payments.

Under a republican form of government, where frequent and extreme changes from one policy to another must be guarded against, that policy should be adopted which most nearly conforms to justice, and which the sense of the largest majority commends. What proposition, then, could be fairer and more apt to commend itself to the general intelligence than that the metals should be monetized at their commercial values from day to day, or what policy more likely to remain unaffected by the mutations of parties and politics?

In conclusion let me sum up the salient points: We have seen (1) that the chief weakness of the present system is the non-availability of silver for final redemptions; (2) that "currency reform" is inadequate because of its unpopularity and in failing to increase the primary basis of money by the addition of silver; and (3) that the principle of the fixed ratio is fallacious and impracticable. On the other hand, we have discovered Natural Bimetallism to be the application of the principles of everyday business to that business which underlies all others, — national finance, — and that the advantages resulting therefrom are: It dispenses with the necessity of an international agreement with its attendant uncertainties, perils, and delays, and at the same time points out the way to a sound and permanent home policy upon which all our factions could unite. It practically restores to silver its unlimited coinage at its just market rate, injects a healthy stimulus into the languishing sil-

ver industry, preserves our admirable system of subsidiary coinage, and utilizes both metals as companion pillars of our national credit. It coaxes gold to the mint, keeps it there, and does away permanently with bond issues. It provides for the retirement of the greenbacks, supplies their place with currency equally sound but less hazardous, and insures the absolute parity of every dollar in circulation with every other, and with gold. In fine, as every true principle must, and as only a true principle can, it answers every condition of the problem to which it applies, and commends itself as the best, if not the only, way out of our financial embarrassments.

II. BIMETALLISM EXTINGUISHED.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

The article on "Bimetallism Simplified" by Mr. George H. Lepper is open to one serious criticism: the title should be changed to "Bimetallism *Extinguished;*" for, when the argument is translated out of its sophistical form, that is its precise meaning. We are obliged, in such a matter as this — even at the expense of courtesy — to break through the thin film of plausibility, and at one stroke to lay bare what is in the bottom.

It is a marvellous thing that they who engage in excogitating this kind of double-meaning literature about bimetallism, should suppose that the people can any longer be deluded with it. The agents of the money-power and the fuglemen of the dominant political party seem to think that a certain species of casuistry and complicated makeshift of argument can still be forced into currency, as it has been in the past, and that the great American democracy can be persuaded thereby to accept fallacy for truth and thus to perpetuate the reigning Dynasty of Robbers. Messieurs, you can perform this feat no longer.

Mr. Lepper admits in the outset that the McKinley administration is doomed *unless* it can provide the country with a sound and popular system of bimetallism. As a matter of fact, a sound system of bimetallism is simply bimetallism. A popular system of bimetallism is simply bimetallism — neither more nor less. In this vital matter, the popularity will take care of itself, and so will the soundness.

In the next place, we observe that if the McKinley administration depends upon the adoption by it of *any* system of bimetallism, then the administration is doomed, deeply and darkly doomed, already. Let the world know that the McKinley administration will not provide, and has never intended to provide, the country with *any* kind of bimetallism. The administration has no notion of such a thing. It was not created for such a useful and honorable destiny. It was created to prevent bimetallism by treacherously pretending to be in favor of it. They who created the administration, they who determine and will continue to determine its action, openly sneer at any system of money except the gold-based system of monometallism.

Mr. Lepper must be aware of this fact. Indeed it is to be hoped that there is not any longer *one man* in the United States so far gone down the slopes of delusion and idiotic infatuation as to imagine that the hollow pretensions of this administration in the direction of bimetallism by international agreement, or by any other method, have ever been anything else than cunning subterfuge and treachery.

The politicians who worked out the St. Louis platform knew what they were about. They knew that they were creating a hypocritical document with which to deceive and ensnare the American people. They fixed their net and made their haul. They succeeded to this extent — that they elected their ticket and gained possession of the government. Lo, the day of judgment has already come! Now, in the endeavor to postpone the judgment, they prepare arguments under captions that have a friendly sound but are at bottom bitterer than cassia and more mockful than the laughter of Mephistopheles.

The next stage in the policy of these gentlemen is to invent something that shall *seem* to be bimetallism, but is not. This something they seek to palm off on the world and to distract mankind with it until the money sharks who are chuckling behind the gold-vaults of two continents shall be enabled, in the confusion and *mêlée*, to shuffle off to covert with their incalculable loads of booty.

Mr. Lepper's paper is a document of the kind described. The general purport of it is this: "People of the United States, I am a physician. I belong to the silver school. I am

a graduate of the Bimetallic Institute. This pill which I give you is out of the silver pharmacopœia. It will heal all your diseases perfectly." But when you examine the pill which he exhibits, you will find it to be a solid bolus of gold, filmed over with tin foil.

Mr. Lepper enters upon the discussion of the subject with the following statement: "The vast stores of silver purchased by the United States under the laws of 1878 and 1890 are a dead assest of the Treasury, and cannot be utilized for purposes of redemption until sixteen ounces of silver shall again be equivalent to one of gold." Observe what becomes of these propositions under a truthful analysis. In the first place, our "vast stores of silver" are *not* vast stores. They are not nearly as vast as they ought to be. There are no bursting vaults of silver in the Treasury of the United States and never were. In the next place the stores of silver are *not* a dead assest of the Treasury. They are just as much a living asset of the Treasury as is the accumulation of gold therein — and in the same sense. These stores cannot be used for purposes of redemption because *they do not exist for that purpose.* A bimetallist who is not a bimetallist is always strong on redemption; and he knows only one redeemer — gold. The redeeming business in our financial plan of salvation has been altogether overdone. In the name of wonder, what is it we want to redeem? Is it the greenbacks? Is it *any* of our legal tender? The greenback is already constitutional money. Does Mr. Lepper know that the greenback has been declared constitutional money by the Supreme Court of the United States — this with only a single dissenting vote? Does he know that every national bank bill in the United States is finally redeemable in greenbacks? Does he know that in our scheme of redemption, the people have only a *paper* redeemer, while the banks, with the connivance of the government, have a redeemer of *gold?* Our "vast stores of silver" have only to be coined into silver dollars; to be used as primary money, just as gold is used; to be paid out just as gold is paid out in the transaction of national business, and in particular in the payment of the national indebtedness. If this is freely done, the exaggerated purchasing power of the latter metal would at once be reduced to the normal standard. This

reduction would immediately express itself, or begin to express itself, in a general rise of prices, in a revival of business, and in a universal restoration of prosperity. Everything would again be well in the great Republic. All this would happen without financial sin and without a redeemer.

Mr. Lepper very properly says that international bimetallism and independent bimetallism "are founded upon the same errors and misconceptions." He should have said that they are founded upon the same *truths* and *necessities*. For "errors," read truths, and for "misconceptions" read necessities. The writer of "Bimetallism Simplified" next goes on to say that whatever value may be created by monetization is not a commercial value. Well, then, what kind of value is it? Is it a social value, such as a man attributes to his child that is not for sale? Or is it a political value, such as a party manager attributes to a vote that *is* for sale?

Let us see whether monetization does, or does not, create value. We will not quibble about the phrase "commercial value," but come directly to the issue of value in general. Take the case upon which the goldites so greatly rely, that of the safe burned in a fire with a bag of gold coin and a bag of silver coin fused within. The triumphant gold sophist says, "The ten gold dollars fused into a lump will still be worth just ten dollars, while the silver dollars fused into a lump will be worth only five dollars." Of course the lump of fused gold will be worth ten dollars when it is coined and measured by itself! Suppose that the lump of fused silver be coined into dollars again; how much will that be worth? Everybody who has a premonitory symptom of common sense knows that the lump of fused silver will — *if coinable again into dollars* — be worth just as much as the lump of fused gold. It is *because* the lump of fused gold is coinable again into dollars that it retains its value. It is *because* the lump of fused silver is *not* coinable again, under the present order, that it is not worth ten dollars.

What makes the difference? It is the fact of monetization for one of the metals, and demonetization for the other. Does anybody suppose that ten dollars of silver fused into a lump would not still be worth ten dollars if the lump were re-coinable? Does anybody suppose that ten gold dollars fused into

a lump would still be worth ten dollars if the lump were *not* re-coinable? The fact of monetization not only confirms the value of one metal, but it insures the value of the other also — that is, it *would* insure it if monetization were not denied. Incidentally, this plain statement of the case utterly confutes the only seemingly valid argument, that is the two-bag argument, with which the goldites have been able to support their theory of "sound" money. Mr. Lepper's assertion that monetization does not confer commercial value will have to rise through many circles in the spiral of intelligence before it reaches the plane of nonsense.

Further on in his paper, Mr. Lepper says: "The inevitable result of free coinage at a fixed ratio, is to expel the undervalued metal from circulation." Who taught him that? Perhaps Gresham taught him. If so, he taught him what is not true. It is incredible that intelligent people should be humbugged with such a fallacious proposition as Gresham's so-called "law." Suppose that under free coinage, gold be undervalued, and suppose that, being so, it begins to vanish — where will it go to? To the Bank of England? If so, what will be the effect on the price of gold in the Bank of England? Will not the price begin to fall at that point at which the stream of gold pours out? And will it not continue to fall as long as the outflow goes on? What, on the other hand, will be the effect on the money market at that point from which the outflow is established? Will there not be produced a stringency behind the outflow, and will not all kinds of money begin to appreciate at that point from which the flow begins? And will not this stringency become greater and greater as long as the outflow continues? And will not the prices of all kinds of money, silver in particular, begin to rise until the outflow ceases? This is to say that the price of gold, like the price of anything else whatsoever, will fall wherever it accumulates, and the price of silver will rise in every place from which the gold is drained away, until a parity of values between the two money metals shall be inevitably established. This is the *real* law of two money metals circulating together; and Gresham's so-called "law" is only the hocus-pocus and ghost of a law that is true to begin with, and is not true to end with.

I now come to the gist of Mr. Lepper's article, and I invite particular attention to the heart and core of the matter as he presents it. He says (all the while declaring himself to be a bimetallist): "Let us assume that gold only has hitherto been used as money, that 25.8 grains thereof have been taken to be one dollar, and that it is now desired to supplement it with the use of silver." I had not supposed that any person in the world could be under the influence of a delusion to the extent of propounding three such hypotheses as the foregoing. Mr. Lepper might with equally good reason, in discussing the constitution of nature, have said, "Let us assume that the world is a circular disk of tin," or rather, "Let us assume that the world has always been *regarded* as a circular disk of tin. Let us assume that the world, being a circular disk of tin, weighs 3,820 lbs., and that it is now desired to improve its constitution by adding forty pounds to its weight and by converting it into a square block." These propositions would be just as philosophical, just as useful in argument, and just as well warranted as those which he presents! His assumption is that gold *only* has been used as money. But it is not true that gold only has been used as money. It is not true that gold principally has been used as money. It is not true that gold has been as widely used as silver. It is not true that it is as universally used to-day as silver. It is not true that it was used at as early a day as was silver. It is not true that it has been used as a standard unit of money and account in the United States as long and as universally as silver has been used. It is therefore absurd to say, "Let us assume that gold only has been used as money." It is preposterous to offer such a hypothesis. If we should grant the affirmative of such an assertion, we should rush into a region of falsehood and fanaticism identical in all particulars with that station which the goldites now occupy, and from which they send forth their clamor.

Mr. Lepper says further: "Let us assume that 25.8 grains hitherto have been taken to be one dollar." But it is not true that 25.8 grains of gold have hitherto in our American system been taken to be one dollar. It is true that, according to our fundamental statute, and to all subsequent statutes down to the year 1873, 25.8 grains of gold were taken to be of *the value*

of a dollar; but they were not a dollar. Our gold eagles were of *the value* of ten dollars; our half eagles were of *the value* of five dollars; our double eagles were of *the value* of twenty dollars; our quarter eagles were of *the value* of two and one-half dollars; our one-dollar gold piece, of 1849, was *not* one dollar, but was of *the value* of a dollar! The dollar was first, last, and all the time, defined to be a coin composed of 371 1-4 grains of pure *silver*. This is the very alphabet of the matter. I have myself set forth these facts so many times that I am ashamed to repeat them; for it implies that there are still people in the United States so lacking in intelligence and information as to require the reiteration of the bottom facts and principles in our American coinage system.

Twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold never did compose a dollar in the United States until after the year 1873. Why, therefore, should Mr. Lepper say, "Let us assume that 25.8 grains of gold have been taken to be one dollar"? Then he goes on to say, "Let us assume that it is desired to supplement it [that is the gold dollar] with silver." Why should he speak of supplementing the use of gold with silver, any more than supplementing the use of silver with gold? There is not as good reason for the proposition to supplement gold with silver as there is to supplement silver with gold. Herein lies the trouble with those gentlemen who are trying to fix up a plan by which not to do it. They begin with a series of false hypotheses. They work along from these false assumptions until they reach some monstrous conclusion, and then show how sound the conclusion is because it is logical!

Genuine bimetallists do no such thing. They claim the coinage of gold and silver on terms of absolute equality. They do not propose to measure the silver by the gold, or the gold by the silver. They propose to have two standard units, and to use the one unit or the other unit at the option of the debtor. They do not propose that the creditor shall decide in which of these money metals a debt shall be paid or a contract made valid — simply for the reason that the two units co-exist, and every contract and engagement made among men is made in the face of this fact, and with the full knowledge of it, and with the understanding of what it implies. That understand-

ing is that at the date of settlement, the debtor, and *not* the creditor, shall decide in which of the two standard metal-moneys he shall discharge his obligation. The option is his — exclusively *his*. The transaction is honorable, right, and just. Whoever challenges it is an abettor of the scheme for robbing the debtor by compelling him to transact his business, and in particular to pay his debts, according to a standard unit differing from the dollar of the law and the contract.

Of this outrageous fraud we will have no more. We spew it out of our mouths. We spit on the proposition, under whatever garb it comes, to compel the debtors of this nation to discharge their obligations in a dollar differing from the dollar of the law and the contract. We do not propose to "supplement" gold money with silver money — meaning the subordination of the silver to the gold. We do not propose to "supplement" silver money with gold money — meaning that the gold shall be absolute and the silver only token. There is no "supplement" about it. It is a simple proposition to have our money *in two kinds*, and not in one kind. It is like laying a foundation of stone and brick. The stone is not more dependent on the brick than the brick is dependent on the stone. They are both built into one abutment; they both contribute alike to its solidity and magnitude; they both enter into its composition and are part of its structure; and they both shall stay there, gentlemen of the gold craft, in spite of your efforts to take one constituent part of the abutment away!

I now come to the next essential division of Mr. Lepper's article. I call particular attention to what he proposes. He says:

"In order to make my plan as clear as possible, I shall run the risk of seeming elementary by running through, step by step, a typical transaction under it: Let us fancy that the reader, bearing a nugget of gold in his left hand and another of silver in his right, and desiring to convert them into money, repairs to the Philadelphia mint. He applies there to the proper clerk, who, for simplicity's sake, we will suppose performs all the operations. The clerk weighs and assays the two pieces of metal, and finds the gold one to contain 25,800 grains of standard gold, worth precisely $1,000, which are counted out in bills.

A similar operation reveals that the lump of silver weighs 35,500 grains, but the clerk is observed to consult a table before saying: 'The market equivalent of a gold dollar is to-day 710 grains; consequently your 35,500 grains are worth $50;' and he then proceeds to count out the money in bills precisely like those given in payment for the gold. Upon examining these at his leisure, the reader discovers imprinted thereon a contract running as follows: 'This note entitles the bearer on demand to [the denomination of the bill] dollars in gold or to the market equivalent thereof in silver.'"

This paragraph needs only to be critically examined in order to show forth the material of which it is builded. Mr. Lepper takes his two nuggets, the one of gold and the other of silver. He goes to the mint. The gold nugget weighs 25,800 grains; the silver nugget weighs 35,500 grains. Mr. Lepper adroitly slips in the clause that the gold nugget is "*worth precisely a thousand dollars!*" In what units is the gold nugget worth a thousand dollars? Why, in gold units. He says that the 35,500 grains of silver are found to be worth $50. In what units is that amount of silver worth $50? Why, in gold units! That is, beginning with the gold standard, and ignoring the silver standard, Mr. Lepper reaches bimetallism! That is good. He assumes, to begin with, the thing he is trying to prove! He assumes it in his major premise, implies it in his minor premise, and reaches it in his conclusion. I say that is very good. Twenty-five thousand eight hundred grains of gold are "worth precisely $1,000," in gold dollars at the rate of 25.8 grains to the dollar. Well, I should say so. The same would be true of tin, of leather, or tree-molasses. Only assume that something is a standard, and then measure that something by itself and you will get there. Mr. Lepper gets there. Then again he assumes that the market equivalent of the gold dollar at the date referred to, is 710 grains of silver; therefore, 35,500 grains of silver are worth just $50 in gold. Forsooth, it requires a philosopher to tell us that; though a country schoolboy might make it out just as well. It is only a problem in the rule of three. We assume that silver is worth so much in gold; therefore, so much silver will be worth so much in gold! That is, gold is the standard; but we are a bimetallist, and we will write

a paper on "Bimetallism Simplified" showing how we can create a mono-bimetallic standard. The "mono" is the essence of Mr. Lepper's scheme; the bimetallic part of it is sophism and green cheese.

In his argument Mr. Lepper simply proposes to measure gold *by itself;* and to measure silver *by gold!* That is all there is in it. He seems not to know that anything measured by anything other than itself is not primary money, and cannot be. Gold, when coined and made legal tender, is primary money when measured by itself. Silver when coined and made a legal tender is also primary money when measured by itself. Anything coined and made a legal tender is primary money when measured by itself.

It is thus that Mr. Lepper creates a bimetallic system of money. He proposes to keep it up in the same manner. He simply assumes that gold is an unfluctuating, eternal standard, and that silver is a fluctuating, impossible standard. He agrees that silver may be used as money and even coined on a basis which assumes that it shall not be used as money and not be coined at all, except by the measure of gold! His factitious and absurd device is therefore not bimetallism, but monometallism on a basis of gold. He might substitute pewter for silver in his scheme, and it would be just as good; he might substitute putty or plaster of paris, and his plan would work as well.

Such a scheme is not bimetallism at all. It is monometallism pure and simple. I have, in a private way, pointed out the fact to Mr. Lepper that his plan is not what it pretends to be. I have tried to show him that what he proposes is simply a delusion of goldite hocus-pocus. As a matter of fact, THE ARENA has not the space to be devoted to the dissemination of such literature as Mr. Lepper's article. I did not wish to subject the writer of "Bimetallism Simplified" to this castigation, but he would have it so. It is no doubt an entertaining business with Mr. Lepper to work his elaborate scheme for pretending to do a thing, and not doing it. Practically, I might urge upon his attention the fact that what he proposes will satisfy nobody; certainly it will not satisfy the McKinley administration. That administration does not propose to do *anything*. It proposes to stand still, in the midst of much bluster, hoping all the time that

the gold standard will become more and more fixed on the American people, and that the "silver delusion" will subside.

Mr. Lepper will have his labor for his pains. His system will be laughed to scorn by all the goldites proper, and it is certainly rejected as spurious, impossible, and absurd by all genuine bimetallists. I wish to remark in this case, that the term "goldite" applied to the monometallist, is not a misnomer or an unwarranted epithet; for monometallists advocate the establishment of gold money only, as the primary money and money of ultimate redemption. On the other hand, the term "silverite" is a misnomer; if accepted, it misleads, for it implies that he who is characterized as a silverite is a believer in silver only as the primary money and money of ultimate redemption. There are no people of this class of whom we have heard.

Bimetallists believe in the use of both moneys freely and on terms of perfect equality; they will be satisfied with nothing less. They know that they are in the majority, and that they cannot be ultimately defrauded of their purpose. They intend to restore our coinage to what it was before the Act of 1873. By such restoration they propose to break the corner on gold and to reduce the exaggerated purchasing power of that metal to the normal standard. They intend that this reduction in the purchasing power of gold shall be answered — as they know it will be — with a corresponding rise in the prices of all the products of labor. They intend in this way to achieve prosperity; they intend to wrong no man — not even the bondholder; they intend that every man shall have his rights according to the law and the contract; they intend to break faith with none; they intend to march right on to the achievement of this result; in doing so, they intend to consult themselves. They know full well that the so-called "great commercial nations" will be glad enough to trade with us, and to take our money in both kinds too. If not, we hold the rod! If any nation under heaven proposes to discriminate against the United States of America because of our bimetallic standard of money, let that nation try it! We shall see who comes out best in that contest.

When the weak-kneed, the time-serving, and the cowardly

shall be expelled from power; when American patriots are in the high places of authority; when the people's voice shall be heard as the voice of many waters, — all men shall then be assured that the great republic is able to do its own business in its own way, asking favor of none, menacing none, and fearing none! When that good day comes with the end of the century, such literature as Mr. Lepper's "Bimetallism Simplified," read in the retrospect and in the light of a better verdict of the people, will seem to the thoughtful student of history to have been the product of some humorist, indulging a sarcastical disposition at the expense of the very theory which he sets forth in his article.

THE SEGREGATION AND PERMANENT ISOLATION OF CRIMINALS.

BY NORMAN ROBINSON.

WHAT shall be done with confirmed and incorrigible offenders? For a good many thousand years the world has been wrestling with this problem, and in this year of grace it is seemingly very little nearer a rational solution than when the first fraternal brawl sent one brother into his grave, and another into exile with the perpetual brand of a murderer blazing upon his terror-stricken brow.

The savage settles the matter with a tomahawk or a war club. The remedy is at least effectual, and society in the kraal or the tepee does not bother its dusky brain about the possible reform of the offender. Any type of criminality that is inconvenient or unpopular is, therefore, summarily buried in the nearest grave.

Up to the time of the Christian era, the savage and the civilized man alike held substantially the same theories. The one idea that dominated all criminal law was punishment. The statutes of Draco and Lycurgus never harbored the thought of moral improvement, much less made provision for the reform of the criminal. Roman law and Greek law were little better. The one right which all offenders possessed was the right to be punished. Reformation was entirely a personal matter, which theoretically in rare instances was possible, to which the law, save in capital cases, interposed no special obstacles, and to which it gave no special encouragement.

With the advent of a new and more merciful dispensation, we find gradually creeping in a belief that the criminal classes have some rights which society is bound to respect, and that not the least important of these is the right to reform. For two thousand years these not necessarily conflicting ideas of reform and punishment have travelled down the centuries in a medley of incongruous and often contradictory systems of criminal law. As the better classes have generally made and

administered the law, it is not strange that the elder and more savage idea has on the whole been dominant, and that, taking the world together, the reform of criminals is still rather a side issue than an object of far-reaching and systematic legislative enactment.

Even the most optimistic student of penology would be compelled to admit that our present methods of dealing with criminals are unsatisfactory to the last degree. Our systems of punishment do not punish in any such sense as to be a terror to evil-doers; our systems of reformation do not reform. The whole thing goes on in a vicious round of self-perpetuating infamy. The central idea of our modern penal system — and it is certainly a very venerable one — is that in some way the world will be greatly benefited by shutting up its law-breakers for a longer or shorter period, feeding them liberally, giving them a period of enforced steady habits and steady work, and after a while taking off this straight jacket of compulsory morality, and turning them loose again with improved criminal skill and sharpened appetites to prey upon society in the old way.

The actual result of this crowding of more or less confirmed vice into one concentrated aggregation, is simply to intensify the evil it was intended to remedy. The convict who enters a prison cell for the first time — perhaps as the result of some sudden and overpowering temptation — a man who at heart is no better and no worse than his neighbors, and who, if by any chance he had escaped conviction, would have finished his life as an average citizen, as a friend and advocate of the law — finds himself here in an entirely new environment. Self-respect is gone. The old motive for honesty is gone. He enters the new and stifling atmosphere of concentrated crime, and with it comes the feeling that the world is all against him. It is his first offence, but it is by no means likely to be his last. Every man he sees, save the grim rifle-carrying guard who growls and swears at him, is a convicted criminal. Every object that his eyes fall upon intensifies the lesson that he is henceforth to be counted among the enemies of his race. Every breath that he breathes reeks with the malaria of crime. He is now an enlisted soldier in a warfare against right and law and social

order. He is in the devil's own training school. The seven other "spirits more wicked than himself" are all around him. Whatever prison rules may say, there are certain to be clandestine meetings, secret conferences, in which the novice is initiated into the higher degrees of the freemasonry of crime. Schemes of profitable law-breaking swarm in the teeming brains of these wearers of the stripes, to be turned into actual deeds in "the good time coming," when these apt pupils of the high school of depravity shall be free again to make war upon the peace and welfare of the world. Is it any wonder that this first offender comes out of prison a confirmed criminal, and that "the last state of that man is worse than the first"?

If the same business sense were used in this matter which is ordinarily given to the management of great human concerns, we should soon find some way of improving upon this discouraging condition of affairs. No merchant in his senses would discharge a dishonest clerk for a term of ninety days with the distinct understanding that he was to spend his enforced vacation in the society of thieves and cutthroats, and at the end of the time be taken back again into his old place as though nothing had happened. The railroad president who should discharge a drunken engineer, and then after six months give him hold of his old throttle again, although it was in evidence that he had spent his retirement in a whiskey saloon, studying under competent tuition the latest methods of holding up trains, would be very apt to be bundled off at the next meeting of the board of directors to manage railroads from the inside of a lunatic asylum. Courts and judges and lawyers are about the only people on the outside that do business in that way.

Is there no help for this state of things? Must the machinery of justice go on forever grinding over the same vile grist, retrying and reimprisoning old offenders, cultivating rather than repressing the law-breaking instinct, passing on to still lower depths of depravity the soul once caught in the meshes of crime, and at last dragging the great masses of offenders down to one common level of hopeless and helpless hostility to social order and law?

It is, of course, much easier to point out faults than to suggest effective remedies. I am persuaded that some happy inspi-

ration of genius will yet give us methods, probably so simple that we shall wonder that they have not always been used, by which many of the gravest evils which disgrace our present system will be effectually removed. I think the key to the whole problem will ultimately be found in one word — *segregation*. Worcester defines "to segregate" "to gather in a flock, to set apart, to separate from others."

In pursuance of this idea let us suppose, save in the case of certain crimes that disclose confirmed and hopelessly vicious tendencies, that all first offenders were counted in a class by themselves. For these reformatories should be built, in which a complete segregation of the various classes of law-breakers should be made, and that, too, with the same idea uppermost which prevails in modern hospital practice, that infectious cases should in all instances be especially isolated. Criminal infection is as real and morally quite as disastrous as is physically that of cholera or smallpox. So with this predominating idea of segregation; and with a wise discrimination which might be difficult in the beginning, but which experience would more or less perfectly supply, the various classes of first offenders should be separated into distinct and non-communicating families. Hard labor should here mean hard labor. Rigid discipline coupled with coarse but wholesome food should emphasize the fact that this was a place, not of comfortable leisure, but of reformatory punishment. At the same time such educational and moral influences as enlightened experience could supply should be brought continuously to bear, to give new aims, inspire new motives, and impart health, strength, and soundness to morally weak but not necessarily hopelessly criminal natures.

Under enlightened management, commitment to such reformatories might be made for an indefinite period, with the same limited discretion that the law now gives to courts of justice, to be dependent largely upon the behavior of the criminal, and to be determined not before, but after his term of imprisonment began. The superintendent and board of managers should, in that case, be clothed with large discretionary powers to dismiss, to detain, to place in higher or lower classes, as their best judgments should dictate, and as the actual and tried needs and progress of reform in each individual case might demand. The

vast, costly, and architecturally imposing structures which are now denominated "reformatories," and which in many cases might be much more appropriately labelled "failures," if not discarded altogether, could be supplemented by simple and inexpensive structures, giving abundant room and light and air. With such conditions and surroundings, and under such a system intelligently administered, it is reasonable to believe that no small proportion of first offenders, who, under our present method, drift into the hopelessly, and it might in many cases be added, helplessly, criminal classes, would be restored to moral soundness and self-respecting citizenship.

But with the most efficient system of reformation which human wisdom could devise, there would still be a large contingent of incorrigible offenders, who, from hereditary taint, bad environment, or other causes, have cut themselves off from all retreat, burned the bridges behind them, and enlisted in a life warfare against human society and law. Most second offenders and those whose brutal past points to an irredeemable future should properly be classed as life criminals, and with these, society, while not forgetting "the quality of mercy," should deal with firm hand and inexorable justice.

As our government is not so situated that penal colonies are practicable, walled villages might be built with all the safeguards which modern science and inventive skill can supply for the absolute and permanent isolation of these "life criminals." In these penal villages, various grades and classes should be placed each by itself. Behind these never-opening gates, and under conditions that should relieve the world at once and forever of their presence, these avowed and unrepentant enemies of social and civil order should be compelled to "work out their own salvation."

No great and costly prisons would be needed. Simple and inexpensive cottages, each with its separate plot of ground, with furniture and housekeeping arrangements on the most frugal scale, with absolute necessaries in food and clothing, at least for a time, would be required. The greatest possible liberty should be given to each individual convict. The industrious should be assured of the full benefit of their toil. Those who would not work, should find here the same penalties for idle-

ness as obtain in the world they had left. Here might be gathered the whole round of industry — artisans, shops, manufacturers of all kinds, aided by every appliance of modern machinery. Schools, libraries, and even churches would by no means be excluded from this life-convict home. There is no reason why such a community of criminals might not ultimately become largely self-supporting and self-governing. They could have their own courts, their own lawyers, their own judges, their own system of penal law, and their own machinery for its enforcement.

To each small company of men there should be allotted a cottage, which they could call their own. As far as possible these men should be left to themselves. The outworking of social and economic laws under such conditions might sometimes be summary and savage, but it would ultimately be salutary. Though for a while, save as it was held back by the mailed hand of military power, crime might run riot, the instinct of self-preservation would at last assert itself. The murderer does not like to be murdered; the highway robber does not like to be robbed; all classes of criminals object to taking their own medicine; and so it would come about that, even out of elements the most incongruous and unpromising, some form of social order would finally be evolved. It is needless to say that the sexes should occupy separate villages. This in itself would cut off one very formidable source of new recruits for the army of crime. Indeed, it is hardly too much to predict that, if this plan of permanent segregation and isolation were carried out for even a single generation, crime would sensibly diminish, our overcrowded courts would be relieved, taxation be lessened, and the staggering shoulders of modern civilization be to some extent unburdened from one of the heaviest loads they are now condemned to bear. It may seem an ungenerous thing to say, but it is to be feared that the opposition to any such plans would be likely to come from those whose familiarity with the vices of the present system should best fit them to labor for and most earnestly to desire its improvement. Enlightened physicians gladly join in any scheme which promises to prevent or lessen disease, in spite of the fact that their living depends upon its prevalence. So, enlightened judges,

lawyers, and court officers might be expected cordially to approve of any system of moral hygiene which gave promise of efficiency as a prophylactic against crime. It is to be feared, however, that there would be a numerically large contingent who, like "Demetrius the silversmith," would feel that "this our craft is in danger," and who openly or secretly would do their best, as they have in a hundred instances in the past, to prevent the lopping off of a single twig from that wide-spreading tree of evil, whose fruit brings little scruple and no small gain to the cunning craftsmen who manage the costly and complicated machinery of the courts.

If such a system as has been rudely outlined were made absolutely secure, and the power of pardoning boards removed or greatly restricted, it might be wise to abolish the death penalty altogether. Juries might then have fewer scruples, and acquittals upon technical grounds, in spite of plain and abundant evidence, become less frequent. Mob law feeds largely upon the belief that even the worst criminals stand in little danger of punishment, but that "by hook or by crook" — mostly "crook" — especially if they or their friends can command means to hire lawyers and invoke the dilatory machinery of the courts, they are almost certain to escape. Whatever, therefore, tends to render the punishment of crime more speedy and certain is a direct discouragement to these sudden and savage outbursts of popular indignation against crime.

In the classification of offenders and their assignment to different penal villages, there would, no doubt, be some so atrociously and fiendishly criminal that it would be a cruelty to others and a mistaken kindness to them to permit them ever to go beyond their present prison walls. By the plan suggested, the penitentiaries in most of the States, now so crowded, while being relieved of a large part of their present tenants, could still be utilized for the confinement of these pariahs of crime.

Of course, in the working out of the plan suggested, there is abundant room for all the skill and wisdom which past history and modern experience can supply. Whether this or some better method shall finally prevail depends on so many uncalculated and uncalculable contingencies, that he would be

a very venturesome prophet who should attempt to forecast the future. It does not, however, seem reasonable that, in all the upheavals of modern thought, the questioning of old methods, and the suggestions of new and better ones, which these final years of the century are bringing, the treatment of the criminal classes shall be the one question that defies solution, or that the new æon which is soon to open shall find us still bound to a system which is confessedly a failure. Is it too much to hope that we can greet the opening of the twentieth century with a lustrum of prison reform, which shall bring at once the noblest mercy to the criminal, combined with absolute protection to society from its most avowed and most persistent foes?

HOW TO INCREASE NATIONAL WEALTH BY THE EMPLOYMENT OF PARALYZED INDUSTRY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious. Turn this claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim.— *William Morris.*

ON the 18th of last May, while in a small restaurant on Fifth Avenue, in Chicago, my attention was attracted by a large number of men who had congregated on both sides of the street in front of the office of the Chicago *Daily News*. In answer to my inquiry, a gentleman at my side explained that these men were waiting to see the "Want" column of the *News*, in the hope of being able to secure work. "It is an old, old story," he continued. "Day after day crowds of men gather here and anxiously wait for the *News* to appear, as this paper contains more 'Want' advertisements than any other Chicago daily." I waited until the boys rushed from the office with the newly printed papers, and saw the men hurriedly buy copies. I noticed how scores upon scores of eyes searched the "Help Wanted" columns, and how, one by one, they started in quest of work. I noticed the countenances of the weary watchers. Among them were to be seen almost all types of faces, but all, save one, were anxious, careworn, or stolid. I shuddered as, standing inside the restaurant unobserved, I beheld this sight of appalling misery and national shame. The faces of these men have haunted me ever since. Hunger was there, hate was there, despair was hovering over more than one countenance. There were wan, dull eyes, wolfish eyes, and eyes eloquent with mute appeals for kindness. There was the hunted look of a beast at bay, and the craven expression of a broken spirit. One only among the throng seemed able to be merry, though his thin face and worn clothes indicated his wretchedness. The tragedy of these lives remains with me. I know that this awful condition is unnecessary. I know that a little

more conscience, a little more love, a keener sense of justice, and a little honest concern for the rights of men and the enduring welfare of the state, a settled determination to overcome this condition and place the good of the people and the cause of justice above a shortsighted policy of selfishness, would change the whole aspect of things, now so ominous, so menacing, and so essentially unjust. This panorama of exiled industry, seeking vainly for employment, may be witnessed from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

I am not of that number who can regard these spectacles with indifference, nor can I feel, as do some others, that because the present order is essentially unjust in its practical workings it is well to turn a cold shoulder to movements calculated to arrest the downward drift of life and lessen the unfathomable misery of the poor in order that the crisis may be hastened. For while I believe that the present order is as surely outgrown as was feudalism in the sixteenth century, and though I believe most profoundly that this order must pass away or civilization perish, as have perished the civilizations of former ages, yet I also appreciate the fact, which to me is very important, that the only way to bring about the revolution peaceably is, first, to educate the brain and touch the conscience of the people; and, second, to check the growing bitterness and hate in the hearts of our unfortunates by giving them employment and treating them with justice and humanity. If a crisis is precipitated, fed by blind hate and a bitterness born of a consciousness of injustice long endured, it will assume the form of an uncontrollable storm, a blind, passionate outburst, in which the guiding influences of reason, judgment, and conscience will be absent. It will spread devastation in all directions, destroying the innocent as well as the guilty. If, on the other hand, we push forward an intelligent educational agitation, appealing to the judgment, the conscience, and the sense of right in the people, and at the same time supply means for maintaining self-respecting manhood among the unemployed until this waiting time is over, our civilization will move onward without the crash or shock of force, the destruction of property, and the loss of life incident to all struggles in which physical force and blind passion dominate. It is necessary to examine this problem on the

side of human dignity and on the side of national life. The question of utility, though of far less concern in its ultimate effect on conditions, has also an important place in the discussion.

Only under conditions which are fundamentally unjust, and only where the finer sensibilities of man have been blinded and deadened, could it be possible to witness the spectacle of millions of men and women begging for work, and begging in vain, in a nation of fabulous wealth and almost boundless resources; and yet such a condition prevails in our republic to-day. It is, therefore, time for every patriotic citizen to lay aside all partisan contentions and face this great question as we would face any great danger which suddenly came upon the nation, not as partisans, but as patriots; not as warring factions seeking victory for some special body or party, but as men and women who have the welfare of the race at heart, and who appreciate the gravity of the situation. It is the eternal law of recompense that when justice is long denied and the rights of man are systematically ignored, though the sufferers may Samson-like crush themselves in the ruins of the temple, yet the temple and its inmates also must fall. Or if by some chance the ruin comes not through the strength of the burdened ones, it will nevertheless come with unerring certainty, and not unfrequently through the very excesses of those who have hardened their hearts against the cry of justice.

Such is the interdependence of the units in national life that a wrong committed against one injures the whole people; and when that wrong is inflicted upon a large number of the units, and is of long duration, its fatal effects become very apparent. You cannot crush a finger or a toe without causing your whole body to suffer in consequence. You may disregard the hurt, you may ignore the wound until mortification sets in, but the result means death or the loss of one of the most valuable members of your body. It is precisely so with national life; for such is the divine economy, such the inevitable law of progress, that only by conscious recognition of human brotherhood, and of the rights and obligations which it implies, can any nation or civilization move onward and upward without those great periods of depression and decline which too frequently end in total eclipse.

Shortsighted, indeed, is that policy which places gold above manhood. When lust for gain stifles the voice of conscience, and the cry of the disinherited is heard throughout a land of marvellous wealth, a nation is confronted by a deadly peril which calls for a supreme effort on the part of every man and woman of conviction.

It is useless to close our eyes to the fact that the rising tide of bitterness is turning into hate, and that hate darkens the eye of judgment, obscures reason, and deadens conscience. A few years ago, when I wrote a brief paper on the menace of the unemployed, I was assured that the deplorable condition then present was temporary, that in a few months at most it would be a thing of the past, and that therefore it was not a problem calling for the intervention of the government; but to-day there are far more unemployed than there were then. The problem is assuming gigantic proportions, and the instincts of self-preservation second the demand of humanity in calling for immediate measures for the relief and the maintenance of self-respecting manhood. Whenever a workingman becomes a tramp or sinks into the social cellar, as tens of thousands are now doing, the nation suffers a real injury. Present conditions call for prompt action. The unemployed must receive that succor which will in no conventional sense be charity, but which will elevate instead of degrade. And this can be done by the state allowing those armies of men who now unwillingly represent unproductive labor to become armies for increasing the wealth of the country, by extending the productive area of the nation's domain, and by providing against the ruin which constantly menaces tens of thousands of industrious people in such a way as to stimulate business in all its ramifications by placing in circulation the equivalents for the work performed and the wealth earned. The ancient Romans understood the importance of having great works substantially built. The mighty highways which centred in the Eternal City, and the great public works which contributed so much to the comfort and happiness and grandeur of Rome, while not constructed with a view to affording employment to the unemployed, were wise measures for the benefit of the state, and it is safe to say that no expenditures were more serviceable or contributed more to the greatness and

essential wealth of the empire, save the money spent in the patronage of education.

The ancient Peruvians went further. They argued that the happiness, welfare, and prosperity of one was the concern of all. They banished poverty by giving every person productive work, and by their system transformed every foot of tillable land into productive gardens, enabling them to support in affluence an immense population, only a small fraction of which could have subsisted under conditions such as prevail with us. In our country to-day we have vast areas of useless land, only waiting to be transformed into tillable acres second in richness to no land in the country. To-day we have necessary work in the way of internal improvements which is imperatively demanded, and which, but for the slothfulness and indifference of our government, would be performed, thereby enormously increasing the wealth of the nation; while the performing of the same would give productive employment to millions of idle hands.

A striking illustration of the criminal neglect and shortsightedness of our government was seen this last spring in the devastation created by the floods in the Mississippi Valley, rendered possible through the inadequate levee system. Here the losses to crops and in stock killed are said to have been considerably over twelve million dollars, to say nothing of the enormous outlay which will be required to patch up the levees and make the devastated farms again habitable. This great loss would have been averted had the government acted upon the suggestions which I made some years ago in a paper on "Emergency Measures for Maintaining Self-respecting Manhood," in which it was shown that a permanent levee was practicable, and could be built in such a way as to resist the floods, reclaim many hundreds of thousands of acres of rich land, and protect millions of dollars' worth of property which is now under a yearly menace through danger of floods.

In this enterprise, which I shall again touch upon, we have a striking illustration of a practicable work which would immediately increase the national wealth far beyond the outlay required, while it would also change an army of idle consumers into an army of wealth-producers.

But as I wish to consider this question more at length a lit-

tle later, I now pass on to a brief notice of the vast tracts of land in the West, which have not yet fallen into the clutches of land syndicates, and which for a comparatively small outlay by proper irrigation could be transformed into garden spots. Take, for example, the State of Nevada. Here we find immense tracts of arid land, representing millions of acres, which to-day are unproductive for lack of moisture, but which, wherever irrigation has been introduced, have been transformed into wonderfully productive garden land. Mr. William M. Smythe, in the April *Forum*, has given some very interesting facts in regard to the agricultural resources of Nevada, from which we summarize the following:

> The most painstaking and systematic inquiry, however, ever made with regard to the extent of her water supply resulted in the conclusion that at least 6,000,000 acres of rich soil could be irrigated. The commission of 1893 reported twenty lakes and sixteen rivers of importance, which with minor streams and springs could be made to irrigate upward of 5,000,000 acres; and artesian wells would bring up the total to the figure above named. It should be borne in mind that the splendid agricultural prosperity of Colorado and Utah is based upon a cultivated area of only about 2,000,000 acres. It seems, then, that, so far as her agricultural capabilities are concerned, Nevada might sustain at least as many people as do Utah and Colorado put together, at their present stage of development. The products of the irrigated lands of Nevada are the fruits, the vegetables, cereals, and grasses of the temperate zone, and, in the extreme southern portions, the more delicate products of the semi-tropics, such as figs, olives, pomegranates, almonds, Madeira walnuts, and, in sheltered places, even oranges. When we add that Nevada, like all parts of the arid plateau, is distinguished for pure dry air, an extraordinary amount of sunshine, and consequently a very high degree of healthfulness, it can be scarcely maintained that the state is destitute of attractions.

What is true in regard to the possibilities of Nevada is true of large areas of land in other Western States and Territories. It must be remembered that irrigated land can be relied upon to yield bountiful crops with practical regularity, as the water-supply is ever present, while for most persons the fine pure air in these high regions is peculiarly healthful and invigorating. Thus the great West still offers millions of acres of exceedingly productive land which can be transformed into gardens and made to increase the national wealth by untold millions if the government will treat these tracts as any wise or thrifty private owner would treat them. If the government or the various commonwealths would take all the available land which can be

irrigated and give to the unemployed work at fair wages until the great desert tracts become fertile areas, the national or state domain would be enormously increased in wealth at a relatively small cost through the wise employment of the now paralyzed hand of industry.

Returning to the question of the Mississippi river, let our national government build a permanent levee, which, like the great highways of ancient Rome, should be built to endure for generations.

"There are," says ex-Governor Lionel Sheldon, "over twenty-three million acres exposed to overflow from the mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico. The productive power of these lands is not excelled in any part of the world, and by proper cultivation they would annually add many hundreds of millions of dollars to the national wealth and afford profitable employment for several hundreds of thousands of people."

Eminent engineers who have examined the levees under the auspices of the Mississippi river commissioners, agree that the problem is one which can be successfully solved if a sufficient amount is appropriated for so gigantic an undertaking, which would require substantial uniformity in the width of the channel of the river by building spurs and dikes at points where the Mississippi is too wide, the proper riveting of the banks wherever caving is likely to occur, together with the building of permanent levees of a height and strength sufficient to confine the waters in the channel. It is stated that since 1865 the cost of repairs has amounted to considerably over forty million dollars, yet owing to the fact that this work is of a temporary character the benefits which would be derived from a permanent levee are lost, and every few years the floods necessitate fresh expenditures of vast sums of money. Hence this patchwork policy is shortsighted and in the long run the most expensive. The carrying out of a comprehensive plan for permanent improvements by the erection of impregnable levees and the governing of the currents by dikes and spurs, would give us a territory, now absolutely useless, which would annually add hundreds of millions of dollars to our national wealth.

The great arid plains of the West and the levees of the Mississippi are merely examples of internal improvements of a

perfectly legitimate character which could be undertaken most properly by the general government, under Sec. VIII of the Constitution, which authorizes the "raising of revenue to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and the *general welfare* of the United States." By such internal improvements as those mentioned above the nation's wealth would be increased to a far greater extent than by the amount of outlay required for the completion of the work, while these enterprises would at once give productive employment to our millions of out-of-works, and this army of employed would put into immediate circulation large sums of money which would at once stimulate business through all its ramifications and bring about the long-hoped-for good times.

But at the very threshold of the discussion we are met with the declaration that we have no money in the Treasury with which to carry on these great projects. Before answering this objection I wish to point out the fact that we have millions of dollars to spend for a useless navy, a navy which in the hands of our senile government does not protect the life or the property of American citizens, a navy which is a constant and an enormous expense. While almost unlimited sums can be raised for the building and equipment of battleships, we have not a dollar to aid honest industry to maintain self-respecting manhood by engaging in works which would add immensely to the real wealth of the nation.

And, again, before pointing out how this money could be raised, I would call attention to the fact that this cry is by no means a new one. It was raised, and with much more show of foundation, during the dark hours of the early sixties, but the great Civil War exploded the fallacy. One would think that in the presence of the stupendous facts connected with the conduct of our Civil War, even if the question of the value to the state of an independent, contented, and prosperous manhood should be left out of consideration, the shallowness of the objection would be so apparent that it would have no weight with thoughtful persons. Let us not forget that there was a time in the history of our country when the Treasury of our government was empty, a time of great national peril when gold had fled across the seas or into the vaults of the bankers and

usurers, as it ever flees in time of danger, when public credit was greatly impaired by the presence of war within our borders and a strong probability that even if the national government escaped overthrow a large number of the States would become an independent nation. In this crisis we had men in charge of the government who were statesmen, men great enough to rise to the emergency of the hour. Now, if we were able under such conditions to carry to a successful termination the most expensive and memorable civil war of modern times by the aid of the greenback, surely there would be no risk in resorting to a similar medium of exchange for the carrying on of a work which would immediately add to the nation's resources and free from the bondage of involutary idleness a large army of men who are now a burden to society and a danger to stable government.

If, however, the fiction by which bondholders enslave the people still holds such power over our legislators and the public mind that the menace of the growing army of unemployed, the injury to the state by the enforced degradation of her children, and the continued unproductivity of both soil and industry must go on unless a concession is made, it would be wiser to make the concession than to let the crime against manhood continue. I therefore suggest that bonds on the land to be reclaimed be issued to the amount of the national notes used for these great works in redeeming the now useless land. The bonds issued against these lands could be cancelled as the lands were sold. I do not for a moment hold that this is necessary. I only advance this suggestion in case the prejudice fostered by selfish and interested classes might otherwise defeat a work of such inconceivable importance.

The inevitable result which would follow such wise, statesmanlike, and humane proceedings on the part of the government may be briefly summarized as follows:

Through this judicious, far-sighted, and enlightened course the government would, first, so strengthen and intrench herself in the hearts of the people that armories and militia would be little needed against the menace of lawlessness *within our borders*, while this wise solicitude and care for the welfare of her citizens would make millions of persons, who to-day have

little or no love for a nation which is indifferent to their manly cry for work, loyal defenders of the flag. By such a broad, wise, and just course the United States would do more than she could in any other way to render herself impregnable in time of danger. Second, by affording millions of her citizens the opportunity to engage in productive work she would utilize a vast amount of idle energy in adding to the permanent wealth of the nation, and the state would be fulfilling the noble function of government to promote justice, increase happiness, and ennoble citizenship. She would be restoring hope and the spirit of independent manhood to her children, and so would prevent a great increase in beggary, in degradation, and in crime, which must inevitably follow unless present conditions are radically changed. From an economic point of view the government would be far richer through the amount saved from what otherwise would be required to provide prisons, poorhouses, and court expenses. Third, it would add vastly to the nation's wealth in increasing by untold millions the annual product of real wealth, while it would also supply homes for millions of home-seekers. Fourth, it would bring prosperity to America.

Let us suppose three millions of those now idle should be thus enabled to engage in productive work, there would then be placed in circulation each week from five to ten million dollars more money than there is now, and it would be paid out in small amounts, so that the bulk of it would instantly go into general circulation. The men would not only purchase for their own needs, but would send a part of their earnings to their loved ones, who would thus be able to do what they cannot now do — buy coal, wood, groceries, and, indeed, life's various necessaries. The prices of the farmer's crops would naturally rise, and he in turn would be able to increase his buildings and purchase more machinery. The increased demand for clothing would raise the price of wool and cotton, while it would start up the factories without any resort to artificial measures, such as levying a tax on imported goods.

The difference between present hard times and low prices and good times and high prices would be illustrated in this way: To-day millions of our people are idle, a load and an expense; they cannot buy what they need at any price, for they have

nothing to buy with. Millions of others have to curtail in every way, frequently doing without many needed things, for times are such that it is impossible for them to do more than barely subsist. Now, the millions who to-day buy nothing, because they have nothing to buy with, under these provisions for internal improvements would soon be buying regularly, because they would have the wherewithal to buy. They would gladly pay the farmer, manufacturer, and merchant more than what they now ask because they would have something to buy with, while to-day they have nothing; and those other millions who are curtailing expenses to the last degree would gladly pay the increased amount, for all lines of productive business would receive an impetus from the great addition to the circulating medium put forth as a result of the productive work being carried on. Now, our tariff taxes may put up prices for the favored classes, but they thereby increase the burdens of all save those who are enabled to gain added wealth from the taxes imposed on the millions who are yet able to buy, while the small increase in the demand for work, so long as millions are unable to buy what is made, would make but little impression on the vast army of unemployed.

A tariff tax is a burden to the millions, stimulating prices artificially, and benefiting chiefly the very wealthy. But the plan for internal improvements here outlined would give all ablebodied men productive work which would benefit the nation far more than the amount of the outlay involved, and afford time for the general work of education, by which justice and equitable conditions could be brought about, to proceed. Those who love peace, those who would see mankind elevated and the wealth of the nation preserved and increased, should favor this great palliative movement for maintaining self-respecting manhood, for enriching the nation's resources, and for insuring prosperity in the quickest and most healthful manner possible.

AN OPEN LETTER TO EASTERN CAPITALISTS.

BY CHARLES C. MILLARD.

GENTLEMEN: Against you individually, or as a class of persons who have accumulated more or less wealth, and who loan it at interest to those who perhaps have been less fortunate, I have not the least prejudice. I believe that yours is an honest as well as a legitimate business; that great wealth may be, and often is, won by honest means; and that it does not border upon the marvellous that the capitalist is often an honest man, and the pauper as often a rogue. I believe that you are as honest as other men are, and that if you fully understood the situation in the West and South, and knew that a certain line of conduct would result to your own advantage financially, and also be a great benefit to the whole country, you would act as other honest people would act under similar circumstances; and it is because I so believe, that I write this letter.

I write neither as a partisan nor in the interests of any party, but to give plain facts which can be easily verified, and to show how these facts are seen and felt by those who, like myself, have been born and bred on the boundless prairies, and have had a varied experience with the ups and downs of life on the sunset side of the Father of Waters. I hope by so doing to help you to realize the extent of the disasters which a continuance of the present financial policy will inevitably bring to *you* as well as to us.

The Actual Condition.

In 1886, the chief clerk and trusted agent of a great loan company, who has since been in the employ of Jarvis Conklin & Co., said to me: "There is plenty of money to loan, but the securities are practically exhausted." Everything "in sight" was covered with a mortgage. The few who had escaped the mania of speculation did not want any mortgage on farm or city property. Loans since then have been mostly renewals, and for a time one company loaned money to be paid to an-

other; but, with a few exceptions, the Eastern money borrowed since 1880 has not been paid, and anyone familiar with the facts does not need the gift of prophecy to foretell that, under the present conditions, it never can or will be paid.

The mortgages, bonds, and most of the coupons you still hold, and, in many cases, you also have a deed to the property; but neither the one nor the other is of any practical present value. The mortgagor is dead, moved away, bankrupt, or working at daily labor — when he can get work — for his daily bread. Therefore the debt is worthless, and the property is but little better. The very best of it — costly business blocks in the heart of the cities — is unremunerative. No intelligent poor man would, or could, take a brick block as a gift and keep the taxes and interest paid.

And perhaps the larger share of the city property is unoccupied or paying no rental. He who rides upon a Western railroad can see the proof of this from the car windows. In every city, town, village, and on not a few farms, can be seen the broken or boarded-up windows which are the footprints, not of time, but of the Eastern mortgage. This property belongs to you. No Western man pays taxes or interest, and no one expects to pay the principal. No one wants the property; no one has any use for it; and no want ever existed which it was calculated to fill, except in the brain of the monomaniac who built it. Whether you have "foreclosed" or not, the property is virtually yours; the mortgagor has no equity in it. While he had an equity, the decline in prices affected that equity; now it affects only *your* interest.

You own our business buildings, mansions, and cottages. You have an everlasting grip on our public buildings, Board of Trade halls, Young Men's Christian Association buildings, and even our churches. The Rev. Mr. Wooley, in the pulpit of the Central Christian Church of Wichita, said recently: "Every church building in this city, except one, is heavily incumbered, and most of them are practically insolvent." Even the "calamity howlers" of the "Populist" party are afraid or ashamed to tell the truth, "and the whole truth," about our financial condition.

And it is not improving. A few farm mortgages are being

paid, and scarcely any new ones are being made except renewals; but all the reduction so made is more than equalled by the sum of defaulted interest payments on mortgages outstanding. The statements in the papers, that the mortgage indebtedness of Kansas — or some other State — was reduced so many thousand dollars during the past year, are misleading. They are regularly published to restore "confidence." For the benefit of my Eastern brother, I will explain, lest he may imagine that we are each year paying back more money than we borrowed during that time, and that therefore, in the course of geologic time, our debts would be paid.

The "reduction" is a reduction of record only. I have known of the payment of $25 to reduce the record of $650, and $20 to make a "reduction" of $400; and for various reasons many mortgages are cancelled without any cash payment. These are well-known facts, and I could give a long list of those which have come under my own personal observation, while the mortgages which I have known to be paid in full might be counted on the fingers of one hand.

In addition to this, nearly every city or incorporated town, and many of the counties, have a bonded indebtedness as large as they can possibly carry. In some cases bonds have been issued and sold to pay interest on other bonds, and in one case at least — Pratt Centre — the interest payments have been discontinued "by order of the council."

The Future Prospect.

So far I have been dealing only with the past and the present, and have given only a plain statement of facts, the value of which must depend upon my capacity as an observer, my opportunities for observation, and my truthfulness as a writer. If you are inclined to be sceptical, inquire of your neighbors who hold, or have held, Western mortgages. The value of my forecast of the immediate future must depend upon the character of my reasoning and judgment.

As "death and taxes" are certain, it is safe to predict that taxes will be levied to pay the interest, and afterwards the principal, of city bonds. Also, it may be assumed that you, who own the larger and more valuable share of the property, will

pay the lion's share of the taxes. The Western man has "let go"; he is not "in the deal"; and when one capitalist is taxed to pay another, he is not an "interested" party. I sympathize with you. You have exchanged good money for bad property; and with the property you have assumed the bulk of our *burden of taxation.* You must pay our bonds, pay for the repairs and improvements of public property, pay for educating our children and making our laws, and yet you have no voice in determining when, how, or to what extent these things shall be done; nor power to prevent the jobs and steals which accompany such transactions in Kansas as well as in New York.

But, notwithstanding my sympathy, and the additional fact that I must indirectly suffer from the effects of your suicidal policy, it is amusing to see you trying to squeeze the remaining value out of *your own property.* For, I repeat, it is yours. Interest payments will cease in the same ratio that they have ceased, and for the same reasons. And the principal cause will be that the mortgagor has *discovered* that he has no equity in the property. If property is worth only "what it will bring in money," there are few pieces of mortgaged property in the West in which there still remains an equity. But many farmers are economizing and wearing rags in order to make interest payments, which can only result in putting the evil day a little further off.

The Westerner is a practical man. When he finds that the equity is all squeezed out of his property, and that it is still being squeezed at the same rate, he stops paying taxes and interest, uses the property free while you are foreclosing, saves up a little money, buys a house for about one-tenth of the money it cost to build it, moves it onto a "clear" lot, and is then ready to help you squeeze your property by voting for taxes for various purposes. Under like circumstances the farmer raises one or two crops without rent, taxes, or interest, clothes his family more comfortably, replaces worn-out machinery, rents a farm, and is in better circumstances than he has been for years.

The Proposed Remedy.

It may be that there is no remedy, but that will not prevent us from trying to find one. During the last ten years we have

experimented. We have tried Democratic rule and Republican rule; the "McKinley bill" and the "Wilson bill"; "tariff for protection" and "tariff for revenue only"; a Treasury "surplus" and a Treasury "deficit"; yet none of these things have sensibly affected the squeezing process. We have lost our faith in the tariff and in tariff-tinkering, as well as in the leaders who recommend it. We have dismissed our old political leaders and chosen new ones; and as your "gold-standard" squeezing policy is the only rational cause "in sight" for the origin and continuance of our condition — to use an expressive Western phrase — we are "going for it."

We are willing that you should own and control the property which was ours, and in which your money was invested, but when you attempt to force upon us your financial policy, your politics, and your religion, we object. You may own and control the property, but not us; here we draw the line. This is what Marsh Murdock had in his mental view when he said at the St. Louis Convention, "You want to own the country and run it too." But the veteran editor of the *Eagle* has changed his mind and consented to being "run."

You have bought the leading papers, caused our editors to "change their minds," flooded the country with a trashy literature that is an insult to our intelligence, and provided funds to pay third-rate preachers for preaching to us a religion which we do not want. We are not rich, yet we are able to pay for our education and our religion — if it is a kind that will be of any use to us.

We do not fear the result of our experiment. If we fail, the same old squeeze will continue; if we succeed, there is a prospect of relief. Without variation, there is not even a prospect of bettering our condition. If we should succeed in creating that financial paradox, a fifty-three-cent dollar, we are such political heretics as to prefer that kind of a dollar to none, or to "confidence." We have unbounded confidence in the dollars which jingle in our pockets, but very little in those which exist only in the imagination, and are represented by stocks, bonds, checks, drafts, clearing-house certificates, and other devices, which always fail to perform the function of money in the last extremity, when money is most needed.

Do not allow yourselves to be terrified at the ghost of a silver dollar, for the ghost of it is all that will ever trouble you. In the event of free coinage, the trains going East will not be loaded with silver dollars to pay off old mortgages. I have seen a statement in Eastern papers to the effect that we wanted cheap money with which to pay our debts. It is a base slander; every intelligent Western man knows that, whatever happens short of the miraculous, only a small share of our mortgage debts will be paid.

All the holdings you now have in the West, new and old taken together, are not worth fifty-three cents on the dollar; and you cannot now in any way realize that much from them; and if your present policy is indefinitely continued you have no prospect of ever realizing fifty-three per cent on your investments. If, then, you should be paid in silver dollars, or if a larger share of the loans should be paid under the new conditions, you would be a gainer and not a loser by the change. It seems to me that an increase in the volume of money and rising prices are the opportunity for you to realize from your holdings, for without some favorable change you will hardly realize twenty-five per cent.

You can test the truth of these statements. Take twenty holdings, not selected, and try to convert them into cash. Or offer them to some capitalist who has travelled extensively in the West during the last five years. Time will convince you, if nothing else will; but the knowledge may come a little too late for practical purposes. You ought to be with us in this free-silver movement, and you would be if you knew what we know. We are not fools, although we may appear so to you; we know what we want, and we are trying to get it.

You threaten "to draw in your money from the West." If you have any money in the West which you *can* "draw in," the sooner you do it the better; it will be an heroic remedy instead of misery long drawn out. A "panic" will return like a boomerang upon yourselves, and make *your* property still less valuable. You can cause a panic, break our business men, make more idle men and tramps, and, in short, concentrate three or four years of squeezing into a few weeks or months; but what benefit can *you* hope to derive from it?

Whatever adds to *our* prosperity will increase the actual value of *your* holdings; our interests are identical, then why should *you* desire the continuance of present conditions? Have the present conditions done anything for you, as far as Western investments are concerned? Is not your increase of capital simply an increase "on paper" which you can never realize? We cordially invite you to join us in our effort to bring on an era of prosperity; forsake your political leaders, as we have forsaken ours, and use at least as much common sense in politics as you do in business.

Save this article; it will be good reading after the election is over. It is not politics, it is business; it is the naked truth. The writer does not want to borrow any money; he seeks no office, is not a politician, has no axe to grind, and expects no reward, except to share in the general prosperity, as he has shared in the general adversity, in the capacity of a humble citizen.

WICHITA, KANSAS.

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

XIII.

10. *The Union of Telegraph and Post is needed for the Interests of the Post as well as for those of the Telegraph.* It will elevate the skill and competency of postal employees. When mails do not arrive on time, it will inform the public thronging the post office, not merely that the mail has not arrived, but when it will arrive. It will permit the employment of the telegraph in tracing a missent letter or package, rectifying an erroneous address, discovering the whereabouts of an absentee, etc. It will permit the more rapid extension of the free-delivery system by affording a larger basis for its sustenance. It will multiply many fold the rapidity in transmitting letters across the continent.

The telegraph is naturally a part of the post office,[1] as much a part of it as the sewing machine is a part of a dressmaking establishment. Suppose the government were in the clothing business (as it might have been to advantage during the war), and continued to sew the garments entirely by hand, leaving the sewing machine to private enterprise; it would be a charming situation for private enterprise, but not very delightful for the government. With such advantages private enterprise would be apt to deprive the government of the best part of its business in spite of its willingness to work for people at cost. The same thing has happened to some extent with the telegraph and telephone, and will happen to a far greater extent if they are allowed to continue in private control. If trunk lines for automatic transit were established by a private company, even at 25 cents

[1] Mr. Hubbard says: "The telegraph and the post office are two great pieces of machinery going on, both for the same purpose, the transmission of intelligence" (J. T. U. p. 17). Prof. Ely calls the telegraph the "logical completion of the post office" (ARENA, Dec. 1895, p. 49). Cyrus W. Field says: "Why should not the two branches of what is really one service to the public be brought together in this country, as in other countries, and placed under one management? It would certainly be a great convenience to the people if every telegraph office were a post office, and every post office a telegraph office" (*N. A. Review*, Mar. 1886).

per hundred words (a rate sufficient to pay a very large profit on a corporate investment, water and all), the post office would soon lose a considerable portion of its most valuable business, the letter mail between the large cities.[2]

In times of pestilence the telegraph will save the post office from embargo. A letter from Port Gibson, Miss., says:

> Whenever the yellow fever breaks out at any point, all cities and towns, and some counties, having communication with the infected districts, at once declare a rigid quarantine. The effect of this is to cut off all communication between themselves and the outside world. Trains and boats are prevented from receiving or delivering the mails. Business men are unable to communicate by letter with their correspondents, and all are prevented from hearing from relatives and friends in the quarantined places, except by telegraph, whose rates prevent many from using the wires.[3]

The infection does not travel on an electric wire, and if the post office possessed the telegraph, its business would go smoothly on in spite of the plague, instead of being brought to a dead standstill throughout the region of disaster at the very time when hearts are breaking for daily news, and communication is of the utmost importance to alleviate the quarantine.

11. *Employees will be benefited* by passing from a régime of oppression to one of elevation; from low wages[4] and long hours

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[2] Postmaster-General Cave Johnson said: "Experience teaches that if individual enterprise is allowed to perform such portions of the business of the Government as it may find for its advantage, the Government will soon be left to perform unprofitable portions of it only, and must be driven to abandon it entirely or carry it on at a heavy tax upon the public Treasury. . . . I may further add that the Department created under the Constitution and designed to exercise exclusive power for the transmission of intelligence, must necessarily be superseded in much of its most important business if the telegraph be permitted to remain under the control of individuals" (Reps. of 1845 and 1846).

Postmaster-General Cresswell said in 1872: "If the effects of rivalry between the telegraph and the mail upon the revenues of the post office have not been serious, it is due alone to the liberal management of the latter as compared with that of the companies, a management which since the invention of the telegraph has reduced the rates of postage from 25 to 3 cents, and increased tenfold the correspondence of the country" (Rep. 1872, pp. 22–3).

One of Hannibal Hamlin's three great reasons for a postal telegraph was "for the sake of the post-office system, which may at any time be depleted by a strong telegraph in private hands" (*Cong. Globe*, 42–2, p. 3554).

[3] Wan. Arg. p. 138.

[4] In the last Congressional investigation, dated May 26, 1896, the great telegraph inventor P. B. Delayner testified that the pay of American operators had fallen forty per cent in the last twenty years; and he said that, "while the British operator has had two increases of pay since 1891, his American brother has had four reductions, and to-day the British operator is better paid for the same amount of work, and by his environment occupies a higher plane of comfort and contentment, than the American operator. Good behavior and diligence in his duties warrant him a life position, from which the whim and caprice of no one can drive him. He is not an itinerant wandering from place to place looking for work and hired for a day or a week, to be again sent adrift, nor is he permitted to work overtime to the detriment of his health and the exclusion of another

to high wages and short hours; from a service almost hopeless of promotion to a service of almost limitless possibilities to the man of character, brain, and energy; from an employment in which they are regarded as so much machinery to be obtained at the lowest market rates and worked for all the profit there is in them to an employment in which their comfort and advancement are among the main objects of solicitude with the management; from a business in which they have no share to a business in which they are equal partners with all their fellow-citizens; from serfdom to liberty and manhood. No more boycotting and black-listing, no more denial of the rights of organization and petition.

Some of the consequences will be the lifting of thousands to a higher plane of living, the annihilation of strikes by uprooting the causes of them,[5] the improvement of the service as already stated under the seventh sub-head of this section, etc., etc.

12. *The press will be relieved of an ever present tyranny* likely at any moment to transfer itself from the potential to the real.[6] Sen. Report 242, 43–1, p. 5, says:

> The operation of the postal-telegraph system would result in a speedy termination of this alliance [between the telegraph and news association, and groups of favored papers], and will be a very important step toward the freedom of the press.

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wage-earner from his share. His increasing years of service are taken into account in various beneficial ways. He has his yearly vacation. He is not cut off in sickness, and, most important of all, he is not 'turned down' in old age, but is retired on a pension, proportioned to his years of service" (Sen. Doc. 291, 54–1, pp. 4, 6).

5 Joseph Medill, the publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, expressed the opinion to the Blair Committee that, with a postal telegraph, there would be no strikes any more than among the clerks in the Treasury or the officers of the army. Government employees do not resign *en masse*. Their pay is good as a rule, and, anyway, they could not get it raised till Congress thought it right; and a strike would not be apt to hasten the achievement of their purposes, but would place them face to face with the limitless power of the United States. Instead of occupying a position of brave revolt against corporate oppression, impervious to petition, the strikers would place themselves in the position of deliberately departing from ready and hopeful redress by peaceful petition and discussion, to the very objectionable method of obstructing the public business, defying the people's government, and dictating terms to the nation."

The telegraph system would no longer be subject to such disasters as that so well described by the Hon. Wm. Roche in the Ohio legislature Jan. 29th, 1885: "A convulsion of the trade and commerce of the entire country resulted, when, on the 19th of July, 1883, 12,000 operators left their posts after the flat refusal of the magnates to give audience to their representatives to state their case."

6 We have seen in Part VI (ARENA, June, 1896) how rates were raised on papers that criticised the Western Union's president or advocated a postal telegraph too vigorously, how papers were ordered not to criticise news reports under penalty of loss of news facilities, etc. It is interesting to note that even the largest and most influential papers

Sen. Rep. 577, 48–1, p. 16, says:

The bill [for a postal telegraph] will lessen the danger of a concealed censorship of news whereby it may be colored and distorted so as to subserve political purposes, to mislead public opinion as to the merits or demerits of men and measures, to pervert legislation, and to favor schemes of private gain.

The press of the nation will not be forbidden to criticise the news, nor will any paper be excluded from equal participation in the benefits of the telegraph service — equal rates to all, special privileges to none. Moreover, the rates will be greatly reduced for all press despatches, and papers will be able to buy the world's history every day for a fraction of what they pay now for imperfect and garbled reports.

As a result of National Ownership in England, "the press rates have been reduced so low that every country paper can afford to print the latest telegraphic despatches as it goes to press, and a telegraph or telephone is at every country post office."

13. *Discrimination will receive a serious blow.* No more telegraph rebates of 20 or 40 or 50 per cent to favored individuals and corporations. No more telegraph blanks for legislators, politicians, and lobbyists. No more delaying B's despatch until the rival message of C is sent. No more precedence for bucket-shops and gamblers over honest business and government despatches.

14. *Gambling in government stocks will cease*, speculators

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do not always escape persecution. In his speech in the House, Mar. 1, 1884, the Hon. John A. Anderson, of Kansas, tells us that "the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* had the lease of a private wire from Washington to Chicago, and published Washington news every day. A few weeks since, Senator Hill spoke for the postal telegraph. The *Inter-Ocean* published the speech verbatim. That evening word was sent to the *Inter-Ocean* that the lease was terminated. The manager of the *Inter-Ocean* said afterwards that their relations with the Western Union were still friendly, but he had to be, of course, in order to keep the general despatches."

7 Sen. Doc. 205, 54–1, p. 50; Report of U. S. Consul at Southampton, Consular Reports, vol. xlvii, No. 175, April, 1895, p. 564. The press rate in England averages nine cents per hundred words. In this country it is at least 40 cents per hundred; the electrician P. B. Delany says it is 50 cents per 100 (Sen. Doc. 291, May, 1896, p. 3).

The Report last quoted contains the testimony of Mr. Bell of the Typographical Union, May 20, 1896, in which he says: "The news of this country is controlled by two great press associations, and in any place in which either has a footing, no new journal can be established and secure telegraphic news except on such terms as may be prescribed by the paper or papers that already occupy the field. In England, on the contrary, all papers are on an equal footing." The Typographical Union is fully alive to the benefits of a government telegraph; in fact, labor and commerce in general very strongly favor the reform. Mr. Bell says: "In this movement of ours we are supported by all the organized bodies of workingmen in this country. We are a unit on this question" (p. 17).

in wheat, corn, pork, copper, oil, and other products of industry will be unable to control the wires for their uses, or even secure a precedence over the lines, and the Louisiana Lottery and similar frauds will no longer find a refuge in the telegraph as they do at present. The post office has been taken away from the gamblers; it is time the telegraph were taken from them also. The telegraph in the hands of cunning men may be the means of abstracting millions of money from the producers of the country, and may even become a potent factor in the causation of panic and depression. On page 3 of his Argument for a postal telegraph, Mr. Wanamaker says:

> The measureless body of producers, in order not to be manipulated and robbed by the speculators, need to be nearer the consumers; and the measureless body of consumers, in order not to be manipulated and robbed by the same speculators, need to be nearer to the producers.

Take the telegraph away from the speculators and give it to the producers and consumers, that they may come into the closest possible relations.

15. *Political corruption* will lose an able contributor when the telegraph ceases to belong to a private corporation (See Part VII, ARENA, July, 1896).

16. *A Postal telegraph will be a step toward a fairer distribution of wealth* and away from the congestion of power and wealth in the hands of a few unscrupulous men, which is one of the chief dangers threatening the future of the country (See Part VIII, ARENA, August, 1896). On this ground alone the establishment of a national telegraph would be justified, were there no other reason in the case.

17. *The public safety demands a national telegraph*, not merely as a precaution against corruption, speculation, and panic, congestion of wealth and power, strikes, and duress of the press, but also as a military measure and a valuable addition to the police power of the government, — a means of strength in time of war, and a conservator of law and order by aiding in the capture of criminals and in the general enforcement of the law. We have already quoted the opinion of Mr. Scudamore that the postal telegraph "will strengthen the country from hostility from without, and the maintaining of law and order within the kingdom." Let us call attention here to the weighty words

of the New York *Public*, cited in Wanamaker's Argument, pp. 206–7:

The Government itself absolutely needs a telegraphic system for its own protection. This will not seem the language of exaggeration when it is considered that the ordinary enforcement of laws, the capture of offenders, the success of fiscal operations, the protection of the country against domestic insurrection and foreign invasion, have come to depend in these days upon the instant transmission of intelligence with certain and absolute secrecy. It may at any time come to pass that the private interests of those controlling a telegraph system shall require the non-enforcement of the law, the prevention or delay of a financial operation, or the partial success of a domestic outbreak or foreign inroad. It is nonsense to say that this cannot happen. If Mr. Gould could suppress for a few hours or days, news of an outbreak on the Pacific coast or of the capture of a hostile ironclad from Europe, he could make millions by it. The Government has no certainty that he would throw away millions. It has no certainty that its orders bearing on great financial operations may not be betrayed and its aims thwarted. When the Government was hunting for the Star Route offenders, how many would have been caught if its despatches had been secretly betrayed? An important witness happened to be a Government director of the Union Pacific Railroad, and it has always been a mysterious fact that the officers in search of him could never catch him.

18. *It will be a step toward civil-service reform.* Every increase of public business brings us nearer to thorough civil-service reform, because it enhances the importance of that reform, impresses the need of it more strongly upon the people, and deepens their sentiment in its favor. This has been the experience of European cities and states. A good reason why they are ahead of us in civil-service management, is because they are ahead of us in the public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, etc.

In the case of the telegraph there are special reasons to expect that government control would carry with it an extension of the civil-service principle. In the opinion of Mr. Rosewater the postal telegraph "would be an entering wedge for the greatest possible success of the civil service." He says:

It would bring into the postal service a large number of skilled operatives whose services could not be easily dispensed with. They would be divided in politics like every other class of citizens, their experience and trustworthiness would be of great moment, and their trustworthiness would be increased by the knowledge that they could not be displaced by partisan politics. This has been the experience in Great Britain, and would be the same here. Once get the postal service under government control and the civil-service act, and you would soon be able to place all departments of the government under the same system, and a large share of the public nuisance incident to

office-holding would be done away with, leaving the officers free to inquire into and learn their duties to their office and to the public.[8]

Prof. Ely says:

One of the strongest arguments in favor of a postal telegraph, is that such a telegraph would carry with it an improvement in our civil service. It would increase the number of offices in which civil-service rules would be applied, even according to existing law, and it would be an irresistible argument in favor of the extension and elevation of the civil service. Some want to have us wait until the civil service has been already improved, but the purchase of the telegraph lines would inevitably carry with it the improvement of the civil service.

The country would insist upon it. The acquisition of the telegraph lines by the nation would convert more people to civil-service reform in one day than all the speeches which have ever been delivered on the subject would win to this good cause in a year.[9]

The plan advocated in this paper includes the civil-service act as one of its essential terms, for without it we run the risk of having, for a time at least, boss-ownership instead of public ownership of the telegraph. The recent extension of the civil-service act to 30,000 new positions, argues well for the future of this great reform.[10] That such an order should have come from President Cleveland, who has not been noted for his absence of partisan feeling, indicates that the election of a man of thorough independence would probably complete the transformation of our service. Even without that, the work will be done by the piece, each president ordering a section into line at the end of his term when the delay of justice can no longer aid his own political purposes, but may, on the contrary, strengthen his successor. Or he may act before the end of his term and from less selfish motives; the main thing for the nation is that he act.

19. The public ownership of the telegraph will remove one of the antagonisms that weaken the cohesion of society and retard the development of civilization.[11]

20. It will be a step toward coöperation and partnership,

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8 *The Voice*, Aug. 29, 1895, pp. 1, 8.

9 The total number of positions that must now be filled from the classified civil-service lists is 85,100, out of a total of a little more than 200,000 positions in the national service, aside from the army and navy.

10 ARENA, Dec. 1895, pp. 51-2.

11 See Part VIII, ARENA, August, 1896.

away from private monopoly, usurpations, and taxation without representation.[12]

Let us now see what the defendants have to say; that means the Western Union, for, as Mr. Bell said to the Senate Committee on Post offices and Post roads, May 20th, 1896:

> The only persons who have ever put in an appearance in opposition to this measure, have been the officers, attorneys, and agents of the telegraph companies. No representative of the people has ever opposed it.[13]

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[12] See Parts VIII and IX, ARENA, Aug. and Sept. 1896.

[13] Sen. Doc. 291, 54–1, p. 18.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CUBANS.

BY THOMAS W. STEEP.

WHEN the recognition of belligerency was argued for the Cubans by the friends of Cuba in Congress, it became a question of pivotal importance as to whether the Cubans had a government to recognize as dual to that of Spain; whether the government, if any, was merely nominal or chimerical; whether, if existing and operating, it had the potency to receive recognition and thus justify such action by the United States.

The first thing that attracted my interest on arriving at the war field of Cuba, in the Province of Santiago, early one sunny morning in January, was the obsequious ceremony of the government prefecto who received me and gave me my first roasted *boniato*, upon which I afterwards so often appeased hunger. I had come out on the field by crawling beneath the barbed-wire military line around Santiago one night and marching by stealth in the early dawn to the mountains and over them to the interior. A body of Cubans escorted me. Fatigued aud hungry, the prefecto's attention in serving coffee and boniatos seemed over-due kindness. I offered to pay him, but he raised his hands and said, "No! No!" He was a government officer. From that time on my interest was enlisted in the study of the civil organization of the Cubans.

When ex-President Cleveland intimated that the civil government provisional of the Cuban insurgents was puerile and immature, and said it was, for the most part, a government on paper, he was more correct than otherwise. In the first place, however, let me say that the Cubans have a government, that it is not an impractical one, that the people are loyal to it. To this loyalty, which is so striking for its widespread prevalence, and so sympathy-eliciting because of the sacrifices which are made for it by the Cubans, I shall refer later.

The statement made by the ex-President, while for the most part correct, is superficial, because it does not substantiate its

assertiveness. It is one that any intelligent observer of the anterior conditions of Cuba last December might have correctly though vaguely made.

The Cuban government is immature. To say that most of it exists on paper is not sinistrous to an ambitious civil organization which has been in existence but two years. Schemed exactly like that of the States, the unfavorable condition under which it labors makes many of its functions of mere nominal existence. For instance, the Secretary of State just at this time has no duty to perform other than, perhaps, to doff his figurative robes of state and get out and fight. The Secretary of War has no routine office, because the Cubans have no diplomatic corps and the rebellion is conducted by aggressive generals who have the munitions of war in their own hands.

Yet the Cuban insurgents have established a civil organization in the interior over which they hold sway, the strength and qualities of endurance and prominence of which defy the government of Spain itself. The remoteness of the Cuban headquarters, and the control which Spain has had over the regular news channels that lead from Cuba, have kept the world largely in ignorance of the real condition of the Cuban insurgents.

Fundamentally and upon which the plans of the government are drawn, the Republic of Cuba now comprehends all the area of the island of Cuba. The disposition taken by the head civil officers is that the entire island is under dominion of the Cuban Republic, but that because some powerful foreign enemy has landed on certain parts and taken possession — as, for instance, Havana and its harbor, and Santiago and other cities — the civil rule cannot be extended into these quarters until by strategy the enemy can be driven from the shores of Cuba. In the national organization the power of government was transferred by the popular assembly to a Council of Government. Then departments were formed, with secretaries at the head — state, war, foreign affairs, interior, and finances. At the head of the government were placed a provisional President and Vice-President. In the Council of Government is vested the legislative power.

Politically the island is divided into four States, Oriente, Camaguey, Las Villas, and Occidente. Each State is divided

into districts, and each district into as many prefecturas and sub-prefecturas as are deemed necessary. A district has from seven to fifteen prefecturas. The State is presided over by a Governor, who reports to the Secretary of Interior. The Lieutenant-Governor is under the Governor, and has jurisdiction over a district. His corps consists of one secretary and one assistant clerk. The prefectura is the smallest political subdivision but one — the sub-prefectura. The prefectura has a secretary and assistants. Then follow the sub-prefecturas, of which there are generally from four to eight in each prefectura.

The Lieutenant-Governor is the intermediary between the Governor and the prefectura. Besides his executive functions the prefecto has judicial power. He records all contracts between citizens, including marriages. He has the power to form a jury and to try all cases, from the simplest intrigues to those of spies guilty of treason, whenever the cases cannot be submitted to court-martial.

Every portion of territory possessed by the Cubans is subject to civil order. The minutest detail is so accurately and delicately balanced that, though the thoroughness for which the civil officers are even now adroitly working has not yet been attained, the whole governmental machinery is in harmonic operation.

The facts which I have set down relative to the geographic distribution of the government I have myself seen. I spent much time in the saddle on the march with Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, who, as Governor of Oriente, conducts the affairs of state in the saddle. With him I visited the prefectural workshops and many well-managed prefecturas. I saw much rearranging and readjusting of these functions by the Governor.

Almost the first thing the Governor said to me at our first meeting at Baire Arriba, was: "I have been wishing for months that I could get hold of an American newspaper man to show him the inside of the revolution. The American people don't know how strong we are. They have no way of finding out. Now I will show you our civil government as it is in operation." We visited the medical posts — "drug-stores" as the Cubans call them — the tanneries, workshops, and the various officials, including the tax-collector.

Supplementary to the regular lines of civic routine are other branches of organization necessitated by the war. The most important of these is that of the tax-collector. The State tax-collector has as many subordinate officers as the Governor. Taxes are levied on those engaged in commercial pursuits. This commerce is, of course, only internal. The levying of taxes and the subsequent shipment of Spanish money to the United States for use by the Junta has created great scarcity of money among the insurgents. The schedule in effect when I was with chief tax-collector Tomas Pedro Grinan, in February, was as follows:

Coffee and cocoa	4 pesos per 100 pounds.
Timber	8 " " 1000 feet.
Hemp	4 " " 100 pounds.
Wax	4 " " 100 pounds.
Honey	1 peso per 100 pounds.
Cattle	3 pesos per head.
Cheese	2 " " 100 pounds.
Bananas	.03 peso per bunch.
Tobacco (leaf)	5 pesos per 100 pounds.

The commerce consists of the exchange of the products of one part of the island with those of another. I once saw Cespedes stop a coffee merchant, and, upon his inability to produce a receipt for the tax on the coffee he was transporting, take into custody him and twelve little pack-mules. The man pleaded that there was no tax-collector in the vicinity when he started on his journey, paid his fine, which I think was thirty pesos, and continued his march with a receipt for taxes.

Four important branches of the government of the Republic of Cuba are the territorial guard, the coast inspection, the postal service, and the workshop system. Each prefectura has under its supervision ten armed territorial guards, who serve also as police. These guards scout the Spanish columns when they venture from their blockhouses.

Every district with a seacoast has a civil coast inspector, who ranks as a captain in the army. He is assisted by a sub-inspector, who acts as his secretary. The inspectors have established along the coast line and in every bay and inlet watch posts, commanded each by a vigilant, who has under him eight or ten coast-guards. In this way, when a Spanish man-of-war sets out

from a port, the news is signalled along the coast, and the Cubans, if she be in sight of the land, watch every movement of the ship. The coast-guards have captured many small Spanish sailing vessels.

Saltmaking is carried on under the direction of an inspector. All the salt consumed by the Cubans is made from distilled sea water. A hundred men are continually boiling sea water in Santiago de Cuba province. These saltmakers are ready at all times to take up arms.

The postal system is under the direct care of the Governor of each State. Along the rough roads at intervals of ten or fifteen miles are established the Cuban postmasters, each supplied with from four to eight couriers. In this way official as well as private communications are carried to any part of the island. Each post office is supplied with a registering stamp, so that the time of the coming or going of every parcel is registered upon it. There is a dead-letter office, and the lists are published monthly at the presses of *El Cubano Libre*.

The workshops are under charge of foremen. These shops turn out all kinds of roughly made but substantial leather goods, such as shoes, boots, bags, saddles, straps, and belts. Gun shops, powder factories, and cartridge factories are said to exist on the island, but I never saw them. The making of other metal articles, such as cooking utensils, is in its infancy.

The Cubans are struggling hard to form some sort of a school system. The "little press in the woods" was just printing a little primer, written on the fields, to be distributed among families for the tutoring of children when I left the printing establishment last January.

The medical posts and stations are under military order, and are purely provisional. The post of El Mate, in Jiguani, I found in charge of Dr. Farrel, a graduate of a medical institute in Spain, and Dr. Rafael de Lorie of New York. This post is tolerably well stocked. It contains about one hundred pounds of antiseptic plasters, tablets and gauzes, 10,000 quinine pills and powders, thirty pounds of drugs, ten pounds of narcotics, and fifty quarts of tonics.

Like the whole military system of the Cubans, this post has an objectionable management, subject only to the orders of a few

officials, so that it does little practical good, and many persons are dying for want of proper medical attention.

I have told in this article what I have seen during four months of constant travel among the insurgents.

When it is remembered that the Cubans have spread the rebellion over more than two-thirds of the area of the island, and have carried into effect, for their purposes, a provisional form of government successfully in the time of war, it is reasonable to suppose that they are capable of rearranging their government and maintaining it in time of peace.

A NOTED AMERICAN PREACHER.

BY DUNCAN McDERMID, M. A.

IT is interesting, while it is said that preaching is losing its ancient power, to find here and there a preacher whose influence is increasing instead of diminishing. One of these is the Rev. Minot J. Savage, D. D., of the Unitarian Church.

The writer desires to call attention to the two essential conditions of this preacher's influence and popularity. This will be instructive not only to the public, but to the clerical profession as well. One of these conditions may be found in the wide latitude of American opinion, especially as it expresses itself in New England, and particularly in the city of Boston where Mr. Savage spent many years as a preacher.

I.

In the community in which one lives, no less than in himself, often lies the secret of a man's strength and greatness. The individual shares the endowment or potency of those impersonal forces which sustain and enhance public life. The spirit which animates the broader ranges of general history acts with unhindered freedom on the narrower sphere of the individual mind and often becomes the creator of its better moments. Silent influences, hidden providences, are at work in society of which the individual has no suspicion, and whose effects cannot be recorded in statistics. Below the plane of conscious recognition there are far-reaching movements of thought which transcend our powers of understanding, but which act with almost unbounded sway in controlling the thought and life of each person. The early promise is fulfilled in the ripening powers of the mind under the cumulative influences which nourish it from without. In the order which surrounds the individual, and in the movement of which he has become a part, we see, as clearly as in himself, the inevitable promise of his ultimate destiny.

In whatever pertains to liberal culture Boston is never weak or wavering. Boston impresses one as possessing innate respect and enthusiasm for intellectual supremacy, and reverence for

the pure sentiments of religion as continuous forces in human life. For two and a half centuries it has been the wish and work of her most cultivated minds to give human thought and life the highest expression; and this has been done with monumental activity. In Boston, culture and religious piety have never been decadent; over and above the controversies and schisms and sectarian quarrels which from time to time have rent the churches, they have remained intact. In spite of the manifold currents of opposing tendencies, which now and then threaten to overwhelm cherished beliefs and to lift the world off its hinges, they remain essential elements in this city's social life. They are stern present necessities, unwritten and immutable laws which she will not and cannot transgress. From the founding of the city by the "choice spirits" of the seventeenth century, they have retained their vitality and have been affirmed without doubt or debate. With the growing demands and maturity of her civilization she reiterates them as her loftiest and most sacred privileges, subject to no vicissitudes. With these primitive traits eternally vital, thought is quick, and intellectual enthusiasm spreads rapidly. Boston is always stirring with "new ideas" and with the passion for a broader ethical and religious development. The character and repute which she acquired in former days for literary taste, clerical influence, and the administration of religion are to-day influencing surrounding secularity and the hurrying concerns of daily life. They are animating every institution and ordinance, every supreme and exquisite medium of feeling, every revelation of truth and hope in the human mind. In this exhaustless tide of thought and aspiration, which we may accept as Boston's native product, it is easy to interest the people and to unite them in any attempt for the good of mankind under the sanction of culture, benevolence, or religion.

But religion is felt to be Boston's greatest need and glory. In this city of philosophy and poetry, art and business energy, religious faith and life have their proper place, and are invested with power and dignity. Fixed habit and traditional thought contribute, without doubt, to the need and sacredness of religion; yet its transcendent results are due to the permanent disposition of the people. They are the appropriate manifesta-

tion of a religious culture and spirit that are fitted for all time, the logic of truths born of religious intuitions working out in the most practical results. However universally certain religious beliefs are ignored, there is no disposition to put culture or philanthropy above the gospel, the school above the church, or to make the schoolmaster, the literary autocrat, or the princes of wealth take precedence of the preacher. The spirit of conventionalism reigns more or less in Boston's religious life; yet religion makes an irresistible appeal to the understanding, the conscience, and the heart. Everything is compelled to bow to its influence and to feel its inspiration. Although our churches present various theological tendencies, from the stiffest orthodoxy to the freest rationalism and pantheism, and with creeds yet confessedly nowhere settled, reason never pronounces religion absurd; to it homage is accorded. It is still the deepest and holiest interest of man. We all have an elevated sense of its vast importance in the destiny of mankind. Its manifestations may change, but its spirit is ever the same. While edifices of towering magnificence, grand displays of musical talent, time-honored ordinances, and attractions for popular reverence are fashionable and full of beauty and significance, and, possibly, prudent means to stimulate our patronage and to save to the ranks of the churches the votaries of all that is artistic and refining and impressive, they are no sure sign that spiritual life is departing; they have their utility, they foster the higher interests of mind and heart. These symbols of religious faith are not the productions of cold, speculative reasoning, but the statement of truth wrought into the convictions of the devout and spiritually minded.

Guided by these facts we may assume that the man who distinguishes himself in Boston as a preacher is one to whom considerable interest attaches. Upon such a man, as upon all her citizens of rare attainments and peculiar personal excellence, she confers distinction.

The Rev. Minot J. Savage, D. D., who recently changed his residence and his ministry from Boston to New York, and whose successful work in the former city may be a prophecy of enduring honors in the latter, has thus distinguished himself and been rewarded.

When Mr. Savage came from the West to Boston, he came "as a stranger," as I myself heard him say. For years he thought and walked and worked alone. He was unpopular, and he felt his unpopularity. All religious sects, even that of his own persuasion, were critical and sceptical. As a preacher he had fellowship nowhere. He was met as a preacher of unwelcome and unwholesome doctrines. But he came as one having a special dispensation, as the witness and repository of new truth, as the representative of no low and paltry type of the Christian ministry, but as a living testimony to the reality and power and excellency of religion and its institutions. He felt the difficulties with which he had to contend. They were manifold, subtle, and fraught with deepest peril to his ministry. Prejudices, precedents, and the theology of the schools — whose only merit seemed to be that it was smitten with a passion to reduce Christian doctrine to logical form — were arrayed in open hostility to him. He was met by the *régime* of ecclesiastical orders, by men who preached the Gospel according to established and venerable routine, and whose credentials, not their wisdom, were their only power. But although he felt himself to be a *persona non grata*, — another unpopular person to suffer for his beliefs, — he girded himself for earnest uncompromising warfare. He planted against every church his strongest batteries of criticism, satire, and sarcasm. He poured forth his thoughts in words that made men's ears tingle, till the protestations of his adversaries fell from their lips with something of a hollow sound. Half preacher, half assassin, as he was thought to be, repudiating as offensive the doctrines of the Cross, and hating with every drop of his blood the general traditions and faith of the Church, he worked and awaited the day of his triumph. It came.

Boston is slow to recognize new prophets; yet religious belief of every kind is treated with gentleness and indulgence. The preachers of the city might regard Mr. Savage as a teacher of "positive error," but they could not object to the hospitality of Boston, a citizen and preacher of which Mr. Savage became on the footing of democratic fraternity. By the free development of reason and the spread of intelligence Boston has become temperate and tolerant. She will not enslave the understanding or deny anyone one vestige of religious freedom. With her, reli-

gion is a practical and spiritual thing rather than a theoretic and ceremonial. The latter helps to stimulate the former to the fullest discharge of duty, but does not in itself constitute religion. The one comes by internal necessity, the other belongs to the sphere of outward operation, of inventive and enterprising minds. Religion is a living mode of thought sustained by personal character, and needs not ambitious terminology or supervision. Boston trusts her instincts, as Emerson has taught her, and asks only ample scope for the imperative working of her religious sentiment and the life of the heart.

Under these favoring conditions, by which Boston, like a mother, works out her own character in the spirit and life of her gifted men, the Rev. Mr. Savage was impelled onward in his daring enterprise. With stern fidelity Boston exercised a definite and pervasive influence on Mr. Savage's mind. Although his religious thinking came upon the public like a new birth, he was only reiterating its progressive thought and the stout emphasis it placed on thinking out religion in intelligible terms and in all the breadth of its activities. Instrumental rather than absolute, Boston's versatile and expansive thought furnished the new preacher his coveted opportunity. Her faith failed not, nor did her courage falter. Silently she was assailing the old theology and elaborating the new, in which she has unhesitating belief, and which entered with enlightening and nourishing force into Mr. Savage's broad and free opinions. It came to him as the expression of the abiding atmosphere in which he dwelt and with a beneficent bearing on his ministry. Favored thus by the concurrent voices of those to whom he ministered, and by the general freedom and grace of the entire community, Mr. Savage made a real and salutary advance in his religious work in Boston. And supported by the judgment of an ever widening public, conservative thinkers about him felt his influence on current religious opinion. While he indulged a liberty of speculation, he instilled religious habits of thought and the spirit of worship into many inquiring minds, and enabled them to identify themselves with the highest development of his own religious consciousness. Boston and vicinity became fully appreciative of the distinctiveness of his mission and of his apprehensions of the truth. In recognition, therefore, of the unmeasured

praise and enthusiastic acceptance which he received from the public, he was honored, at the close of his ministry in Boston, with the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Harvard University. Harvard thus expressed her highest confidence in the truth and permanence of his ministry. This famous institution of classic, scientific, philosophic, and sacred learning attested the sanity of the mind and doctrines of this once obscure and despised but now noted preacher.

II.

Another condition of the Rev. Minot J. Savage's influence and popularity as a preacher is his ethical intensity.

In the preceding section I have spoken of what has actually taken place. I have there shown the favoring conditions under which Mr. Savage labored in the city which was to him both friend and teacher, and where he has done his most efficient work as a preacher. The particular type of religious thought represented by him in the pulpit has not been brought about by his or any man's device. For generations it has been pouring itself forth from mind to mind in philosophy, science, poetry, and religious thought. He did not initiate any distinctive movement; he only helped to popularize and make permanent doctrines which already had found favor among the people. He emphasized these and vitalized anew their application to the Christian religion. In this section I shall devote myself to a study of the ethical intensity of his ministry.

The Rev. Mr. Savage's ministry of nearly a quarter of a century in Boston teaches some important lessons. And while he has had many critics, no one has yet displayed and made current his most emphatic qualities as a preacher. In attempting this the writer does so not from the standpoint of the theologian or the professional clergyman, but from that of a liberal thinker with mind unfettered by any prepossession.

The first thing to be noted is the candor of the man, the great sincerity which marks whatever he says and does. His theology is simple; his creed, which is neither the Apostles' nor the Nicene, nor the utterances of modern pontiffs, but in a measure his own, is readily comprehended, and betrays a sweet reasonableness which invites the subscription of anyone with-

out fear or trembling or convulsive revolution. And while some of his fundamental beliefs impinge against current prejudices and awaken enmities, he fearlessly submits them to the judgment and common sense of mankind. What he believes he preaches, and what he does not he rejects with all the vehemence of a man of conviction. Correct modes or forms of religious thought he conceives to be necessary, and the more so the firmer will be one's principles of duty. Yet essential and sanctifying as this is, more essential in his opinion is an honest mind, — a mind that is faithful in the pursuit of truth and true to its own convictions and inspirations. He believes that the most perfect man is he who is most diligent in duty and fervent in spirit; who incorporates the truth into his selfhood; who toils with a prompt and ardent devotion to know the truth, to maintain his opinions firmly, to diffuse and propagate them by every means consistent with a perfect character. With unselfish courage Mr. Savage resists every allurement to compromise. Never timid, never complaisant or patronizing, he exhibits some of the rarest virtues of the human mind. Oh that there were more like him in this indolent and obsequious world!

Compared with Mr. Savage's strength of character, how contemptible are some of the clerical and theological enigmas of our day. Waning and waxing periods are not uncommon in our pulpits and our schools of divinity. Now and then they diffuse a feeble as well as a strong glimmer of religious virtue, and too often become the presages of things with which we have no patience. It is painful to see preachers and professors, like chartered buffoons, suppressing the light of reason, intruding into places and folds to which they do not belong, and sanctioning what in their hearts they do not accept. Among our clergymen, where intelligence, character, and earnestness are everything, we witness a conspicuous lack of sovereign motives shaping and harmonizing life and doctrine. Nothing is more marked to-day in the American pulpit than theological insincerity and indifference to the obligation to preach only what is believed. Instead of feeling the might of conscientious will and the higher aspirations of the age, they are faint and muffled echoes of that moral force which has given efficiency to the Christian ministry. We still hear the boast that the ministry

of to-day has outgrown the old Puritan austerity and the lines marked out in earlier and more rigorous periods. May we not admit also that the courage, the righteousness, and the heroic discharge of duty, by which the Puritan has attracted the attention and the admiration of the world, have lost something of their former greatness and power? Like hunters, too many preachers are on the scent, not for the truth, but for game, — for gain and earthly glory. To speak the truth might interfere with their vocation; it might throw out of market their stock in trade.

Yet ought not the preacher to stick to his text? So great an advocate of the truth should speak the truth and practise it. He should feel inspired with a strong and awful prepossession in its favor. He need not make pretension to infallibility, but we expect of him the absolute veracity of his sacred calling and learning. His living should never depend upon sustaining an error or an untruth. If it does, he does not deserve the name he bears, and is not in the strictest sense a teacher and leader of thought. We will excuse a deficiency of knowledge, but never a deficiency in character, — in the word and spirit of what he proclaims as the truth. Every truly devout minister of the Gospel should rise and erase this stigma from his profession. It is a humiliating reproach that any of this class of teachers lack true insight, truthfulness, and faithful service; that they mask their convictions, that they will not act out their opinions. This is a perversion of what man really is. It makes him a vanishing spirit destitute of true sentiment, character, and practical rectitude. Forms of worship and of religion may be temporary and change, but love of truth and conviction should always be an active power, uniform, eternal. Even in our theological schools, where the human spirit is supposed to be exorcised into worlds of graver and graver realities, we are just now learning some valuable lessons in the flexibility of theological opinion.

He who stands in a conspicuous place in any community will always be looked at. What he says and does will be judged by everybody. His person and life and character, his joys and sorrows, are things of public gossip and interest. And if the uniqueness of his position in society be due to some sacred

calling, such as a teacher of religious truth, he evokes the highest esteem and expectations. All truth is sacred; and truth's propagator is expected to be, not only a truth-seeker, but a teacher of it in the interests of the public weal. The responsibility of this is distributed among all men, but nowhere is it so great as with the professed preacher and teacher of religious truth. He cannot absolve himself from it. It is the price he pays for his exalted privilege, his dignified position.

The creed-test of the Andover theological school may be unwarranted at the present time. Yet while there is such a test, and the old creed comes up and insists upon being reaffirmed in its original meaning by each incumbent, we are bewildered the moment we attempt to harmonize what happened there recently with stalwart conviction and vital piety. Within a few months we have seen the Andover creed, over which there has been so much wrangling, and some of whose doctrines make the human heart to-day sink in despair, receiving unqualified indorsement. With unfaltering confidence this ancient creed was reaffirmed by a professor of that school of divinity without modifying the conditions of subscription. This surprises us. It may be that the recently inducted Professor of Sacred Rhetoric did not signify explicit allegiance to this creed, whose doctrines are so inflexibly maintained by our older theologians, but simply gave his assent, just as the clergy of the noble Church of England are giving their assent, but not their strict adherence, to the Thirty-nine Articles. And yet what is progressive orthodoxy, so boldly and ably enunciated, but a growing away from the old Andover creed?

Or is it only a question of emphasis, not of dogma? Are we to infer that the old dogma abides, while only the emphasis alters? It may be that progressive orthodoxy is not what it professes to be, that instead of giving religious thought a definite impulse and being a necessary onward step in sacred learning, religious thought is only receiving a richer and deeper volume as it lies in its old bed. Be this as it may, the verbal assent and subscription of the new incumbent gave fresh force to every dogma of the old faith. True, we could not expect him to be so recreant as to disown this venerable creed, to break the traditional thread and cease to be the heir of his sires.

Yet we should like to see progressive orthodoxy, or the New Theology, of Andover mean something; represent, without the slightest misgiving, some distinctive dogma, some fresh insight into religious truth. At present it is an unintelligible hypothesis. It does not appear to be definitely settled. A master hand has sketched it, but there are none to complete and make it triumphant. Why not go to the root of the matter? Progressive orthodoxy is yet only "in the air." On paper it is inspiring; in practice, a paradox to the discomfiture of every friend of the revival of religious thought. It is subtle and disputatious, and predicts for itself a reforming mission, but it has not the courage of its convictions; it looks like a clever juggling of divinity. We may speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but unless we have deep convictions and feel the intensity of the principles we are attempting to promulgate, we are as sounding brass; we lower the dignity of truth and moral worth, we offend the purity of conscience. Filled with the ecstasies of an office while enacting an untruth is satanic; it is unworthy of any trained intelligence. Honest conviction is the indispensable condition of the preacher and teacher. Without it he compromises the sacred character of his particular commission, of his appointed trust.

All this is meant to throw light upon the artless simplicity, the outspoken but sensitive judgment, the indefinable strength of character, of the Rev. Mr. Savage. Beneath all he says and does we may see the calm utterance of unwavering convictions and an individuality unimpaired. He is thoroughly possessed with the sense of duty; he has his being there. There is nothing spurious in him; he disguises no hypocrisy. We see in him no secret acquiescence with what he cannot conscientiously accept. Always standing in the full light of the incomparable obligation and privilege of his work, — which is a cheerful, happy exercise, not a doleful and despondent one, — he influences the world not only as a teacher, but as a character. He proclaims the sanctity of his office not by a set of pious phrases, but by a spotless devotion to it, as the only way by which he most completely can subserve the public welfare. This perpetually invests the man and his ministry with interest and with an almost magic power.

The ethical intensity of Mr. Savage's character unfolds itself in his preaching as a consistent result. In the sermon the convictions of the man are not sacrificed. He puts more than words into his sermons; he puts himself. He speaks the truth "bluntly," as if it were not a hard but an easy attainment, and an element of human nature. Without pretension or self-exaltation, craving no man's praise and envying no man's distinction, he endeavors in an unwavering and high-spirited manner to disclose in his sermons the great verities, the substantial realities, of life.

In the broadest sense of the word Mr. Savage is not a man of scholarly attainments or tastes; not many are. He is nevertheless a highly cultivated man. Whether he addresses us through the faculties of speech or through his written compositions, we always feel the independence of his intellect, his delicate and discriminating moral sense, and his love of truth. His sermons, his public utterances, and his devout invocations exhibit a maturity of mind and a range of culture which enable him to impress other minds with whatever has possession of his own. In the pulpit, in authorship, in every mode of religious activity, we meet the cultivated, sincere, and reverent man. We feel the influence of his sympathetic mind and singular chasteness of spirit in hearty and symmetrical development. A culture like this, combined with a nature deeply religious, brings one into possession more or less completely of truths which make a direct appeal to the understanding. It has enabled Mr. Savage to enjoy a certain lordship in the realm of mind and mental life. He is an example of the dictum, that he who would think truly on spiritual things must first be spiritually minded. In both his acted and his written life he seems to comprehend and to realize the truth, to have reached the loftiest heights of fellowship with eternal wisdom. Judging from his own serene, unclouded, and practical vision of the truth, one is driven to the conclusion that he is proclaiming and formulating the ultimate gospel of mankind.

Some may sneer and scoff at his "deadly notions" and "perverted thoughts," but in his demand for personal life, development of conscience, and attainment in righteousness, his ministry is potent; its inspiration is constant. He believes and

preaches only those truths which are possible to rational belief. With that exquisite instinct which characterizes all his thinking, he places, as if he were in apostolic succession, man's greatest need in coming to himself and in making religion inseparable from personal thought and character. Mr. Savage holds this forth as man's paramount task, to refuse which is alone to be faithless and hopeless and unforgiven. His idea of religion consists in nothing external or formal; nothing can avail with him but the culture of the soul and the quiet discharge of duty. It is his superlative merit that he enables one to feel his own capacity of thought as a positive and independent efficacy, and to rest upon the authority of his own conscience as the hope of glory and as a coördinating power with Holy Writ. He makes a broad survey of human nature, and commands men to traverse the whole range of their being and to call themselves to rigid account until the germs of moral debility are cast out of the heart. Man is not to waste his energies in grasping the immense and misty proportions of the beliefs of this or that traditionist or minute systems to which souls are often bent in unwilling conformity. The object of his ministry is to summon men to reckon with themselves every day, and to regenerate themselves by right thinking and by deeds of piety. In his opinion each person is a spiritual agency, a marvellous display of divine power and goodness, not only in the majesty of the truth which he apprehends, but in the dignity of the life which he may live. Temptation may open its alluring paths, evil may solicit us, sin may lead us astray, sorrow may drag us down; yet they need not. His public ministry is devoted to the infusion of this better sentiment, — that man is not the mere victim of circumstances, the necessary prey of temptation, or the helpless subject of wrong; that he need not contemplate life in indolent despair, but may check the dominion of sin and impurity, rise above not only intemperate indulgence, but every intemperate desire and impulse, and form dispositions of peculiar excellence, of original strength and beauty.

Mr. Savage's ministry, then, is full of truth and power. It is strongly personal and ethical. There is no abler advocate of this important truth and master-word of the Gospel and of religion. It is a divine truth ever working in him, breaking into

utterances, and giving to his beliefs and his life the highest dignity. With him it is a persistent and overwhelming duty to give to his ministry this practical content, this ethical intensity. In this he is evangelical.

The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments assert or imply that without our personal agency, and without the truth in the substance and texture of our characters, there can be no spiritual elevation or final perfection. In the terms of the Scriptures the divine resources are infinite; but instead of overwhelming our personal agency or responsibility they make a stupendous demand upon us. The truth must be received with unhesitating acceptance and assimilated to our individual being.

To teach such consummate truths the Rev. Minot J. Savage, D. D., strong in every fibre of intellectual and religious faith, has devoted his talents, his strength, and his life, and for that reason he stands before the American people as one of their most noted preachers.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

BY HENRY RANDALL WAITE, PH. D.

I. Fraternal Government.

THE disposition to give due attention to the spirit of American institutions is one which needs cultivation. Government, looked upon only as machinery, may easily become a means for the accomplishment of ends very different from those intended by its designers. In this connection some recent utterances by Dr. Lyman Abbott are worthy of serious thought:

> It is sometimes said that the majority rules in America, and it would be unfortunate if it were true. The French Revolution shows that no despotism of the individual is so cruel as the despotism of the majority. When the decisions of the majority or minority are supported by the whole people that is Americanism. Our democracy is not founded on the idea that our people make mistakes, but that the decision of all the people is better than that of one class, and that all the men are better judges than priests and kings and their instruments. Fraternal government is what we are trying to establish, and whoever strikes against the spirit of fraternalism strikes against the foundation of our government. We can get along with anything bad in our laws and correct it in our progress, but we can never live and prosper with the East arrayed against the West, the North against the South, rich against the poor, and labor against capital.

II. True Americanism.

Whatever other meaning may attach to the word Americanism, Dr. Abbott points to its best definition. But what he has in mind cannot be expected in the absence of a spirit which is made manifest in real fraternalism conjoined with faithful devotion to intelligent convictions of duty. This spirit will take patriotism out of the realm of mere sentiment into that of noble passion. It will give to citizenship so high a meaning that failures in civic duty will take on — as they clearly ought to do — the character of sins against one's own manhood and against the brotherhood of which the citizen is a member. If this spirit be underneath our laws and manifest in their administration, we need have little anxiety as to their statutory form. Political as well as scriptural wisdom expresses itself in the statement that the "letter" of the law kills, the "spirit" alone gives life.

III. The Right Spirit in Citizenship.

How the spirit of genuine citizenship is to be made ascendant is a question of increasing concern. It may nevertheless be doubted whether organized forces for its suppression do not, in the matter of painstaking and persistent energy and adroit management, excel the organized elements specially devoted to its cultivation. Citizenship activities, politically considered, for the most part are merged in the machinery of parties; and this machinery, instead of representing in its tenets the will of great bodies of independent and well-intentioned suffragists, is too often so manipulated by a few skilful and unprincipled political machinists as to represent their will instead. It is obvious that in so far as these clever machinists are able to run our politics to suit themselves, the very machinery through which the right spirit in citizenship must come to power, if at all, is turned into a means for its own suppression. It thus comes to pass that we have the pitiable spectacle of great party organizations through which masses of honest and patriotic citizens farcically — nay, tragically — coöperate for the accomplishment of results, which, while secured through their votes and in their name, are in reality results of the clandestine and sinister work of a few men.

IV. Reform in Primary Elections.

Plainly, if the right spirit in citizenship is to be ascendant, it must find some means of doing away with the boss system in politics. This system is made possible only by the ease with which primary elections are controlled by coteries of designing men. Here is a battlefield where the best and worst elements in our politics need to be brought into immediate and conclusive conflict. A system which foists upon the people as its candidates for office those whom they have had no real voice in choosing, and who are not worthy, represents an actual subversion of popular government, and calls for such a manifestation of the spirit of true Americanism as shall overthrow it once for all. This question is an overshadowing one. Pollution at the fountain means pollution everywhere. Men elected to office through shameful methods may sometimes be better than the methods by which they have profited, but they are not to be

trusted. Their responsibility is to the "bosses," not to the citizens whose machine-directed votes elected them. The only sentiment to which they bow is that expressed by the leader whose favor bestowed, and whose hostility will deprive them of, official position and emoluments. The immediate outlook is not, however, without hope. Independent movements in several States are in progress looking to the complete uprooting of the boss system. In parts of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and California, and in some of the Southern States "the Crawford County method," which takes the choice of candidates out of the hands of the few and places it in the hands of the majority of voters, is already being tried. In Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota similar methods have been the subject of legislative action, and satisfactory results are anticipated. This is a reform which should not be left to the advocacy of a few individuals, or to the members of a few organizations like the American Institute of Civics and local civic reform bodies. Members of these bodies have done much and will do more to promote it, but its final success depends upon the manifestation everywhere of an aroused public spirit whose demands cannot be denied.

V. Civics in Public Schools.

Much progress has recently been made in educational provisions for the instruction necessary to qualify American youth for the intelligent and efficient discharge of civic obligations. The Patria Club of New York City, a strong body organized under the auspices of the American Institute of Civics and devoted to the objects which it represents, has offered prizes to the pupils in the schools in the vicinity of New York for the purpose of stimulating their interest in matters of government and citizenship, and has undertaken a similar work in connection with the charity industrial schools of that city. Of great importance is the action of the New York Board of Education looking to specific instruction in civics in all the city schools, and its later action in giving to this subject an important place in the curriculum of the high schools which are to be established the coming year. Another organization which contributes to the same results, the American Guards, is represented

by battalions in several New York schools. This movement, which has already extended into many schools in different States, is under the fostering care of Col. H. H. Adams, an officer of the Institute of Civics. The guards are composed of boys who voluntarily devote a certain amount of time, out of school hours, to exercises promotive of a virile and intelligent patriotism. These exercises include military drill, and the youthful guards, in their becoming uniforms, develop a marked degree of manliness and self-respect. Two of the battalions are under the leadership of public-school principals, E. H. Boyer and D. E. Gaddes, councillors of the Institute of Civics. The guards participated in the ceremonies at the dedication of the Grant monument, and no organization in line attracted more favorable attention.

VI. Rural Influences on Urban Affairs.

It cannot be denied that the hitherto controlling power of voters in rural districts has frequently been used to the prejudice of city interests. Representatives from country regions have lent their aid in effecting vicious as well as wholesome changes in legislation affecting municipalities, and this aid has sometimes been secured by corrupt methods. It is nevertheless true that the average country voter and the average legislator who represents him sincerely desire to promote only such legislation as will be of highest advantage to urban communities. If their votes fail to secure this result it is more often because of insufficient knowledge of urban conditions and needs, than of indifference or corrupt influences.

It is, therefore, a matter of the very highest importance that citizens remote from our great cities be made sufficiently familiar with municipal needs to enable them to reach wiser conclusions as to the desirability or undesirability of special measures affecting their political, social, and industrial interests. Opinions based, as now, chiefly upon the statements of a partisan press, too often represent the interests of a party regardless of those of the municipalities directly concerned.

With the steady growth of our great cities in population and political power, the question of wholesome State legislation in matters affecting their civic and moral wellbeing, is one of no

less importance to rural communities than to the cities themselves. Controlling power is already drifting cityward in many States, and rural voters who have not contributed to the creation of right civic conditions in our great municipalities may soon find this power used to their own serious injury. In this connection the New York *Christian Advocate*, referring to the possibilities of good and evil in the Greater New York, justly says:

> The only balancing force in preventing the evil from triumphing over the good, will be the influence of the remainder of the Empire State. The morale of cities differs from that of rural regions in that the evil-minded can consort and conceal their deeds, can obtain great political power; and large cities are prone to legalize vice and admit of organized political corruption. Whereas elsewhere the laws are generally in harmony with morality, and the difficulty of concealment impedes the growth and the increase of the arrogance of vice.
>
> The force of Greater New York in legislation and the administration of law, is something appalling to contemplate. Permanent antagonism between the Metropolis and the rest of the State will in itself be a demoralizing element. Yet unless the State watches this immense aggregation of heterogeneous peoples and cities, Greater New York may become a pervading source of corruption. If there be one tendency confirmed by history, it is that smaller cities imitate the greater, that towns imitate the smaller cities, and villages, the towns. Thus for good or ill the most populous centres become the controlling force.

VII. Woman's Work in Civics.

The growth of organizations which are directed by women, wholly or chiefly devoted to reforms in civic conditions, has been paralleled by hardly any popular movement of recent years. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, although hardly more than a juvenile among other great organizations, is second to few of them in its potentiality for good. Women's clubs are found everywhere, and, wherever found, for the most part represent a serious purpose to find and apply right remedies to existing civic and social evils. The Federation of Women's Clubs brings all of these local movements into harmonious efforts for the upbuilding of unselfish patriotism in the community and the highest virtue in the home. The National Health Protective Association, whose second annual meeting was recently held in Philadelphia, has already made a record for itself, through its branches in many cities, which evidences not only a reason for its existence, but the capacity and suc-

cess which women have brought to the solution of some of the most important problems of city life, such as protection from contagious diseases, the supply of pure water and pure milk, the prevention of food adulterations, improvements in tenement conditions, provisions affecting the health of working people, attention to the sick children of the very poor, and a score of equally important matters. The chairman of this organization is Mrs. Etta Osgood of Portland, Maine, and its leading members include Dr. Lozier of New York, Mrs. A. J. Perry of Brooklyn, Mrs. Theo. F. Seward of Orange, N. J., Mrs. Henry Birkenbine of Wayne, Pa., Mrs. L. E. Harvey of Dayton, O., Miss Florence Parsons of Yonkers, N. Y., Mrs. J. E Weiks of Buffalo, and Mrs. John H. Scribner of Philadelphia.

In the same city was also held, shortly after the meeting of the Health Protective Association, the Triennial Convention of Working Women's Societies. This gathering of earnest women was notable for the keenness which its members brought to the discussion of questions affecting the interests of working women, and the equal sincerity of their desire to reach only just conclusions. Here is an opportunity for the bright women who are at the head of the Federation of Women's Clubs to establish reciprocal relations which will be fruitful in great good.

VIII. Municipal Reform Organizations.

The third year of the National Reform League has been completed with results full of encouragement to the members of the various social organizations of which it is composed. Its annual meeting at Louisville, Ky., was attended by one hundred and fifty delegates. Much of the success of the widely extended work represented by this national organization is due to the persistent and unselfish activities of its able secretary, Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of the Philadelphia bar, who closed his address before the convention with these encouraging words:

> In every direction the outlook is bright and promising, not of the immediate fulfilment of all the hopes and desires of those who are most deeply interested perhaps, but of substantial progress and steady growth. The sentiment for better government is gaining day by day. It is not a movement for a particular form of local government or of specific panaceas for municipal evils, but rather one to bring the citizens, those who are primarily responsible, to a fuller appreciation and a more general discharge of

indifference and apathy of the average voter have been a matter of general comment. To overcome this, and to replace it with that interest and that action without which no permanent reform can be accomplished, the realization that good government depends for its very existence upon good men, is the fundamental basis of municipal reform. Charter revision, civil-service rules and regulations, fair elections, and an honest count and return are all important; but they depend for their success upon sound public opinion, and that depends upon good citizenship. Good laws are important; good citizenship is essential.

The Good Citizenship League of Minneapolis adds to the means of its increasingly useful work by the publication of a carefully edited little periodical under the title of *Facts*, in which information that might not otherwise reach them in proper form is placed before all citizens. E. F. Waite is President, and Alfred Sherlock, Secretary, with offices at 254 Hennepin Avenue.

IX. City Taxpayers.

Mr. Charles Richardson, vice-president of the National Municipal League, in seeking the causes for the non-participation of large taxpayers in efforts to secure good government in cities, finds the following among other reasons:

1st. Because they fear that their opposition to influential politicians may be punished by an increase in their assessments for taxation, or by a loss of custom or employment, or by some other action injurious to their personal or business interests.

2nd. Because as investors, employees, or otherwise, they have or hope to have some pecuniary interests in corporations, contracts, or offices, which would be much less profitable under a government too pure to be corrupted, and too intelligent to be outwitted.

3rd. Because they believe that it pays better in dollars and cents to submit to existing abuses than to expend the time and money required for a long and difficult series of political contests.

4th. Because they consider that national legislation affects their personal interests far more than any probable action of their local government, and that their national party must therefore be supported in its efforts to strengthen itself by securing complete control of local affairs.

5th. Because they believe the local machine of the opposition party is still worse than their own, and that to promote its success by wasting their votes on a third ticket would only be jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.

6th. Because they have no faith in the possibility of subjecting politics to the principles of common honesty, or public affairs to the methods of intelligent business.

This list is not complete, but it is sufficiently formidable to show that

be slow and difficult, unless city government can be made to appear much more important and interesting than it has hitherto seemed to be.

X. Civics in State Universities.

A writer in *Christian Work*, urging the importance of action such as the American Institute of Civics is devoted to, says:

With the new way of looking at Government, and with new tasks imposed upon it, must come preparation for the grave responsibilities of the present and future. Old ideas linger after they have subserved their purposes. We are living in an industrial age. Especially is it true in a country like the United States that the ordinary pursuits of peace outweigh a hundredfold the interests of war. Nevertheless, we have our well-equipped academy at West Point to prepare young men for the army, and our excellent academy at Annapolis to prepare young men for the navy; but we have no civil academy to give men careful preparation for the civil service, which is of inestimably more importance to us than either the army or navy so far as ordinary, everyday life is concerned. Even in his day, Washington saw the importance of a national university which should fulfil many of the purposes of such an academy. As a part of the remedy for trusts and combinations, and an important part, the writer would mention institutions designed to give the most careful training in preparation for every branch of the civil service. This should go hand in hand with the enlargement of this service. The progress which has already been made in the reformation of our civil service is gratifying, but something far more than has yet been advocated by any civil-service-reform association is needed. As part of the general programme of the solution of the problem of monopoly, the development of the State universities of the country along the line of civics may be mentioned. Each State university should, in addition to other things, be a civil academy.

XI. A Betrayal of Reform.

These are the words applied to an act of the Republican Governor of New York by one of the ablest and stanchest Republican journals of that State, the *Mail and Express* of New York City. It goes on to say:

Gov. Black's approval of the bill to place the civil service of this State at the mercy of machine politics is a perversion of Republican principle and a betrayal of reform. There is not one legitimate public interest that this measure will benefit; not a single purpose of honest administration that it will strengthen, nor an object of sound party policy that it will help to accomplish.

The Governor's bill is a step backward from the advanced position of the party on the civil-service issue. It is a trick to nullify the merit principle in appointments to public office, and it opens the way for a full restoration of the spoils system. There is not a boss nor a machine politician in the State who does not indorse it. There is not an intelligent supporter of hon-

and disclaim all responsibility for it. Party sentiment has spoken against it in unmistakable terms. The Governor's reflections upon those who opposed the bill are neither well grounded nor in good taste. They mean nothing save that he is sensitive to the criticism which his ill-advised measure has provoked — criticism which, it may truthfully be said, is abundantly warranted by the character of the bill itself as well as by his own amazing advocacy of the spoils system in the public service.

XII. State Aid to Industries.

Massachusetts has undertaken an interesting experiment in the way of promoting home industries. With the aim of producing in that State the finer grade of goods now produced only in foreign markets, the legislature two years ago appropriated $25,000 for the establishment of a textile school in any town which might make a like appropriation for the same object. This offer has now been accepted by the citizens of Lowell, and the first school of the character proposed is being established. It is hoped that this experiment may lead to results which will in some degree compensate for the industrial losses sustained by New England through the competition of the multiplying cotton mills in the South.

XIII. Reading Matter for Prisoners.

Some time ago, in response to a need brought to its attention by one of the local officers in Texas, the American Institute of Civics offered to superintend the distribution among the prisons of the United States of literature suitable for the use of prisoners. Citizens were asked to coöperate, and much good literature has thus been placed in the hands of those who have found it not only a source of entertainment, but, through its refining and elevating influences, a means of great benefit. This beneficent work can be indefinitely extended with a little cost if citizens who appreciate its importance will give to it their aid by contributions of literature, such as wholesome works of fiction, popular works of history, treatises on the useful arts and industries, popular periodicals, etc., etc.; or by assisting in the payment of the cost of collection and distribution. One of the Institute's councillors in the State of Washington, President Penrose of Whitman College, has recently made an appeal for such literature for the use of convicts in the Washington penitentiary. Inquiries as to methods of coöperation, or gifts for the prison literature expense fund, may be sent to the American Institute of Civics, 203 Broadway, New York.

"THE TEMPEST" THE SEQUEL TO "HAMLET."

BY EMILY DICKEY BEERY.

"THE Tempest" is a little enchanted world where play all the forces that are manifested in the larger creation from the lowest animalism to the highest manhood, harmonious with his invisible environment. This world in miniature — true to the laws of the macrocosm — begins in chaos, storm, and stress, but finds completion in supernal air and divine peace. We shall find by consecutive study of the dramas that the poet, in his creative work, has ever risen from lower manifestations to higher as his own soul soared on higher and higher wing. Prospero was his last, greatest, and divinest thought of man in his unfolding godward.

Nature in her evolution takes no vast strides, and her supreme poet follows her divine current of growth from the animal man to the grand manifestation of his ideal. He understood that in man's unfolding not a round could be missed of the "Jacob's Ladder" resting upon the earth, but reaching into the heavens.

In this ideal world of "The Tempest," Caliban stands upon the earth groping to attain the first step, while Prospero stands upon the summit with his face heavenward. This typical man comes upon the stage on a high plane of development. Long previously he had left the rank and file of humanity to tread the ever lonely path to higher achievement, therefore we must look below him to find, among the creations of the poet, the incarnation which was the chrysalis for this last ideal. Here our intuitive perception immediately descries Hamlet, that wonderful human mystery who was the first of Shakspere's sons to enter the precincts of the inner life and catch a glimpse of the godlike potentialities of the human soul.

In Hamlet was the struggle of birth; in Prospero, the glory of achievement, the fulfilment to some extent of the poet's ideal man, and the first to realize that the power of thought is the supreme force in the universe. Hamlet caught the first glimpse of this truth when he said, "There's nothing good or bad, but

thinking makes it so." He is the hero of spiritual birth and growth in man from the dawning of the soul-life, through its fierce struggles to dominate the lower self and rise into realms of clearer light and truth. The "godlike reason which was not left in him to rust unused," in its aspiration became illuminated by intuition and revealed to his awe-inspired gaze new worlds not dreamed of by the Horatios of his time.

Hamlet was lost in wonder at himself. The lower forces of his nature along the old inherited lines of thought, coming in contact with the higher thought-currents, newly created, caused the blended stream to "turn awry and lose the name of action," termed by the unseeing world lack of courage and will-power. Even he could not understand but that in some inexplicable way he *must* be a coward, because he could not perceive the *why* of his delaying vengeance. Yet he knew he was brave to the core of his being. When his military friends, "distilled almost to jelly with the act of fear," would have restrained him from following the spirit of his father, he cries out:

> Why, what should be the fear? I do not set my life at a pin's fee; and for my soul, what can it do to that, being a thing immortal as itself? . . . My fate cries out, and makes each petty artery in this body as hardy as the Nemean lion's nerve.

He was strong of will and resolute of purpose, but had reached the plane of development where his higher nature would not permit him to commit murder. Yet the strong current of popular opinion, as well as all hereditary and sub-conscious influences in himself, were ever impelling him to do the deed. In his soul-growth, Hamlet had passed the plane of revenge as a passion, but had not reached the divine heights of forgiveness. To avenge the murder of his father was to him a sacred command and duty coming in conflict with another equally sacred duty voiced by his higher self, and the mighty meeting of these two soul-forces always resulted in inaction. This moral battleground is the pivotal point of the drama, indirectly putting in motion all the forces which terminate in the final catastrophe.

In his thoughtful moods his disposition was ever shaken with "thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls," saying, "Why is this? wherefore? what should we do?" It was the unlaid ghost of his higher self that propounded these queries to the

apparition. The birth-throes of thought were giving him entrance into a new world where he began to see "What a piece of work is man! how *infinite* in faculty! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a God!"

The thoughts that Hamlet voices had passed through Shakspere's brain, and the wonderful powers manifested by Prospero had been apprehended by his own prophetic vision. Hamlet might have moved along on the lower plane successfully, but the law of spiritual growth, the divine force upheaving and uplifting his soul against the barriers of his sub-conscious mentality and his environment, finally ended in the sad tragedy. Yet in the defeat was a victory, for it was merely the turn of the spiral downward for a higher rise in evolution.

Prospero is first revealed to us at about the age of Hamlet when the curtain falls and hides him from our tear-dimmed eyes. Shakspere loved Hamlet. He was dearest to his heart of all his children, and he felt that he must not die, but must come into the full fruition of the immortals. The soul so nobly struggling from its swaddling clothes *must* become a freed spirit of godlike power. Therefore he presents to us an ideal world where Hamlet sits upon the throne as Prospero, "transported and rapt in secret studies," "neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated to closeness and the bettering of his mind with that which o'erprized all popular rate." Prospero was born a higher type, therefore the divine in him had freer action. His soul opened to the over-soul like a flower to the sunlight.

The divine force in man is his will — his true will — and this force in its perfect exercise has no human limitation. It is only the *seeming* will that is limited. This power, *manifested in thought*, is represented by Ariel.

The statement of Prospero that his studies bettered his mind to such high degree is proof that they were those not of the magician, but of the philosopher and true psychologist, for the study of magic darkens the soul and degrades the intellect. Prospero's power was not magical, and Shakspere used the word magician only to bring the drama within touch of his audience, knowing full well that the wise would understand, for "wisdom is justified of her children."

In the manifestation of soul-power we first perceive the true

greatness of Prospero and the heights to which Shakspere's own soul had risen, for "the stream cannot rise higher than its source." The greatness of Julius Cæsar is "weighed in the balance and found wanting," for every truly great nature must be the rounded out and harmonious development of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual. This is the measure of Prospero, and in his unfolding, unseen realms and previously unknown powers had opened, according to eternal law, to his demanding soul.

"The Tempest" is philosophical, psychological, and occult — philosophical because thought is the motor power. Le Conte says: "That deepest of all questions — the nature and origin of natural forces — is a question for philosophy and not for science." Thought is a natural force; yes, a dynamic force of the most intense power. It may be a search-light of the universe, a thunderbolt of destruction, or a messenger of light and love with healing in its wings. The mantle of Prospero is simply an emblem of power, and the word is so understood among the Orientals. In Scripture, when Elijah ascended in his fiery chariot, his mantle fell upon Elisha, who immediately caused the waters to retreat from its stroke and continued clothed with his master's power. So Prospero, robing himself in his mantle or laying it aside, means his exercise or non-exercise of what are termed supernatural powers.

Victor Hugo says that Shakspere "did not question the invisible world, he rehabilitated it. He did not deny man's supernatural power, he consecrated it." There is no reason why man in his higher estate should not have free intercourse with a world invisible to him in his lower conditions. Can the grub have the same companionship as the butterfly?

Victor Hugo also says that the "'Midsummer Night's Dream' depicts the action of the invisible world on man, but 'The Tempest' symbolizes the action of man on the invisible world. In the poet's youth, man obeys the spirits. In the poet's ripe age, the *spirits obey man.*" This shows a fine apprehension of the interior revealings of the supreme poetic genius. Every great and true poet is also a prophet and seer. Then why should not Shakspere — the supremest in all the "tide of time" —

ful attainments and powers of the perfected man. He undoubtedly saw and felt the grandeur of the ages to come, and knew, with divine prescience, that only the hem of the garment of knowledge had been as yet touched. There is but one power in the universe, and as Emerson says, "Every man is an inlet to the whole." Then where is his limitation?

Did not nature obey the Nazarene, and the winds and mountainous waves lie gently down at His bidding? And did He not say that His disciples should do greater works than He had done? Then why should not Prospero, as a typical man, have control over all the forces of nature?

It is interesting to note that Shakspere has given to him almost the identical powers of the Man of Nazareth! This is not strange, as it is an absolute truth that when man rises to the royalty of spirit every element will be his obedient servant. Thought will be the agent of his ministries; which the poet has so marvellously portrayed in its personification as Ariel. Ariel says: "Thy thoughts I cleave to;" and Prospero, in calling him, "Come with a thought." It is now claimed by the most advanced and best psychologists, that a forceful, living thought does become a real embodiment which may be perceived by the finer senses. Ariel was what the mind of his master made him, sometimes a sprite, sometimes a sea-nymph, again a harpy, anything and everything the master directed.

Sycorax symbolized ignorance, and thought had been long imprisoned in the holds of nature by this creature of darkness, but ever painfully struggling to reach the light. Ignorance imprisoned thought, but could not free it. Prospero, as wisdom, gave it freedom and directed its action until he could send it forth in still more glorious freedom. Freedom of thought is a dominant strain in the drama, and is even sung by the "reeling ripe" Stephano. Caliban represents the child of ignorance, closely allied to nature and partaking of its poetry and grandeur. He is man in his first estate, just emerging from the animal. Yet, in this crude, forbidding aspect how superior in dignity compared with Stephano and Trinculo in their vile abasement through the vices of civilization.

Shakspere's knowledge of the power of thought over the body

grown into a hoop;" and of Caliban that, "As with age his body uglier grows, so his mind cankers." It is not strange that Shakspere perceived the new psychology, for Milton sang —

> Oft Converse with heavenly habitants
> Begins to cast a beam on the outward shape,
> The unpolluted temple of the mind,
> And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,
> Till all be made immortal.

The poet Spenser most beautifully expresses this truth in saying:

> So every spirit, as it is more pure,
> And hath in it the more of heavenly light,
> So it the fairer body doth procure
> To habit in. . . .
> For of the soul the body form doth take,
> For soul is form, and doth the body make.

This is the teaching also of St. Paul, that the body must be transformed by the renewing of the mind.

Here we perceive the source of the heavenly beauty and grace of Miranda. "The pure in heart shall see God." Her thought and vision wrought out for her a bodily expression that made her seem celestial to the beholder, and held him in doubt whether she were goddess or mortal.

In esoteric thought the perfected being must be an equal blending of the masculine and feminine, which Balzac has so gloriously interpreted in his "Seraphita." This quality we see in Prospero, the gentle, refined element of motherhood, blended with sublime dignity and strength. His child was to him "a cherubim infusing him with fortitude from heaven," and he gave to her the richest dower of inheritance — knowledge, with purity of heart and purpose. With the gentle patience of love he instructed her in the laws of nature and her being, with divine purity of thought. For all nature is pure as God himself. Thus Miranda became the peerless young Eve of blended wisdom and innocence.

After a display of his power, he states, in his address to Ferdinand, the most abtruse problems of the ideal philosophy.

> These . . . were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air;
> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,

> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

This sublime inspiration was almost the last outburst of the mighty genius of Shakspere, and is a fitting crown of glory.

Prospero was fully conscious of his superiority, and with simple but grandest dignity he claims that practically it was his own power that worked all the wonders. Most sublimely he expresses this when he calls before him his invisible helpers:

> Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,
> And ye that on the sands with printless foot
> Do chase the ebbing Neptune and do fly him
> When he comes back; . . . by whose aid,
> Weak masters though ye be, I have bedimm'd
> The noontide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
> And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
> Set roaring war; to the dread rattling thunder
> Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
> With his own bolt; the strong-based promontory
> Have I made shake, and by the spurs plucked up
> The pine and cedar; graves at my command
> Have waked their sleepers, oped, and let them forth
> By my so potent art.

Passing from his power over nature to the manifestation of his higher self with men, we see the spiritual plane he had reached. In coming again in contact with the world of humanity his first action is the recognition of the good and the forgiving the evil:

> — O good Gonzalo,
> My true preserver, and a loyal sir
> To him thou follow'st, I will pay thy graces
> Home both in word and deed.

His divine forgiveness of those who had so cruelly wronged him shows the height of his spiritual attainment:

> Though with their high wrongs I am struck to the quick,
> Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
> Do I take part; the rarer action is
> In virtue than in vengeance: they being penitent,
> The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
> Not a frown further.

In the very remarkable events of his life he recognizes a higher power in all his guidance. "Was Milan thrust from Milan, that his issue should become kings of Naples?"

> There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Roughhew them how we will.

In no drama has the poet risen to such supreme types of character. Prospero was the highest expression of Shakspere's latest thought, but only the shadowing forth of a supremer ideal. We can portray what is beneath us far more vividly and truly than what is above us. Shakspere had *lived* Hamlet, and that is why he so vitally touches every human soul. In Prospero it was the vision by the great poetic soul of a promised land he had only viewed from a mountain top. He had seen the wonderfully luscious grasps of Eschol, but had not yet tasted them. This is why we feel the vast yet subtle difference between "Hamlet" and "The Tempest."

If the immortal poet had lived the years allotted to man, with ever increasing openness of vision, his own soul would have attained that lofty height where, from the "pattern on the mount," he would have portrayed the splendor of divine manhood in godlike majesty, the soul irradiating the body like the shining face of Moses in its halo of awe-inspiring divinity. The people required a veil; they would require one still.

Although Shakspere left us before he had lived in the radiance of the truly spiritual realm, we may well crown his Prospero with his words of another:

> He sits 'mongst men like a descended God:
> He hath a kind of honor sets him off,
> More than a mortal seeming.

THE CREATIVE MAN.

BY STINSON JARVIS.

IN the April number of this magazine its Editor gave us a paper called "The Man in History." Readers will not have failed to note the grand width and depth it gave to ordinary views. The facts concerning the human being, from the earliest records to those of the present day, were marshalled in so masterly a way, and the mental grip on the whole mass was so far-reaching and unique, that people must have perceived that they were gaining the benefits of a lifetime study.

This article is therefore in no sense a reply to Dr. Ridpath's masterpiece. On the contrary, I wish to refer to all the historical events as he has introduced them, and can only regret that want of space forbids a reprint which would enable the original to be read with these comments. My endeavor is simply to bring forward for contemporaneous consideration certain suggestions which seem to me to be of a highly interesting character, and which were forced in upon my own thought by the results of experiments upon the human being. After the long series of articles published in THE ARENA about three years ago, many of my readers will not require further explanation of these experiments; but for others I will briefly refer, later on in this paper, to the phenomena which greatly affect one's views regarding man's powers and possibilities, together with the nature and extent of his agency in the world's events.

Dr. Ridpath has brought forward as interesting a question as was ever laid before a public, namely, how far, if at all, Man is the maker of history. And by the word "history" the learned author does not mean those records of events which any chance chronicler may choose to present, but the events themselves, their causes, action, and results. Here he presents both sides of the question, with the arguments which may be alternately used in support of each. He cites two master thinkers, Carlyle and Buckle, whose differences of opinion relative to man's agency in history were distinctly defined: Carlyle seeking the

hero in each great event, and recognizing only one force, that of God, behind the principal actor of the temporary drama, and never satisfied until the *individual* origins of history could be discovered. On the other hand, Buckle, to whom man, including the part he played, appeared "as the mere result of historical forces," and in the view of scientific rationalism contemplating "only the lines of an infinite and unalterable causation encompassing the world and bringing to pass whatever is done by the agency of men *en masse*."

I confess I was not by any means clear at first as to what Buckle meant by this "infinite and unalterable causation." If he meant the shapings of heredity coming down through many generations to produce a man able to lead in a certain event, then I followed him. I also sufficiently understood him if he referred to national desires and necessities assisting to produce competent manipulators of important events. But I did not gather until later that this language might possibly be intended to include what in common parlance is called "the will of God."

In the alternation of contention which Dr. Ridpath lays before us with so much skill, we are all more or less familiar with the Carlyle side of the argument, so let us consider a part of what is said on the Buckle side. In sentences collected from different portions, the "believer in the predominance of universal causation" is represented as speaking in this way:

Men produce nothing. They control nothing. On the contrary, they are themselves like bubbles thrown up with the heavings of an infinite sea. They do not direct the course of history. Nations go to battle as the clouds enter a storm. Do clouds really fight, or are they not rather driven into concussion? Are not unseen forces behind both the nations and the clouds? What was Rome but a catapult, and Cæsar but the stone? He was flung from it beyond the Alps to fall upon the barbarians of Gaul and Britain. What was Alfred but the bared right arm of England? What was Dante but a wail of the middle ages?—and what was Luther but a tocsin? What was Napoleon but a thunderbolt rattling among the thrones of Europe? He did not fling himself, but *was flung!*

The whole tendency of inquiry respecting the place of man in history has been to reduce the agency of the individual. Every advance in our scientific knowledge has confirmed what was aforetime only a suspicion, that the influence of man, as man, on the world's course of events is insignificant. Over all there is a controlling Force and Tendency, without which events and facts and institutions are nothing. . . . History may be defined as the aggregate of human forces acting under law, moving invisibly—but with visible phenomena. . . . The individuals who contribute to the vast vol-

ume do not understand their contributions thereto, or the general scheme of which they are little more than the atomic parts.

Over this aggregate of human forces there presides somehow and somewhere a Will, a Purpose, a Principle, the nature of which no man knoweth to this day. To this Will and Purpose, to this universal Plan, which we are able to see dimly manifested in the general results and course of things, men give various names according to their age and race; according to their biases of nature and education. Some call it . . . Fate; some, the First Cause; some, the Logos; some, Providence; some of the greatest races have called it God.

We come then to the admission on the Buckle side of the argument that the forces referred to as "universal causation" may possibly include the will of God. And from the time this admission is made there seems to be little of material difference between the contestants. Practically, both refer, or may refer, back to the will of God; and the discussion here brings me to the point at which some pertinent questions may be asked.

In what historical crises has the will of God been manifested? Can you confidently point to one? If so, your conversational friend will probably call your attention to some terrible disasters which arose from it. Perhaps you may thus point to some monarchy. But your iconoclastic friend will probably refer you to a loathsome system of parasitic adulation, in which place and position went by favoritism and whimsical preference, and where advancement through personal merit was almost unknown. These ills, you think, could not be present in a republic; but when you point to one of these, your attention is directed to an internal rottenness in which justice and liberty are bought and sold by men who must make their fortunes during a short term of irresponsible office. You are then apt to smile at the idea that any of these represented the intentions of God.

Or, to take an extreme case, you may instance the life, teachings, and death of Christ. But if your friend be a fairly good amateur historian he can sufficiently indicate the many wars, the almost countless conflicts and incalculable amount of manslaughter that belief in Christ gave rise to. He can tell of those stupendous waves of crusadic fanaticism in the course of which the pillage and rapine of utterly lawless hordes brought undying disgrace upon Europe. He can pile story upon story of carnage and divided homes until you may possibly conclude that it would have been better for the world if the cross of Gol-

gotha had never been heard of. A wrong conclusion, most certainly; but one that has oceans of facts to back it.

Outside the cases in which retribution has seemed to follow close upon wrongdoing, where can we find a momentous event of history which we can point out to ourselves and say with confidence, "That, certainly, was brought about by the will of God." If amalgamation of hostile baronies into one dominant nation and the acquirement of many civil advantages may be regarded as a blessing, then some will point back to an immensely picturesque figure of history and claim that the Norman William was one specially produced by the divine will for an event from which issued peculiarly valuable results. But here we have to face a question which is continually prominent when historical events are attributed to the will of God: "Is it necessary," we are driven to ask ourselves, "that God's purposes be brought to a culmination through trickery, perjury, manslaughter, and every kind of falsity?" Personally I feel totally unable to think this. I wish to mention the difficulties which everyone who thinks honestly must encounter, and to do so reverently. History thus seems to enforce acceptance of one of two conclusions: Either that the justice of God is not what we are glad to suppose it to be; or else that these matters were not conducted according to the divine will. For in William's case we find all these difficulties: the claim to be acting on Harold's promise, the prior mortgaging of the intended results to the church of Rome in order to gain the assistance of foreign hordes by calling the proposed invasion a holy war, and other trickeries which need not now be set out. He brought his newly-made England into the bondage of a hierarchy, and in buying Romish aid established a precedent that was followed by other kings until priestcraft gained the unlimited power which drained the coffers of Europe, impoverished Italy, beggared Spain, revelled in the demoniacal Inquisition, subsequently degraded the Lower Canadians to almost the ignorance of the beasts, and is now using the whole of its political power to fasten its vampire clutch upon the fair virgin provinces of the Canadian Northwest.

If William could have foreseen some results of his handiwork he could have been properly regarded as one of the worst devils ever let loose upon the earth. And yet we are asked to believe

that all these things were foreknown to the Deity, and that the shaping of William's policy was under the divine will.

This brief survey of a great event is only one of a large number that could be made, each collection of occurrences showing similar mixed conditions — some exhibiting resulting benefits, but in many cases mingled with disaster and distress to such an extent that the movement as a whole cannot possibly be attributed by any thinking person to the divine will.

Every historian will admit that in the great events of history, the conquests and other large acquisitions of territory, some one or more of the following disgraces were present: the killing of human beings, false pretences, pillage and rapine, human tortures, treacheries, imprisonments, introductions of diseases, plagues, and bad habits, traffic in drugs and liquors which debauched, degraded, and killed. Such a list is almost endless. And shall we say that an Almighty Father caring for his children could have desired such proceedings? Surely not! Let us be sensible and conform our judgment to the evidence.

In doing so, what is our alternative? Are we not forced to comprehend that even the most valuable improvements were only advanced so far as human intelligence could advance them when this intelligence was illuminated by a partial exercise of its highest faculties? Are we not forced to admit that the resulting benefits, whether personal or national, were for the most part those which were humanly foreseen, and that the subsequent disasters were for the most part those which could not be foreseen by human intelligence? — or were foreseen and intentionally risked and braved? Has there been a single event of history which cannot be honestly attributed to human intelligence — this being aided by a partial exercise of its highest falculties?

What, then, are these highest faculties? What are the powers within man which enable him to transcend other men, and previous men? Let me here state my conviction, which later on will seem justified, that advance in comprehension of the higher faculties in man must be gained through a further acquaintance with phenomena which may be present in hypnotic conditions. I do not mean that personal attention to the experiments is necessary, no matter how preferable. Nor do I suggest that they tell as much as one could wish — at least, so far as I

have followed them. Mine have only led me to the outside ramparts of vast realms which await the investigations of others.

What I mean is that everyone should in some way be made certain, either through personal experiment or reliable hearsay, that in the human make-up there are faculties which may be forced by will-power into an activity which they do not manifest in the ordinary daily life. There is no reason to doubt that these are the same faculties which become so apparent in the keen-sightedness of those who are great in statecraft, diplomacy, business, or in any other way. With ordinary people, especially the laboring classes, these faculties seem more inactive, through disuse. In most men they seem to show activity only when forced by concentration and will-power; but there are bright people of both sexes in whom they seem very alert without urging.

My reasons for stating that everyone should be acquainted with these peculiarities are well founded. Without this the admission that there is a "soul" in man is largely due to the compulsion of hearsay. Without this, and certain other studies, some of the reasons for the evolution of man and beast are obscured, and the most telling argument in favor of further evolution remains practically a blank. Without this we need not look for a better understanding of man's place in history. But, on the other hand, this kind of research supplies proof of many seemingly miraculous powers in man which have valuable explanations to make in regard to the history of history.

Here the truth-seeker may prove to himself the reality of "soul." And why should anyone admit its reality if he has never had cause to regard himself as anything better than a good-natured animal? Unless he has had made clear to him some soul-truths (which, owing to the fact that every human being is a hypnotic patient, are generally made manifest without any dabbling in experiments) — unless, I say, he has been in some way convinced of the reality of "soul," his moral ramparts are chiefly constructed of the hearsay that provides but slim defence. The suggestion here is that the best way to be able to believe in miracles is to learn how to perform them!

This paper, however, will deal solely with man's place in history, which is only a section of the ranges of view which the study of the mesmeric phenomena forces into consideration.

We want to know more about those who have controlled armies, nations, events, and themselves. We want to gain a better idea of the forces at work in the making of history; how far, if not entirely, man was responsible; how far, if at all, he was assisted in any peculiar way toward the acquirement of a farsightedness superior to that of his fellows; why historical events, both in their inception and action, were so peculiarly human and often so dreadfully animal; why the sought-for and acquired benefits have so often been mingled with distress and catastrophe.

These somewhat numerous inquiries are answered, in effect, by an exposition of the faculties referred to, and of the powers by which these may be forced into increased activity. When these are understood so far as they can be explained here, then the answers to all the above queries will become apparent to those who apply the facts to their knowledge of history; and they will need no more detailed answer than that which I shall give.

Many have noted the fact that the foremost personages of history have been men of great will-power. They might be French, Greek, Jew, or Moslem; they might be of any occupation, rank, or color; but always they were men of great will-power. This has been the one peculiarity common to all. But why should will-power be a *sine qua non* of greatness? The reasons will appear as we proceed.

In the year 1897 an attempt to explain mesmerism is not as necessary as it used to be. The amount of notice which the newspapers give to the subject suggests that an interest in it is very widespread in America. Even the most illiterate must now be aware that persons may be so influenced by the wills of others that they pass into a sleep, or a condition resembling sleep, during which they are to a large extent, and sometimes entirely, subject to the wills of the actuators. Professionals have also assisted in instructing the public as to the minor phenomena. One of them has lately been making money in New York by keeping his patient in the hypnotic trance for a week, during which ignorant medical students and doctors tried brutal methods of awakening the victim — the same methods which disgrace some of the hospitals when unfortunates pass into trances from unknown causes. In other cases, persons in the audience are requested to pencil secretly some

lines on paper and hide the writings in their pockets. The patient on the stage then reads the writing, and this reading is subsequently compared with the hidden papers and found to be correct. The numbers engraved on people's watches are also read in the same way.

I have never attended such performances because they had nothing to teach me; and if confederates were used, all I can say is that the performances could be given much more easily without confederates. My reason for mentioning these people is that their work, if genuine, as I suppose, allows me a greater brevity in this paper; also because their large numbers prove the truth of what I published long ago, that anyone of fairly strong will-power can perform these seeming marvels if a suitable patient can be procured. It may, however, be accepted as absolutely correct that the vision of mesmerized patients is not impeded by materials. In my earliest experiments I tried all kinds of receptacles when secreting articles. But the changes made no difference. The patients can discern the interior of an iron box as easily as we in the ordinary state can see through a glass one. Of course this has nothing to do with ordinary vision, the eyelids being closed at the time. All such trials as this I ranked in the lowest grade, because the patients may have been reading what was within my own knowledge — a faculty that was partly exhibited to prominent men in chief cities by Mr. Stuart Cumberland and Mr. Irving Bishop.

This classifying of my experiments is only to bring on their mention in the order in which they seem to increase in importance. As a fact, the same faculties attend to them all. Still, the division is useful. Second, then, come those which dealt with long distances. To one of my first patients (a messenger in a law-office) I showed scenes in Syria, Egypt, Athens, and Rome, and after I had removed him from the mesmeric sleep I handed him a pile of photographs which I had brought from foreign countries. He turned them over rapidly and picked out the picture of the scene he had witnessed, and without hesitation. I ranked all this class next to lowest in importance because I had the scenes in my own mind at the time. Yet the patients saw more than I was thinking of. When I showed this messenger the obelisk in front of St. Peter's at Rome, he

also described the great colonnade around the piazza, which I had at the moment forgotten. Subsequent experiments with others made me know that he was viewing the scene itself.

The class ranked third, or next higher, were those in which the patients were called from a distance. In the Arlington Heights Sanitarium some of the patients formerly received, and I suppose still receive, beneficial hypnotic treatment. One patient, Grace ———, could be called into the office at any time by the simple will of Dr. Ring, the proprietor. I received the account from a valued nurse who attended this patient in the hospital. I was able to do the same thing myself in one case, but only when the patient was at some occupation which did not require much concentration. I am not prepared to speak as to the spaces across which this influence may be exerted. With another patient, who was over two miles away, the experiment seemed fairly successful, but I am not sufficiently certain to claim a success.

In class four, the patients told facts which had not been previously within their knowledge or mine. For tests of this kind I would procure from friends some old coins wrapped up so that I could not know the dates on them. When the first patient with whom this was tried was told to pass into the sleep she called out the date of the coin almost instantaneously — "1793." I thought she was still awake and guessing. But in that instant she had passed into a deep sleep and had told the date correctly.

In the fifth class the reader's credence will be much tested Many of the Scripture miracles were not a whit more difficult to believe. In fact, some were precisely the same. Professional frauds have created much hostility to the idea of anyone possessing clairvoy ance But the somewhat amusing fact is that every human being is a clairvoyant — which could be shown beyond disagreement if the doubter were placed in the mesmeric trance. An instructive experiment has lately been told me, in which the same patient, Grace ———, was used. A Mrs. Fuller, an invalid in the hospital, was anxious about her daughter, who had not lately written. Dr. Chapin, one of the house doctors, was the actuator. Under his will the faculties of Grace ——— were made to see the child, then about thirty

miles off. She described Mrs. Fuller's home, its interior, the daughter coming from school with her books, whom she talked to, what she said, the precise time on a peculiar old clock in the room, and a call on a neighbor then made by the daughter — all of which was afterward proved to have been correctly reported. I mention Dr. Chapin's work because it relieves me of some of the seeming egotism which a recital of this kind enforces, and because my own experiments, which were, in effect, precisely the same, though different in detail, have been published elsewhere.[1]

As if these facts were not astounding enough, we come finally to a sixth class, in which we find that these marvels can be produced by one's own will-power acting on one's own interior faculties — the proofs of which I have already published.

Now here, I submit, we get our right clew to the true position of man in history. We now see why great men had always to be possessed of peculiar will-power. They were great when the intensities of their ambitions, desires, or necessities forced from their soul-faculties some portions of knowledge which gave them a temporary ascendency, such, for instance, as would provide an advantage in strategy, statecraft, duplicity, treachery, or any other qualities which have assisted men who were leaders. There was no limit to this, for the experiments show that there is some quality in the soul of man that seems to be omniscient, or in direct correspondence with omniscience.

It was always through stress. None have become great in idleness or slackened energies. And as soon as the stress ceased, after the occasion for the intense strivings of years passed, when the fruits of victory were being enjoyed, when the aim of life was simply to hold and not to gain, then the man ceased to be markedly different from others. Then other men lead, because nature's leaderships are gained by that intensest concentration which forces the best methods from the soul-faculties. Apply this system of nature to any great event of history and you will invariably find it accomplishing the known results. There you will find a man making a name for himself, and, in a sense, making history. Always through stress,

1 "The Ascent of Life," by Stinson Jarvis. Postal address, Branch "X," New York, N. Y. Price $1.50.

strain, and necessity, in the same ways that extraordinary ingenuity comes to men and animals to assist their escape from situations of dire peril. Lock up the human wild beasts who agonize for liberty, and you will find that few jails will hold them. And their escapes may well be called miraculous.

The question then comes back for answer: What about this "universal causation"? — Fate? — the will of God? Here it must be said, as before, that no event of history can be selected which cannot be honestly referred to the intelligence of man when this has been assisted by a partial use of his soul-faculties. When human projects ran foul of natural laws, disaster followed. For instance, the acquirement of a new territory may take a vast amount of energy and heroic fighting — and the will of one man may then be paramount in making a fact of history coupled with his name; but if the army of occupation dies in the swamps of the conquered country, shall the disaster be attributed to God? Shall we not rather say that if the events of history were in His intended control they would be less cruel, less human, less bestial? Can anyone trace a lasting benefit that arose from Napoleon's career? The meteor disappeared into impalpable dust. The conquered lands returned to their owners. Was any country improved by his coming? He left a bloody trail through Egypt, but not till the last decade has the Egyptian fellah known a whiff of liberty or justice for two thousand years. The only outcome that lasts to the present day is the assisted vanity of the French people, a vanity built on the abilities of one man, which were lost to the country when he died. Does anyone see a trace of the will of God in all this? I do not.

His Corsican mother bore him while she attended her husband in his battles. The offspring was marked for war in his mother's womb. He was preëminently a natural product; and in him we find indomitable will continually concentrated on faculties which yielded the discernments that made him master of men and master of war. No man came under his scrutiny without feeling that he was read to the core. The weaknesses, strengths, vanities, braveries, and ambitions of others were all read, used, and played upon for one man's ends. And from Bismarck back to Cyrus we find all the great ones ruling in the

same way — through the discernments that are will-forced from the soul-faculties.

But among lesser men, and in everyday life? Here, the same, only in lesser degrees; not with a knowledge of the processes at work, and thus without the conscious direction of effort which would produce more satisfactory results; though often the world is astonished when the extraordinary introspection of some business men enables them to make money in all their dealings. This is not luck. Their amassed wealth is the proof of their life's strain — almost another name for it. And it should be remarked, in passing, that most of the great ones have been deeply religious in their own ways. Jay Gould was deeply religious in his own way, though I am told he wrecked many. So is Bismarck. So were Wellington and Von Moltke — men who guided frightful carnage. We may smile at the religion which wrecks and kills and prays, but we do not remove the combination; and it is probable that the great ones have been too closely conscious of their own sudden discernments to find a gross materialism possible. It was the same with the pagans. Even Bonaparte had an implicit belief in what he called his lucky star.

The followers of Buckle claim that man is personally hardly more than a cipher in history, that his name is hardly worth writing in the great scroll. But how is this when the fate of Europe rests, as it may rest at this moment, wholly and solely in the faculties of one man? The instinct of hero-worship is too deep-set to be valueless. And the experiments which do so much to explain the sources of increased human knowledge point to the fact that it is in the man of the hour that the history of the hour is written. One leads; the others follow. Gifted he may be, even before he is born; endowed he may be, by forefathers who were clean; but when the event approaches there is always one who more than others realizes the stress, strain, or peril, and in a mighty effort creates from his own faculties a scheme or plan which others are glad to follow.

That is greatness. That is history. That is creation. For creation is of spirit; and man, as these seemingly trivial experiments prove, is also, in part, of spirit. The disasters that may result through other causes from his action are only the proof of his humanness — proof that his strain for enlightenment was

not continued. In these ways history is human, but always with a partly secreted and godlike faculty awaiting demand. "Seek, and ye shall find. Knock, and it shall be opened unto you." The greatest man that ever lived taught this. And whatever he was, or was not, he knew more than any other man.

This article is by no means intended to suggest that the will of God need not be considered in the study of history. When it is proved that human privacy is impossible, and that any ordinary person's soul may be made to see us at all times, then we may be quite sure that the Giver of these faculties to man possesses them himself and that we are watched both personally and nationally. But the article *is* intended to suggest that man has progressed and has been great when the exercise of his will-power, or the concentrated desire of prayer, has forced his interior faculties, perhaps through their correspondences, to help him through enlightenment. We find ourselves placed on this planet in total ignorance as to why we came or where we go, but there seems to be one continuous purpose through all — that man shall improve. It may be that high intelligence, combined with experience in all grades of life, is required somewhere else. It may be that in order to gain such experience it must be lived through. There would certainly be no striving if everything came to us as an unearned gift. The disasters resulting from one man's action are a warning to the next venturer; and if experience is not, or cannot be, sent into a soul as an unearned gift, then the higher wisdom may be non-interference.

The estimate of man's personal agency in history is necessarily raised when the faculties he has utilized in gaining his ends are inquired into. Such a study seems to lead toward an alteration in the accepted idea of divine control in matters of history when it suggests this intention — that the divinity of a right control shall be shown through man. Such a study shows that he is sufficiently endowed with a spiritual nature, not only for this purpose, but for any other; and it suggests that, as his faculties bring him into direct connection with some All-knowledge from which every kind of intelligence may be drawn, he is expected to use his opportunities; also that the natural consequences of mistakes will not be rectified except through the intelligence supplied to further demand.

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

THE NEW WOMAN.[1]

BY MILES MENANDER DAWSON.

She stands beside her mate, companion-wise,
Erect, self-poised, with clear, straightforward eyes.
For what she knows he is she holds him dear,
And not for what she fancies him — with fear.

Brave spirit! Disillusionized, she lifts
What blinder women bear as heaven's ill gifts.
She asks but, ere she reproduce a man,
He truly be one, so a woman can.

She gives not for the asking, nor as one
Who does unpleasant things that must be done.
Nay, he who half-unwilling love receives
Knows not the full-orbed joy she freely gives.

Emancipated, on firm feet she stands,
And all that man exacts of her demands;
The new morality, the art of life,
And not obedience, holds her as wife.

Hail, the new woman! By her choices she
Determines wisely what mankind shall be.
She will not with eyes open be beguiled
To choose a tainted father for her child.

UNDER THE STARS.

BY COATES KINNEY.

It is a sad, sad sight. — *Carlyle.*

O stars! as the flakes of a snowstorm
How ye fly and fall and drift!
Swift snowing of suns out of darkness,
Whirled by winds of force and whiffed!

1 From advance sheets of "Poems of the New Time," by Miles Menander Dawson, The Humboldt Library, Publishers: New York. Cloth, 12mo, $1.00.

Fly! fall! but the wind the Almighty
Still behind you always runs,
Still pushes you onward together,
Fixed each sun in drift of suns.

Fixed, ay, to the vision of mortal
Never change hath shown in you;
Lands, seas, and their kingdoms and races
All have changed, but ye are true —
Still true to the old constellations,
Such as when the forebrain first
Uplifted itself to their glories
With this human spirit's thirst.

Calm! still! though in every sparkle
Motions like the thunderbolt,
Wide whirlings of worlds in their sunlight,
Planet's wheel and comet's volt,
All hang, as it were, in a dewdrop
Frozen to a steadfast gleam;
Time, place, dwindled down to a glitter,
Whimseys of an instant's dream.

Drift! drift! all the universe drifting
Round some sun too vast for thought!
On! on! awful maelstrom of matter
Whirling in a gulf of naught!
Whirl! wheel! and my soul like a seabird
Flies across and dips and flees —
Wild wings of my soul, like the seabird's,
Tossed and lost upon the seas!

THE CRY OF THE VALLEY.

BY CHARLES MELVIN WILKINSON.

Too long, too long on the mountain's brow
You linger, O storm-cloud! Know you not
I, the suffering lowland, need you now
Where the scorching sun glares hot?

You deluge the barren cliffs of chalk
While wither the grass and the fruitful grain,
And the red rose, shrivelling, dies on its stalk
With a smothered cry for rain.

You lavish your wealth on the lordly height
That knows not a miser's need therefor,—
With a smile I must take what is mine by right
As the gift true souls abhor.

But the rain that is mine by the love of God,
By the grace of the mountain a gift to me,
Of what avail to the parching sod,
Since it runneth down to the sea?

O cloud, I charge you to right my wrongs!
Be just with the bounty of God's own hand,
And scatter the rain where the rain belongs,
On the hot and thirsty land.

I charge you, cloud, by the love of God,
That you pour His gift on the humble plain
Till the myriad mouths of the parching sod
Drink deep of the blessèd rain.

A RADICAL.

BY ROBERT F. GIBSON.

I am a Radical, and this my faith:
The aim and hope of all true citizens
Are justice and real happiness for all.
Some are content—I know not why—to sit
Among the sleepy worshippers who fill
The gilded temple of conservatism,
And sitting, awestruck, there they think they serve.
I am too busy for idolatry.
I carry in my hand a naked sword,
And pity, roused for one, stays not my hand
When prompt, sure blows mean freedom for a score.
That is my faith, and I am not afraid
To face my Maker when my name is called.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

Our Totem.

CARLYLE has remarked upon the significance of symbolism. All nations seek a sign. The sign becomes the visible expression of the highest thought. It is made into an emblem around which the given people march by day and encamp by night. Thus have come all the totems which mankind have lifted up, from the brazen snake in the desert to the Stars and Stripes on the mountain.

Symbolism has its beauty and also its ugliness. In some cases the symbol is happily conceived. It is benign; it expresses hope, truth, fidelity, aspiration, even immortality. Behold the egg of the Egyptians and their circle expressive of undying life and eternity. Note the owl of the Athenians. Note the sweet lily of ancient Provence, adopted by France as the emblem of purity and national peace. Note the Irish shamrock — that delicate green trifolium which has signified so much of union and hope to an enthusiastic and failing race. On the other hand, note the serpent of the Aztecs, the crawling reptiles of Malaysia and India, the savage beasts and carnivorous birds adopted as the symbols of race-life and purpose by the coarse barbarians of northern Europe, and preserved on the flags and banners of their descendants to the present day.

Russia is a bear. Germany is a black eagle. France also, in her Bonaparte mood, is an eagle. Imperial Rome *was* an eagle from the days of the Cæsars. Great Britain is a lion, and Prussia is a leopard, and Siam is an elephant, and Mexico is still a snake. As for Great Britain, not satisfied with one lion, she repeats him seven times, rampant or couchant, on the royal standard. She also preserves on her coat-of-arms and coins the unicorn, that fabulous, one-horned monster of a horrid dream.

The American Republic seems to have accepted the eagle for its totem. We might have taken a bear or a caribou, but the eagle has pleased our mythologists more — and so, instead of belonging to the tribe of the Turkey, the tribe of the Dog,

or the tribe of the Calf, we belong to the tribe of the Eagle. But what does our totem signify?

The eagle in our symbolism and war-myth has come to us from the past. He was of old the totem of the Romans. From the Tiber he flew beyond the Alps, to perch on the standards of German chieftains and Gallic emperors. He has visited all lands that are affected with the civil and ethnic life of Rome. He has appeared here and there on the flags of the Latin races in the Old World and the New. He has made an eyrie in our mountains, and his scream has been heard in our wars. He has settled on our flagstaffs, and has been seen by certain and sundry poets who apostrophize him in verse. He has been admired by orators whose imaginations rise as high as battle and conquest, but not as high as the Stars and Stripes. He has been adored in academic essays. He has hovered over the pages of inchoate histories, until his claim to be regarded as the American bird is established. The eagle has become traditional as the totem of the United States.

In so far as the eagle is the symbol of the independence and freedom of men, let us accept him! In so far as he represents the idea and sublimity of height and flight, let him soar! The eagle as a sign of the free voyage of the human mind, triumphant over nature, visiting on strong wing the far and otherwise inaccessible heights of escape and glory, is the noblest of all the totems ever discovered by man; for flight is the noblest and most sublime of earthly actions. Height is the sublimest of all earthly stations. Height and flight are precisely the dream which we would select from the infinite visions of the soul and have engraved on our seal as a motto for eternity. Height and flight and freedom!

In so far as the eagle may be regarded as the bird of the past; in so far as he stands for violence and conquest; in so far as he represents the rending and destruction of life, the carnivorous passion in mankind, the rage of battle and triumph, — to that extent be there no eagle for the Republic or for us! It is high time that some race of men should rise to the height of discarding violence and blood as the beginnings of fame and power. It is high time that some race should renounce all bears and leopards and lions and mythological monsters as the symbols of its

spirit and purpose. It is high time that some nation should ascend to a level from which it may look down on the savage emblems and beast-born symbolism of the past world as no longer fit to express the central purposes and noblest visions of an enlightened people.

The American eagle in the better and more glorious sense — in the sense in which he typifies freedom and height and flight — is a totem of which neither philosopher nor peasant need be ashamed. The eagle's wing is more than pinion; it is thought. The eagle's eye is more than fierce disdain; it is a flash of ineffable light. His glance is more than terror; it is an arrow shot into the darkness. His breast is more than pressure and force; it is defiance of wind and battle-rack. His spirit is more than destruction; it is supremacy over chaotic elements and the triumph of the emancipated spirit. His scream is more than the shriek of carnal victory and rage of destroying strength; it is the cry of liberty and the shout of progress to all peoples in the valleys of the world.

Give man the spirit of the eagle. Give him height and flight and freedom. Give us who are Americans the splendid arena of the plains and the open vault of heaven. Give us the mountain, the beetling crag, the precipice, the gnarled oak, the lightning, and the cloud. Give us the warfare of the lawless elements, the world-blaze of the magnificent sun, the starlight of the profound and unspeakable night. Give us the transport of the unchained seasons, the snow-blast and the sun-flash, the tenderness of the dawn, the sorrow of the evening, the rainspout of the bursting nimbus, and the mellow light of autumn. Give us the splendid apocalypse of October and the infinite air-bath of the perfumed June. Give us all the aspirations of the man-soul standing in the midst of this splendor and mutation, standing high and opening the eagle-wing to cloudland and the sky, soaring and circling unfettered, viewing all lakes and hills from the aerial curves of freedom, alighting at will on the chosen summit, undisturbed by fear and untroubled by the torments of power!

Vive La France.

A strange fact is the apathy of the American nation towards France and the French people. There is every reason to expect a different sentiment on this side of the sea. France was ever our friend; since the colonial days we have never warred with her. The French were our allies when the days were dark and the winds of our destiny were loosed on the deep. We had been assailed by an unnatural mother. That strong mother had wronged us, treated us as aliens, erased us from her book, turned loose mercenary armies upon us, killed our patriot fathers.

In that hour of fate France appeared willingly on the scene as our champion. She succored us. Whatever may have been her motive, she put her ægis over our head. She sent her heroes to our camps; she gave us Lafayette and Rochambeau. She placed her fleets at our ports, with guns pointed seaward for protection. Then, when the fight was won, she aided us to enlarge our territories, to confirm our new republican empire. Though in the afterdays of her monarchical gloom France sometimes looked askance at our flag, the French nation was never once disloyal to us — never once indifferent to the fate of our great democracy.

In our institutional development for more than a century we have proceeded on the same general lines with the French. If we are satisfied with the result — if we *believe* in our republic — we ought, in good reason, to believe in the republic of France; for the republic is a universal fact, little trammelled by locality. The barrier of race ought not to predominate over political and social sympathies. The barrier of race ought not to separate us from our own. The fact that we are allied in ethnic descent with the English people ought not to make us enamored of the social life and civil institutions of Great Britain. Much less should the industrial and commercial life of England allure us as if to provoke a like manner of life in ourselves. Least of all should the financial method of Great Britain lead us by imitation to fix upon ourselves a similar incubus and horror.

This leads us to say that to break away from Great Britain, even when incited thereto by the antipathy and prejudice which

we must needs hold against her; to leave her behind; to treat her as a historical fact not favorable, but inimical rather, to our progress and independent destiny, — seems to be the hardest task imposed upon the American democracy. The preference of race and language is so profound, the influences of the commercial life are so far-reaching, the admiration for political stability is so natural, the domination of centralized wealth is so overwhelming, and the allurements of consolidated power so well calculated to fascinate the masses, that even American democracy has found it hard to break the British tie and sail away uncabled and disenchanted on the sea.

This deluded instinct of attachment to Great Britain, and this unnatural lack of sympathy for France have cost us dearly. The two sentiments have modified our national life, and have left a result different by not a little from what it would have been if influenced by other and more wholesome dispositions on our part. Our nationality has lost much force on both counts — on the score of our illogical attachment to Great Britain on the one hand, and of our unnatural indifference to France on the other. Under the one influence we have become *tolerant of subserviency* as a national trait, and under the other we have become in a measure *incapable of enthusiasm*. The addition of British subserviency has been aggravated with the subtraction of French enthusiasm from our public and private life.

All this had been better otherwise. All this — even after the lapse of a hundred and twenty-one years from the great summer of our Independence — ought still to be bettered with amendment. It is not needed, stiff as we have already become in our national instincts and methods, to go forward by going backwards. To approximate Great Britain is to go backwards. The English *people* are among the greatest of the historic races, but the British *monarchy*, with its mediæval pretensions, its humbug of a throne and a crown, its subordinated ranks of society, its military and naval despotism, and its vast skein of *tentaculæ* stretching to every valuable thing in the world, — is perhaps the one thing that modern civilization should most dread and put away from the field of its desires.

On the other hand France is, in nearly all respects, admirable. Her mobility is life, and her warmth is a fructifying

force. France gives forth more than she takes from the nations. Her republic is a splendid piece of political workmanship. Her spirit is patriotic. Her people, instead of straggling over the world like adventurers and pirates, remain in the borders of *La Patrie*, happy and vital in the possession of freedom.

Her lilies still bloom in the depth of the valleys.

Her vineyards are a covert under which if there be a peasantry it is not a peasantry forced down by oppression, but only the modest residue of the stronger life above and beyond. The free institutions of this beautiful land are the natural counterpart of our own; we should be all the better for warming ourselves not a little in the glow of the Gallic enthusiasm. *Vive la France!*

Le Siècle.

The century passes as a broken dream
That fades into the darkness ere the dawn!
The hopes it cherished and its griefs are gone
As spirit-shadows on Time's silent stream!
The outcry and the anguish of it seem
Like echoes on dusk hills — like lights upon
The haunted borders of oblivion —
Pale will-o'-wisps of a disordered scheme.

O thou New Age that comest! welcome thrice —
More welcome than the ever-welcome birth
Of the expected love-child of our youth!
Bring us a nobler portion — nobler twice
Than ever yet was given unto earth!
Bring us our freedom — bring us love and truth.

BOOK REVIEWS.

[*In this Department of* THE ARENA *no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.*]

President Jordan's Saga of the Seal.

David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford Junior University, has many times deserved well of his country. As a scientific man he has, we believe, given to the American public and the world a greater number of original monographs on important branches of current investigation than has any of his distinguished contemporaries. From his special department of ichthyology, in which he became an expert fully a score of years ago, he has branched into nearly all fields of scientific exploration, finding ever new paths, leading to new regions and new empires of knowledge.

Upon this basis is builded Dr. Jordan's fame as an educator. In two great States of the Union he has presided over the affairs of high-grade institutions of learning. After a successful career as President of the Indiana University, he was selected from the great array of American scholars to preside over the destinies of Leland Stanford Junior University, at Palo Alto, California. But the onerous duties and responsibilities of these positions have hardly distracted Dr. Jordan's mind from his central motive and aim of scientific investigation. Through all the years of his busy career he has prosecuted his researches with the most conspicuous success.

Meanwhile, he has endeared himself to the American people as an able publicist, whose writings and leadership have become potent in many lines of our public policy. President Cleveland had the good judgment to select Dr. Jordan to preside over the inquiry into the condition of affairs in Bering Sea. The fur-seal imbroglio had already become an international menace; the peace of great nations was threatened by it. It has thus fallen to Dr. Jordan's lot in his official position to conduct an inquiry of the highest importance. He is the United States Commissioner in charge of the fur-seal investigation, and it is this fact and the results of this fact that now bring him to the fore in a literary production, the only adverse criticism on which is its brevity. Would it were longer.

In 1896 Dr. Jordan published his "Observations on the Fur Seals of the Pribilof Islands." This was a *preliminary* report. But it is nevertheless replete with statements of the bottom facts and of generalized information from which a clear notion of the

condition of affairs in the fur-seal regions must be derived. It is not of this work, however, that we shall at the present speak, but rather of Dr. Jordan's later production, "Matka and Kotik; a Tale of the Mist-Islands." [1]

It appears that during his investigations from a scientific and official point of view the author's mind has been profoundly impressed on the sentimental and poetic side by the conditions in which he found himself in the Pribilof Islands. The result of this profound impression is the little work before us. Though it is done in prose it is none the less a poem; it is the Saga of the Seals. It is a poetic appeal to all Christendom in the simple and dramatic way of Frithiof and his contemporaries.

"Matka and Kotik" will be a revelation to those of Dr. Jordan's friends and admirers who were not already acquainted with the deep, clear vein of poetry in his composition. I have noted that several of our nineteenth-century scientists have this vein. Huxley was of this number; the spirits at the séances used to designate him as the "Poet of Science." Dr. Jordan in "Matka and Kotik" vindicates his right to be known as the *American* Poet of Science.

It is evident that while the President of the Fur-Seal Commission was performing his duty in the Pribilofs, in the summer of 1896, his mind became profoundly impressed with the sorrows of the seal. Not only have commerce and the equity of nations been outraged in this matter, but the cry of humanity is heard. Aye, more; the cry of the seals themselves is heard; and it is this cry that Dr. Jordan has interpreted and sent to the world. Not satisfied with the preparation of his preliminary report, he has found opportunity to appease his sense of indignation, by writing this book, every line of which tells a story of avarice and crime and butchery which, if we mistake not, the roused-up spirit of mankind will soon abate.

Dr. Jordan's book is a sort of dramatical story, the *personæ* of which are all Seals except one man, Apollon the Destroyer, and a few of the creatures such as Chignotto, the sea-otter; Bobrik, her son; Epatka, the sea parrot; Eichkao, the blue fox; Isogh, the hair-seal; Amogada, the walrus; Sivutch, the sea lion; and Kagua, his wife, etc. The principal actors are Atagh, an old "beach-master" living on the Tolstoi Mys; Matka, his wife; Kotik, their child; Unga, Atagh's brother; Polsi, Matka's brother; Minda and Lakutha, Kotik's sisters; Ennatha, Matka's sister, and Annak,

[1] "Matka and Kotik; a Tale of the Mist-Islands." By David Starr Jordan, President of the Leland Stanford Junior University and of the California Academy of Sciences; United States Commissioner in charge of Fur-Seal Investigations. One volume, square duodecimo, illustrated, pp. 68. San Francisco: The Whitaker & Ray Company, 1897.

Ennatha's child. It is the manner of life and fate of these personages that Dr. Jordan has delineated in the "Tale of the Mist-Islands." He tells us that it is a true story — that the author personally knew Matka before Kotik was born, and that he witnessed the events which he describes.

I shall not attempt to give an extended review of the story of "Matka and Kotik." I must satisfy myself and, I trust, incite the interest of the readers of THE ARENA, by sketching only an outline of the Saga of the Seal. The scene of the story is the Mist-Island, or, more properly, certain parts of the shore and headlands of that island whereon the seals pass an important part of their migratory life. From these coast lines they take to sea at certain seasons and swim away, generally to the south. Tolstoi Head is the point of observation from which Dr. Jordan begins his charming delineations of seal-life, and there he concludes the story; which, in the meantime, transforms itself into the pathos of sad separations and finally into the dumb tragedy of slaughter and death.

The author gives character — human character — to his personages, discriminating them according to their natures into beings whose very names, notwithstanding the limited range of their faculties, bring us into intimate and profound sympathy with them. Old Atagh, the lordly sea-bull of the Tolstoi Mys, looms up grandly above the rest —

> In shape and gesture proudly eminent.

Matka, the wife, is an embodiment of her sex. Kotik is the child of her choice. All her offspring are veritable children: the uncles are uncles, the aunts are aunts, the cousins are cousins, and the rest are the rest. Even the "supers" appear in the nebulous names of the drama.

The point of the "Tale of the Mist-Islands," the great lesson of it, is the horrid abuses and cruelties to which the seals have been subjected by the brutal fur-pirates who have thronged the Alaskan waters in the past two decades, and whose intolerable lust of slaughter and devastation has threatened the extinction of the fur-seal race. If the story of "Matka and Kotik" could be perused, as it should be, by the American people, the very mothers of the country would rise up against the piratical butchers of the Pribilofs, who would quail under their frown. Meanwhile, diplomacy drags its length, and official reports carry to Congressional Committees a vague statistical account of what has been done and is still doing in the Alaskan waters.

I most heartily commend to all who are interested — and who is

not? — in the fur-seal question and in the manner of its solution, Dr. Jordan's interesting little book. I have hardly ever seen a better piece of English than this. The author's style is admirable. I scarcely recall another book so monosyllabic and terse. Whoever commences to read "Matka and Kotik" will continue to the end. The story fascinates while it instructs. I dare say that Dr. Jordan, in the scientific sketches which are cunningly scattered in these paragraphs, is always correct.

If our space permitted, we should be glad to make extended quotations in illustration of the sterling merits of this tale of our far Northwest. I shall be obliged to conclude the review with only a single extract, but must first remark that "Matka and Kotik" is illustrated with forty-two striking photographic reproductions, the beauty and excellency of which can hardly be too highly praised. To these are added thirty-four pen sketches by Miss Chloe Frances Lesley, a student in zoölogy in Leland Stanford Junior University. The illustrations which appear are adapted to the text with perfect good taste. We also note "The Calendar of the Mist-Islands." This is appended to the story proper, as is also the map of the Mist-Island. In the calendar Dr. Jordan gives a diary of the movements of the seals beginning January 1st and ending November 15th. These notes convey a great amount of scientific information in the most condensed and interesting form. It is evident that Dr. Jordan has written under a strong sense of the significance of the scenes which he wishes to portray. At the close, he says:

> And when Kotik came back in the spring and climbed over the broken ice-floes to take his place at Tolstoi, Atagh was sleeping yet. [It was the sleep of death!]
>
> And now the dreary days have come to the twin Mist-Islands. The ships of the Pirate Kings swarm in the Icy Sea. To the Islands of the Four Mountains they have found the way. The great Smoke-Island has ceased to roar, because it cannot keep them back. The blood of the silken-haired ones, thousand by thousand, stains the waves as they rise and fall. The decks of the schooners are smeared with their milk and their blood, while their little ones are left on the rocks to wail and starve. The cries of the little ones go up day and night from all the deserted homes, from Tolstoi and Zoltoi, from Lukanin and Vostochni, and from the sister island of Staraya Artil.
>
> Meanwhile, Kotik and Unga, Polsi and Holostiak, stand in their places, roaring and groaning, waiting for the silken-haired ones that never come.
>
> Their call comes across the green waves as I write. I turn my eyes away from Tolstoi Head and put aside my pen. It is growing very chill. The mist is rising from the Salt Lagoon, and there is no brightness on the Zoltoi sands.

THE ARENA FOR SEPTEMBER.

THE ARENA for September will carry to our patrons more than the usual number of superior contributions. Several of these are timely to a degree. It is intended that the great questions of the epoch — the real questions in which the people feel an instinctive concern — shall be discussed in THE ARENA with the sole purpose of elucidating them in the best possible manner, thus conducing to the betterment of the serious conditions now present in American society.

One such article of the first importance will appear in the number for September. This is a contribution on the "CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH," by Herman E. Taubeneck, well known as an expert in the political and economic questions of the times. The present article is the first of two on the same subject. Mr. Taubeneck patiently undertakes the theme on the foundation of fact, and reaches his conclusions by an able and irrefutable inductive argument.

A second article of like interest is that on "MULTIPLE MONEY," by Eltweed Pomeroy, President of The Direct Legislation League of the United States. Mr. Pomeroy is known to THE ARENA readers as a strong and thoroughgoing publicist whose writings are as instructive in subject-matter as they are lucid in style.

A third contribution in THE ARENA for September will be an article entitled "ANTICIPATING THE UNEARNED INCREMENT," by Hon. I. W. Hart, Official Reporter of the Third Judicial District of Idaho. Mr. Hart's contribution is a powerful exposé of the evils of land speculation in cities and towns, and the consequent extravagant prices of realty and of high rents.

Our special contributor, sent by the courtesy of the Yarmouth Steamship Co. and the Dominion Atlantic and Intercolonial Railways to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to investigate the Social and Industrial Conditions prevailing in those regions, is engaged in completing his article, and the same will appear in THE ARENA for September.

Besides the abovenamed contributions, THE ARENA for September will contain "STUDIES IN ULTIMATE SOCIETY," by Lawrence Gronlund and K. T. Takahashi; a special article, "THE AUTHOR OF THE MESSIAH," by B. O. Flower; an article entitled "SUICIDE: IS IT WORTH WHILE?" by Charles B. Newcomb; "THE FIRST DEADLY SIN," by Marvin Dana; "MUSEUMS OF REPRODUCED ART," by Arthur Altschul; "THE CIVIC OUTLOOK," by Dr. Henry Randall Waite; Plaza of the Poets; Editor's Evening; Book Reviews, etc. Our readers will find THE ARENA for September, with its 144 well-filled pages, a feast of good things, participating in which they will be wiser and stronger for the battle that is toward in these lands.

The Great Opportunity.

The reduction of the subscription price of THE ARENA to two dollars and fifty cents a year brings to all the friends and relatives of THE ARENA family (their name being legion) a golden opportunity to add their names to the swelling list of our patrons. Let every champion of our cause send in his name and the names of his friends for the subscribers' list of THE ARENA. Begin with the number for July and thus secure the complete volume.

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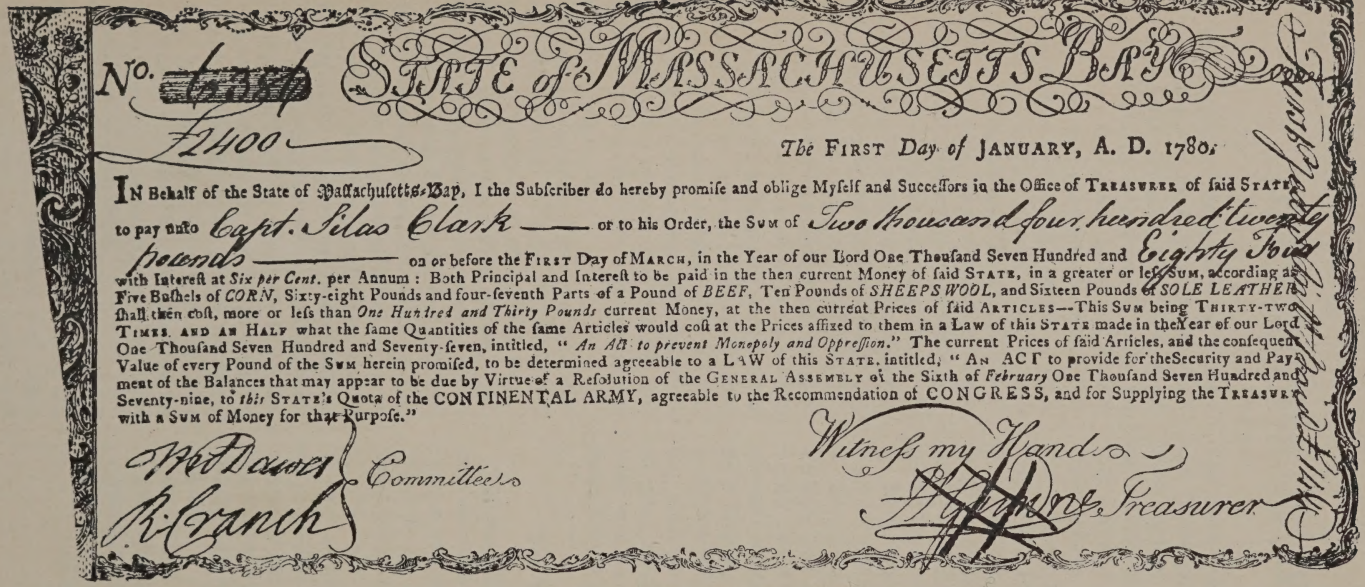
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STATE of MASSACHUSETTS BAY
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The FIRST Day of JANUARY, A. D. 1780.
IN Behalf of the State of Massachusetts-Bay, I the Subscriber do hereby promise and oblige Myself and Successors in the Office of TREASURER of said STATE to pay unto Capt. Silas Clark —— or to his Order, the SUM of Two thousand four hundred twenty pounds —— on or before the FIRST Day of MARCH, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Four with Interest at Six per Cent. per Annum: Both Principal and Interest to be paid in the then current Money of said STATE, in a greater or less SUM, according as Five Bushels of CORN, Sixty-eight Pounds and four-seventh Parts of a Pound of BEEF, Ten Pounds of SHEEPS WOOL, and Sixteen Pounds of SOLE LEATHER shall then cost, more or less than One Hundred and Thirty Pounds current Money, at the then current Prices of said ARTICLES—This SUM being THIRTY-TWO TIMES AND AN HALF what the same Quantities of the same Articles would cost at the Prices affixed to them in a Law of this STATE made in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-seven, intitled, "An Act to prevent Monopoly and Oppression." The current Prices of said Articles, and the consequent Value of every Pound of the SUM herein promised, to be determined agreeable to a LAW of this STATE, intitled, "AN ACT to provide for the Security and Payment of the Balances that may appear to be due by Virtue of a Resolution of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Sixth of February One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-nine, to this STATE's Quota of the CONTINENTAL ARMY, agreeable to the Recommendation of CONGRESS, and for Supplying the TREASURY with a SUM of Money for that Purpose."
Committee
Witness my Hand
Treasurer

MULTIPLE-STANDARD TREASURY NOTE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

(Engraved from the original in the possession of Henry Winn, Esq., of Boston, and in illustration of the article, "A Multiple Standard for Money," by Eltweed Pomeroy, in this issue of THE ARENA. See p. 338.)

This note is, we believe, the most nearly honest piece of paper money that was ever issued or invented by a civilized state. It is a treasury note of Massachusetts, which was created in 1780 to meet obligations due to her men of the Revolution. In order that they might not be defrauded out of their wages by the fluctuations of a redundant paper currency, it was provided by the commonwealth, as will be seen by a study of this note, that her patriots should receive a check, the purchasing power of which should be determined four years after date by the average or index value of four leading commodities of the market — corn, beef, wool, and sole leather. The soldier who received this note was assured against loss from the treacherous fluctuation of his counter. He should receive at the maturity of the note as much of the average values of the market as was due at the time when the note was given. Not so the soldier of the Union War. *He* was given a promise to pay couched in legal-tender *dollars*. The price of these dollars, as measured by the average of commodities, was put *down* to forty cents until the soldiers were paid, and was then put *up* to the par of *coin*, and finally to the par of *gold*, in order that the bondholder might receive at the first ten for four, and ultimately four for one. The Massachusetts soldier of the Revolution, as shown in the above note, got one for one in payment for his services; the soldier of the Union War got four-tenths for one for fighting our battle, and the bondholder got four for one for being a shark.—THE EDITOR.

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THE ARENA.

VOL. XVIII. SEPTEMBER, 1897. No. 94.

THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH, ITS CAUSE AND RESULTS.

BY HERMAN E. TAUBENECK.

PART I.

WHOEVER has talent for observation, and taste for the study of political revolutions, cannot fail to discover that we are standing on the threshold of a great conflict,—a conflict between concentrated wealth on one side, and the organized wealth-producers on the other. The longer this issue is kept in the background the harder the struggle will be when it does come, for come it must. Great questions, like heavy trains, move slowly; but when they do move, the opposing forces meet with the clash of colliding worlds. Evolution and the progress of ideas have the same effect on laws and governments as they have on customs and habits; and the older a form of government is, the less it suits the present condition of the world. Laws which are considered right and just in one age are often repealed as wrong and unjust in another.

Nations count their strength and prosperity by the values produced by those who dig in the mines, till the soil, and toil in the workshops. These are the creators of wealth, and no government can exist long which neglects and oppresses these three classes. "Wealth," says the politician, "must be dug out of the earth." This is true; but it is likewise true that it is the first and highest duty of every government to protect those who are doing the digging.

THE GREAT PROBLEM.

The great problem which confronts the American people

to-day is how they can prevent the rapid concentration of wealth into the hands of a small percentage of their population. The immediate and direct cause of all the distress and discontent in our land is due to *the unjust and unequal distribution of wealth.* Society is divided into two great classes, the one immensely rich, and the other correspondingly poor. History teaches that the greatest calamity that can befall any nation is the concentration of its wealth. There has been no nation that flourished and fell but what the concentration of wealth always preceded the fall. History does not record one exception. The *Progress*, of Boston, in 1889 published the following:

> The eloquent Patrick Henry said: "We can only judge the future by the past." Look at the past! When Egypt went down, two per cent of her population owned 97 per cent of her wealth. The people were starved to death. When Persia went down one per cent of her population owned the land. When Babylon went down two per cent of her population owned all the wealth. The people were starved to death. When Rome went down, 1,800 men owned all the known world.

What was France before the revolution of 1789? Nothing but an aristocracy of wealth and birth on one side, and millions of half-clad, half-fed, impoverished toilers on the other. And what was the outcome? The bloodiest revolution known to history. They reaped exactly what they sowed.

In the United States.

It requires but little observation to discover that we, as a nation, are drifting into the same channel, and that unless something is done we also shall reach the same destination,—with only this difference: in our age of steam and electricity we are travelling ten times faster and shall reach our destination ten times more rapidly than the nations that preceded us. It is only a question of time until the same cause which produced the French Revolution, the downfall of Rome, and the destruction of every nation of antiquity, will, unless trammelled up, also destroy this nation. We shall reap what we have sown, as they did.

Great Increase of Wealth.

It is true that we are the wealthiest nation on earth; and

there never was a period in the history of mankind in which the ability of the race to create wealth was as great as at the present. To-day one man, with the aid of improved machinery, can create as much wealth in three hours as he could have created, fifty years ago, in thirteen hours. At the present time a farmer can do as much work in five hours as he could have done forty years ago in eleven hours.

The Census Report tells us that every month in the year we, as a nation, create $150,000,000 more wealth than we consume. Every time the sun sets the people of the United States produce over $5,000,000 more wealth than they use in the same time.

The New York *World* of December 19, 1889, and the Chicago *Tribune* of December 20, 1889, published a table compiled from authentic sources, giving the assessed and actual value of the wealth of the United States for the different decades beginning with 1850. Following is an extract:

YEARS.	ASSESSED VALUE.	ACTUAL VALUE.
1870.	$11,342,780,366	$30,068,518,507
1880.	16,902,993,543	43,642,000,000
1890.	23,719,000,000	61,459,000,000

The per-capita wealth in 1870 was $780; in 1880, $870; and in 1890, nearly $1,000.

Ex-Senator Ingalls, in a speech delivered in the Senate, January 14, 1891, said:

> Notwithstanding all the losses by fire and flood during that period of twenty years, the wealth of the country increased at the rate of $250,000 for every hour. Every time the clock ticked above the portal of that chamber, the aggregated, accumulated, permanent wealth of this country increased more than $70. Sir, it rivals, it exceeds the fiction of the Arabian Nights. There is nothing in the story of the Lamp of Aladdin that surpasses it. It is without parallel or precedent; the national ledger now shows a balance to our credit, after all that has been wasted and squandered, expended, lost, and thrown away, of between sixty and seventy thousand million dollars.

WHO OWNS THE WEALTH?

So far as our ability to create wealth is concerned, no one need complain. There is plenty for all; but this is not the question at issue. The question to-day is, who owns this

enormous increase of wealth which we, as a nation, have accumulated within the last thirty years? Does it belong to the farmer? NO. Because the price of his products for years has been steadily below the cost of production, and we have more tenant farmers and mortgaged farms in the United States to-day than at any other period in the history of the country. Do the laborers, the men who dig in the mines and toil in the workshops, own this wealth? NO. Because their wages, in spite of a protective tariff, have been coming down every year, until to-day strikes, lock-outs, and boycotts have become part of the regular order. It is a sad fact that those who have created and dug this wealth out of the earth own but a trifle of it.

The question then is, if the farmer, miner, and artisan do not own this wealth, who does own it? In answer to this question we will call three eminent witnesses to the stand, whose opinions are regarded as high authority, and who have made a careful investigation of this subject. One is George K. Holmes, in a review of the eleventh census, published in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, 1893. The second is an article by Thomas G. Shearman published in the September and November *Forum* for 1889; the other witness is Charles B. Spahr, who has made a careful investigation of "the present distribution of wealth in the United States," compiled from the records of the Surrogate Courts in the State of New York.

Mr. Holmes's Estimate.

Mr. Holmes estimates the total wealth of the United States at sixty billions of dollars, and the total number of families at 12,690,152; which, if the wealth were equally divided, would give each family $4,728. The result of Mr. Holmes's computation is as follows:

WEALTH DISTRIBUTION BY CLASSES.

1,440,000 farm-hiring families worth $150 above debts of indefinite amount	$216,000,000
752,760 families owning incumbered farms worth less than $5,000, deducting incumbrance and other debts of indefinite amount, and allowing $500 for additional wealth	1,359,741,600

1,756,440 families owning free farms worth less than $5,000, allowing $1,000 for additional wealth above debts of indefinite amount	5,309,569,600
5,159,796 home-hiring families worth $500 above debts of indefinite amount	2,579,898,000
720,618 families owning incumbered homes worth less than $5,000, deducting incumbrance and other debts of indefinite amount, allowing $500 for additional wealth	1,142,531,550
1,764,273 families owning free homes worth less than $5,000, allowing $2,000 for additional wealth above debts of indefinite amount	6,749,076,593
11,593,887 families worth	$17,356,837,343

Thus, 11,593,887 families own $17,356,837,343 of our nation's wealth; while the other 1,096,265 families own $42,643,162,657.

Appalling as these figures are, yet no one can feel their full weight until analyzed. Here we have 11,593,887 families, each possessing, on an average, property to the value of $1,496, and 1,096,265 families, each possessing property to the value of $38,898. If we allow five persons to each of these two classes of families and divide their wealth among them equally, we receive $299 as the average per-capita wealth for 57,969,435 of our population; while the other 5,481,325 of our population will have an average per-capita wealth amounting to $7,780.

Mr. Holmes in his summary uses this language:

> Ninety-one per cent of the 12,690,152 families of the country own no more than about twenty-nine per cent of the wealth, and nine per cent of the families own about seventy-one per cent of the wealth. . . . Among the 1,096,265 families in which seventy-one per cent of the wealth of the country is concentrated, there is still further concentration which may be indicated by taking account of the wealth of the very rich. The New York *Tribune's* list of 4,047 millionaires affords the best basis for this. . . . Without going into details, the conclusion adopted in this article is, that the 4,047 millionaires are worth not less than ten or more than fifteen billions, say twelve billions, or about one-fifth of the nation's wealth. This gives an average of about $3,000,000.
>
> We are now prepared to characterize the concentration of the wealth of the United States by stating that twenty per cent of it is owned by three-hundredths of one per cent of the families; fifty-one per cent, by nine per cent of the families (not including millionaires); seventy-one per cent, by nine per cent of the families (including millionaires); and twenty-nine per cent, by ninety-one per cent of the families. . . .
>
> Only nine per cent of the wealth is owned by tenant families; and the

poorer class of those that own their farms or homes under incumbrance and those together constitute sixty-four per cent of all the families. As little as five per cent of the nation's wealth is owned by fifty-two per cent of the families; that is, by the tenants alone. Finally, 4,047 families possess about seven-tenths as much as do 11,593,887 families. . . . It will not do to let the few become exclusively the employers and the creditors. They are not qualified to exercise such a trust; and even if they were, the time must nevertheless come when the masses of the people will find their interest less in raising the standard of living than in promoting their independence by accumulating wealth. Beyond some varying point cost of living becomes inexcusable extravagance.

Mr. Spahr's Estimate.

Mr. Charles B. Spahr recently published the result of his investigation on the "Distribution of wealth in the United States." Although he arrived at the same conclusions that Mr. Holmes and Mr. Shearman did, yet he pursued an entirely different line of investigation.

In 1892, the New York legislature passed an act requiring the Surrogate Court to keep a public record of all estates, whether real or personal, brought under their jurisdiction, with the estimated value of each. Mr. Spahr, with the assistance of the clerk of the Surrogate Court, collected the facts from the court records, as the basis for his estimates. In his summary, he gives the distribution of wealth for the whole country, as based upon the returns of the Surrogate Court of the State of New York, as follows:

In other words, there are about seven million property-owning families, and only five and a half millions who could justly be spoken of as propertyless. If, then, we assume that the latter, as a rule, have household property worth $150, the final table stands as follows:

THE UNITED STATES, 1890.

ESTATES.	NUMBER.	AGGREGATE WEALTH.	AVERAGE WEALTH.
The wealthy classes, $50,000 and over,	125,000	$33,000,000,000	$264,000
The well-to-do classes, $50,000 to $5,000,	1,375,000	23,000,000,000	16,000
The middle classes, $5,000 to $500,	5,500,000	8,200,000,000	1,500
The poorer classes, under $500,	5,500,000	800,000,000	150
	12,500,000	$65,000,000,000	$5,200

If we add to the families of the "wealthy classes" the families of the "well-to-do classes," we have 1,500,000 families

owning $56,000,000,000 of the nation's wealth, or an average of $37,333 per family; while the other 11,000,000 families own $9,000,000,000 of the nation's wealth, or an average of $820 per family. Twelve per cent of the families own eighty-six per cent of the wealth, and the other eighty-eight per cent of the families own only fourteen per cent of the wealth.

Again, the estates of the "wealthy classes," those who own $50,000 worth of property and over, constitute but one per cent of the families, and they own fifty-one per cent of the wealth; while other ninety-nine per cent of the families own but forty-nine per cent of the wealth. One family of the "wealthy classes" owns more property than ninety-nine families of the other classes.

Mr. Spahr in conclusion says:

> The conclusion reached, therefore, is as follows: — Less than half the families in America are propertyless; nevertheless, seven-eighths of the families hold but one-eighth of the national wealth, while one per cent of the families hold more than the remaining ninety-nine.

On the same subject Mr. Spahr quotes from the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Report, as follows:

> Part II of the report of the Massachussetts Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1894 publishes the inventoried probates for the entire state of Massachusetts during the three years 1889, 1890, and 1891. Although the estates for which no inventories are filed are, as a rule, the largest, the following concentration of property is exhibited:

INVENTORIED ESTATES IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1889, 1890, AND 1891.

	NUMBER.	VALUE.
Under $5,000	10,152	$16,889,479
$5,000 to $50,000	3,947	53,489,893
$50,000 and over	509	85,179,416
	14,608	$155,558,788

In other words, the estates of $50,000 and over aggregated fifty-five per cent of the total amount of property; while estates less than $5,000 aggregated but eleven per cent of the total.

MR. SHEARMAN'S ESTIMATE.

Mr. Shearman, in the *Forum* for September, 1889, after making liberal deductions, arrived at the following conclusions:

At this reduced rate the amount of wealth in the hands of persons worth over $500,000 each in the United States, would be as follows:

200	persons at	$20,000,000	each	.....	$4,000,000,000
400	" "	10,000,000	"	.....	4,000,000,000
1,000	" "	5,000,000	"	.....	5,000,000,000
2,000	" "	2,500,000	"	.....	5,000,000,000
6,000	" "	1,000,000	"	.....	6,000,000,000
15,000	" "	500,000	"	.....	7,500,000,000
24,600					$31,500,000,000

This estimate is very far below the actual truth. Yet even upon this basis we are confronted with the startling result that 25,000 persons now possess more than half of the national wealth, real and personal, according to the very highest estimate ($60,000,000,000) which anyone has yet ventured to make of the aggregate amount.

In speaking of the wealth of seventy of our wealthiest millionaires Mr. Shearman says:

Making the largest allowance for exaggerated reports, there can be no doubt that these seventy names represent an aggregate wealth of $2,700,000,000, or an average of $38,500,000 each. No information has been sought concerning those worth less than $20,000,000, but the writer accidentally learned of fifty other persons worth over $10,000,000, of whom thirty are valued in all at $450,000,000, making together one hundred persons worth over $3,000,000,000; yet this list includes very few names from New England, and none from the South. Evidently it would be easy for any well-informed person to make up a list of one hundred persons averaging $25,000,000 each, in addition to ten averaging $100,000,000 each. No such list of concentrated wealth could be given in any other country. The richest dukes in England fall below the average wealth of a dozen American citizens; while the greatest bankers, merchants, and railway magnates of England cannot compare in wealth with many Americans.

Incomes and income tax. In speaking of the average income for the different classes by families, Mr. Shearman says:

As each worker has employed on an average three persons, including himself, the people may be divided into 15,000,000 families, or rather groups of three. (The actual number of real families was much less. It was under 10,000,000 in 1880, averaging five persons each.) On the basis of the careful estimate of Mr. Atkinson, 14,000,000 of these families must have been supported upon incomes of less than $400 (in my judgment less than $350), 700,000 on less than $1,000, and the other 300,000 on larger incomes.

According to this estimate, which no one has yet had the courage to challenge, 93.3 per cent of the families in the United States live upon incomes less than $400, and ninety-

eight per cent on an income less than $1,000; consequently an income tax exempting all incomes of a thousand dollars and below will practically exempt ninety-eight per cent of the families in the United States.

In the November number of the *Forum* for the same year, Mr. Shearman compares the incomes of American millionaires with those of Great Britain, as follows:

> The facts already stated conclusively demonstrate that the wealthiest class in the United States is vastly richer than the wealthiest class in Great Britain. The average annual income of the richest hundred Englishmen is about $450,000, but the average annual income of the richest hundred Americans cannot be less than $1,200,000, and probably exceeds $1,500,000. . . . The earnings of four-fifths of American families do not average as much as $500 per annum.

ANOTHER STATEMENT.

In the same number Mr. Shearman also gives a table estimating the "distribution of wealth" by families, "on the basis of the Boston tax returns." He divides the families into three classes, rich, middle, and working, as follows:

DISTRIBUTION IN CLASSES.

Class.	Families.	Wealth in millions.	Average per family.
Rich,	182,090	$43,367	$238,135
Middle,	1,200,000	7,500	6,250
Working,	11,620,000	11,215	968
	13,002,090	$62,082	$4,775

On this basis, 40,000 persons own one-half of the wealth of the United States; while one-seventieth part of the people own over two-thirds of the wealth. . . . It may safely be assumed that 200,000 persons control seventy per cent of the nation's wealth, while 250,000 persons control from seventy-five to eighty per cent of the whole. . . . The United States of America are practically owned by less than 250,000 persons, constituting less than one in sixty of its male population.

On another page Mr. Shearman estimates that the distribution of wealth in the United States, on the basis of the British income returns, is as follows:

Class.	Families.	Wealth in millions.	Average per family.
Rich,	235,310	$43,900	$186,567
Middle,	1,200,000	7,500	6,250
Working,	11,565,000	11,175	968
	13,000,310	$62,575	$4,813

On this basis 50,000 families would appear to own one-half of the national wealth. . . . The number of the very largest millionaires [in

the United States] has been kept down to very nearly the limit of the writer's personal information; while, in his judgment, there must be at least as many more of whom he has not heard. If this surmise is correct it would add, at once, $2,500,000,000 to the share of wealth belonging to the millionaire class, and would confirm the writer's rough estimate in the *Forum* for September, that 25,000 persons own just about one-half of all the wealth of the United States.

It requires a second thought for the mind to grasp the magnitude of these figures. If the wealth of the United States averages $1,000 per capita, then for each person who owns one million dollars, there must be 1,000 persons without property; for each person who owns ten millions, there are 10,000 persons without property; and for each person who owns one hundred millions, there must be 100,000 persons without property. For the 25,000 persons who possess $31,500,000,000 of the nation's wealth, there must be 31,500,000 persons in the United States without property.

These last figures are corroborated by Mr. Holmes's statement, where he says: "As little as five per cent of the nation's wealth is owned by fifty-two per cent of the families."

The English and Spanish Systems Compared.

If we estimate the total wealth of the nation at sixty billions of dollars, and remember that it has taken the American people two hundred and seventy years to accumulate it, and that within the last thirty-five years 25,000 persons out of a population of 70,000,000 people have absorbed one-half this wealth, how long will it be, if this process of concentration continues, until our country will be in the same condition as Egypt, Rome, and other nations were when they fell? It is doubtful if chattel slavery, from the day the first negro landed upon American soil up to the time the negroes were set free, produced a single millionaire. Yet the dollar, in the form of organized capital, within thirty years has produced at least 20,000 millionaires. This is the difference between the two systems of slavery, of which the "Hazzard Circular" speaks. One is the Spanish system, which controls labor by owning the body; while the other is the English system, which controls labor by controlling the volume of money. In outward appearance the master has become more refined; but in practice he is as unrelenting and heartless as under the Spanish

system. Nothing in society is more degrading and despotic than the tyranny of concentrated wealth.

CAMERON AND INGALLS.

Senator Don Cameron, of Pennsylvania, in a letter dated June 11, 1894, addressed to the Republican League clubs in session at Denver, Colorado, said:

The single gold standard seems to me to be working ruin with violence that nothing can withstand. If its influence is to continue for the future at the rate of its action during the twenty years since the gold standard took possession of the world, some generation, not very remote, will see in the broad continent of America only a half-dozen overgrown cities keeping guard over a mass of capital and lending it out to a population of dependent laborers on the mortgage of their growing crops and unfinished handiwork.

In commenting upon Mr. Shearman's figures, Senator Ingalls, in a speech delivered in the Senate January 14, 1891, said:

Mr. President, it is the most appalling statement that ever fell from the lips of man. It is, so far as the results of democracy, as a social and political experiment, are concerned, the most terrible commentary that ever was recorded in the books of time; and Nero fiddles while Rome burns. It is thrown off with a laugh and a sneer as the "froth on the beer" of our political and social system. . . .

Our population is sixty-two and a half millions, and by some means, some device, some machination, some scheme, some incantation, honest or otherwise, some process that cannot be defined, less than a two-thousandth part of our population have obtained possession, and have kept out of the penitentiary in spite of the means they have adopted to acquire it, of more than one-half of the entire accumulated wealth of the country. . . .

Our society is becoming rapidly stratified — almost hopelessly stratified — into the condition of superfluously rich and hopelessly poor. We are accustomed to speak of this as the land of the free and the home of the brave. It will soon be the home of the rich and the land of the slave. . . .

A financial system under which more than one-half of the enormous wealth of the country, derived from the bounty of nature and the labor of all, is owned by a little more than thirty thousand people, while one million American citizens, able and willing to toil, are homeless tramps, starving for bread, requires adjustment. A social system which offers to tender, virtuous, and dependent women the alternative between prostitution and suicide, as an escape from beggary, is organized crime, for which some day unrelenting justice will demand atonement and expiation.

Why do not the political leaders of this country, who have charge of the government, raise their voices against this

evil, and provide a remedy by which the wealth can be more evenly distributed? They know the evils which follow the concentration of wealth. Why do they not protect the people of this country from the fate that has befallen the older nations of the world. Simply because the conventions which nominated them were controlled by the twenty-five thousand millionaires who own the wealth; consequently a politician has more to fear from one man of wealth than from a hundred or a thousand men who create it; and because the people in the past have thought more of their party than of their property. The politician will never act otherwise until the people rise and demand their rights in legislative halls.

The Cause.

The next question is, Why is it that within the last thirty years more wealth has been concentrated in the hands of a few people than during the 246 years which preceded them? Why is it that those immense fortunes have been accumulated in such a short time? There must be a cause for it, otherwise these conditions could not exist. Is it because the millionaires have worked harder than other classes? No. Is it because they have saved their earnings better? No. *It is because Congress has so shaped our laws that the wealth has been legislated out of the pockets of the masses and into the pockets of the classes.* These millionaires are the result of a system of class laws, which caused the wealth to flow in one direction. Every time these laws legislated one dollar into one man's pocket, they also legislated one dollar out of somebody's pocket. I do not mean that Congress can create wealth, but I do say that our lawmakers can grant special privileges to one class at the expense of all others, and this is what Congress has been doing within the last thirty-five years. All that is necessary to prove this is to study the financial history of the United States since 1860.

The Exception Clause.

In 1862 Congress passed an act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue legal-tender Treasury notes, known as greenbacks. That act also provided for two exception clauses on the back of each note, which said, "This note is receivable

for all debts, public and private, except interest on the public debt and duties on imports." Every debt could be paid with these notes except those two; by law they were payable in coin. This act created such an unnatural demand for coin that a gold dollar or a silver dollar at one time was worth $2.85 in greenbacks.

Thus every dollar the banker and money-broker made in exchanging coin for greenbacks, was money legislated into their pockets and out of the pockets of the people. This demand for coin was created by law. These two exception clauses were placed on the back of these notes for the special benefit of that class who owned the coin. Congress so shaped the law that the money-brokers could reap a rich harvest at the expense of the people.

(*To be concluded in* THE ARENA *for October.*)

THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

A Reply.

BY DAVID OVERMYER.

THE *Forum* for February, 1897, contains an article by Senator David B. Hill of New York, under the title of "The Future of the Democratic Organization." As organization is only a means to an end, it would seem that the *end* sought by the great mass of the Democratic people must necessarily determine the future of the organization.

To ascertain the course likely to be taken by the Democratic party, it will be necessary to consider the conditions, economic and social, which exist in this country, how such conditions are regarded, and how they will be treated by the people. And yet, if we except a slight reference to sumptuary laws, Senator Hill utterly ignores the existence of any condition in this country requiring the attention of wise statesmanship or even sagacious political leadership.

Within the lifetime of the Senator himself such vast changes have taken place in this country as never before occurred in the world in any period of ten times the same duration. He has seen the population increase from 20,000,000 to 70,000,000 of souls. The aggregate wealth of the nation has grown to $70,000,000,000, three-fourths of which is owned by less than two hundred thousand persons. All business, trade, commerce — in short, all enterprise — has been incorporated.

He has seen the independent, self-respecting mechanic pass away; in his place is the operative of machinery of marvellous power, propelled by steam and electricity, and owned and operated by capital without other human agency than that of *hired* men. He has seen the machine take the place of the *man*, and money take the place of *manhood*. He has seen the production of every staple monopolized, and the profits arising from the united endeavor of all, concentrated year by year in fewer and fewer hands, while transportation, pooled

and combined, plunders the public, baffles the law, and mocks at justice, and department stores devour competition. Mining, manufacturing, indeed all staple production save that of the fields, being absolutely controlled by trusts, a handful of men are enabled to limit the output and thus to control the supply and dictate the price to the consumer. It being impossible for farmers to combine, by reason of their numbers and wide dispersion, the amount of their production is not susceptible of arbitrary limitation. The land pirates have therefore seized the great marts to which the farmers' produce must go, and thus monopolizing the avenues through which his produce must reach the consumer, cornering opportunity, fencing in the fountain, and bestriding the stream, they dismiss the bewildered farmer with a pittance and with the bland assurance that all things go by the great law of supply and demand, and proceed to reap such profits as the wants of a world will afford.

Then there is the gold standard, the monopoly of money; also the fact that the land is now owned largely by landlords, and tilled by tenants, while the national taxes are laid upon labor and consumption.

Aside from the fact that our vast acreage and relatively sparse population afford an opportunity to live, out of proportion to the relation between numbers and property values, our condition is worse as a people than that of the French at the outbreak of the revolution.

The absolute silence of Senator Hill concerning these most grave and menacing conditions, forces me to exclaim: "Art thou a leader in Israel and knowest not these things?" Does the distinguished Senator really suppose that a party of the people can shut its eyes to these things?

This article is in the main a repetition of the Senator's argument against the platform in the Democratic National Convention of 1896. All that he says respecting the honorable and patriotic action of the Democratic party, and its heroic sacrifices and services during the Civil War, its intrepid and glorious defence of constitutional rights and of the writ of habeas corpus; all that he says against protection and in favor of civil, religious, and personal liberty and

against sumptuary legislation, will receive the hearty concurrence of every Democrat. But the Senator utterly ignores the fact that there is in this country an *economic despotism* which is crushing the independence, the manhood, the very life out of the people, with which vexatious and annoying sumptuary laws and the abominable but oblique tyranny of pseudo-religionists is no more to be compared than officious and offensive intermeddling is to be compared with highway robbery.

The fundamental infirmity of Senator Hill's article is that it ignores the burning issue of the day, that is, *industrial, commercial, economic emancipation.* He assumes to direct the future course of the Democratic organization, without forecasting its attitude respecting the most gigantic and dangerous evils that ever afflicted a free people.

Shall we rail at those who would prescribe our diet and our apparel, and shall we say nothing of those who impoverish, degrade, and disinherit us? Shall we heap curses upon the ignorant and narrow bigots who strive to coerce us to their conception of morals, while we are dumb as death respecting the talented rogues, the educated and efficient devils, who are preparing for posterity the bitter and hopeless bondage of debt and the pangs of want, poverty, and sorrow? Senator Hill grounds his contention upon the principles of Jefferson, and seeks to contrast these with what he is pleased to term Populism. He says:

> The Democratic creed was enunciated in Jefferson's first inaugural address, wherein he laid down certain fundamental principles of government,— sixteen in all, — the maintenance of which he deemed essential for the well-being of the country.
>
> That address is worthy of careful study by every student of American political history, and it may safely be asserted that the administrative policies therein proclaimed are as necessary to-day to our national prosperity and happiness as when they were first promulgated.

Strangely enough Senator Hill does not set forth a single one of these sixteen Jeffersonian principles. Possibly he realized that not one of them could he invoke to support his assault upon the Chicago Democratic Convention and platform of 1896. For, however much either may be open to criticism from the Hamiltonian standpoint, or from the stand-

point of mere campaign expediency (which latter I deny), the fact remains that the convention did no act, and the platform contains no word, which is not strictly in accordance with the principles of Jefferson referred to. History may indeed be challenged to produce the record of any convention or assemblage of men so completely Jeffersonian in sentiment and in action as was the Democratic Convention of 1896. If, as Senator Hill contends, its platform is such that it cannot be maintained in the great forum of American public opinion, it is not because the platform is anti-Jeffersonian, but because American sentiment and opinion are anti-Jeffersonian. The sixteen principles announced by Jefferson in his first inaugural are as follows:

1st. Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political.

2nd. Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none.

3rd. The support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.

4th. The preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad.

5th. A jealous care of the rights of election by the people. A mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided.

6th. Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism.

7th. A well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war till regulars may relieve them.

8th. The supremacy of the civil over the military authority.

9th. Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened.

10th. The honest payment of our public debts and sacred preservation of the public faith.

11th. Encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce, as its handmaid.

12th. Diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason.

13th. Freedom of religion.

14th. Freedom of the press.

15th. Freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus.

16th. Trial by juries impartially selected.

Senator Hill says:

To exchange Jefferson's sixteen Democratic principles for one Populistic principle was not regarded as the part of prudence. To risk everything upon a single issue — and that one of questionable propriety — seemed to be unnecessarily imperilling the fortunes of a great political party.

In his eager determination to see nothing good in the Chicago platform, Senator Hill forgets to be consistent with himself, for he scarcely concludes his caustic criticism upon the impolicy of making "the silver question practically the sole or paramount issue," and of venturing "all the eggs in one basket," until he stumbles upon six other "unwise provisions, which, more than the silver question, tended to insure defeat." These, according to Senator Hill, were:

1st. The income tax.

2nd. The attack upon the Supreme Court.

3rd. Legal-tender paper money.

4th. Repudiation and an assault upon our national credit.

5th. Federal authority in the States.

6th. Life tenure in the public service.

It would appear that a convention which expressed its opinion upon all of these points, to say nothing of the silver issue, should be exempt from the reproach of having "ventured all of its eggs in one basket."

Again, Senator Hill says:

When the real question involved was whether silver should be coined at all (other than for subsidiary purposes), it was the height of folly to declare for such coinage at a precise ratio.

And yet the Senator himself offered, in the convention, the following as an amendment to the platform:

> Our advocacy of the independent free coinage of silver being based on belief that such coinage will effect and maintain a parity between gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, we declare a pledge of our sincerity that, if such free coinage shall fail to effect such parity within one year from its enactment by law, such coinage shall thereupon be suspended.

If, as he says in his *Forum* article, it was the "height of folly to declare for such coinage at a precise ratio," why did he ask the convention to do so? And why did he affirm that his "advocacy of independent free coinage of silver" at a fixed ratio was based on the belief that such coinage would "effect" and "maintain" a parity, etc., at the ratio of 16 to 1? These glaring inconsistencies are cited not for the purpose of discrediting the Senator's powers of discrimination, but to evidence his insensate animosity against the convention and all of its works, and his implacable purpose to destroy the influence of those now in control of the Democratic party.

It would seem that a public utterance by one occupying such a high station and upon a subject so abstract and philosophical as "the future of the Democratic organization" might have been made free from the aspersions and resentments incident to disappointed ambition, and yet the Senator takes a gloomy view of the future of his party because, as he says, speaking of the convention, "fair-minded Democrats who had learned to respect the time-honored usages of the party, were astonished at the revolutionary proceedings of that body in arbitrarily and unnecessarily rejecting, contrary to every Democratic precedent, the selection of the National Committee for temporary chairman." The temporary chairman thus selected was Senator David B. Hill himself. Here, then, is the explanation of the passionate prejudice and the infinite unfairness of this production, the title of which justified the expectation that it would be impartial, discriminating, and doctrinal.

No one ever questioned the right of the convention to adopt or reject the report of the National Committee. Mr. McDermot of New Jersey, the first speaker in support of

the Committee's report, freely conceded the right of the convention. How, then, can a matter of this kind become a factor in the question of "the future of the Democratic organization," whose chief corner-stone is "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of majorities"? With which of the sixteen principles of Jefferson would Senator Hill contrast this action of the convention? Can he find in any of these sixteen principles any sanction for his attack upon the income tax? Nay! If he will consult the father of American Democracy a little more closely, he will find that Jefferson is on record in favor of an income tax. In a letter to Madison dated "Paris, Dec. 8, 1784," he says:

> Taxes should be proportioned to what may be annually spared by the individual. . . . The simplest system of taxation yet adopted is that of levying on the land and the laborer. But it would be better to levy the same sums on the produce of that labor when collected in the barn of the farmer, because then, if through the badness of the year he made little, he would pay little.[1]

At that time agriculture was almost the only source of income. Can the distinguished Senator from New York find in the sixteen principles or in any of the writings of Jefferson, any justification for his criticism of what he is pleased to term "the attack upon the Supreme Court"? Will he invoke principle number twelve, which declares in favor of "arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason"? Would Jefferson, if living, agree with the Senator or with the convention? Would Jefferson explain that, when he declared in favor of the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason, he did not mean abuses by the Supreme Court?

When Senator Hill says, as he does, that "the true Democratic theory is that Congress has no constitutional power to issue any more legal-tender paper money, and should not issue any whatever," does *he* attack the Supreme Court?

If Jefferson were living, and were reduced to a choice between paper money issued by government and paper money issued by banks, would he hesitate for a moment to declare for the former, as did the convention? Or would he make an equivocal defence of the National Banks, as did Senator Hill?

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1 "Writings of Thomas Jefferson," by Ford, vol. iv, pp. 15 and 16.

Again, the Senator says:

The declaration that "We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace," was vicious as well as unfortunate.

Did Jefferson ever favor the issuance of such bonds? Would Jefferson, if living, have defended those in charge of the government when they violated the contract of the United States, and made this nation the pliant instrument of a syndicate which enriched itself while looting the Treasury and saddling upon the people an interest-bearing, thirty-year debt of $262,000,000? Did Jefferson refer to such practices when he declared for "economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened"? Would Senator Hill dare, before the people, to openly defend those scandalous bond-syndicate transactions? Shall the party of the people overlook such crimes? Did not Washington in his farewell address declare that "one method of preserving it [public credit] is to use it as sparingly as possible"? "Not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear"? And yet, because the Democratic National Convention adopted this very sentiment, Senator Hill charges it with "repudiation and an assault on our national credit." The convention did not deny the legal validity of these bonds; it assumed that they must be paid, fraudulent and corrupt as they were, and denounced the placing of such needless burdens upon the people for the purpose of maintaining the policy of gold monometallism. Does "the future of the Democratic organization" lie in the direction of anathematizing such just and wholesome sentiments as this uttered by the convention?

Senator Hill also objects to that resolution of the convention which declares:

We denounce arbitrary interference by the Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions; and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners; and we approve of the bill passed by the last session of the United States Senate and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempt in Federal Courts, and providing for trial by jury in certain cases of contempt.

Can Senator Hill point out wherein this conflicts with any of the sixteen principles of Jefferson? Was Jefferson in favor of government by injunction? Did he not declare for the "freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus," and "trial by juries impartially selected"? Did he not declare for "the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies"?

If Senator Hill had repudiated Jefferson, he would have been at least consistent. But to denounce the convention while adhering to Jefferson is the very height of absurdity, for, aside from those legislatures which adopted the famous resolutions of 1798 and 1799, no assemblage on earth ever resolved so completely in harmony with the teachings of Jefferson as did the Chicago Democratic Convention of 1896. If the Senator believed, therefore, that its platform should not constitute the future doctrine of the party, he should have frankly declared that Jefferson's doctrines are obsolete.

Senator Hill is horrified at the spectacle of the discontented and distressed elements of the population flocking to the Democratic standard. What and where would the Democratic party be without them? Did he seriously suppose that it could any longer compete with the Republican party for the favor of the great and powerful, the capitalistic classes, as it did during the Cleveland ascendency? Has it occurred to the Senator that but for economic oppression and dire distress, which doom three millions of men to idleness and millions of people to penury, suffering, and starvation, there would be no "crowd of Populists, silver Republicans, single-tax men, old greenbackers, professional labor agitators, socialists, and Adullamites generally"? If he rejects all these, and all whom the companionship of pain and the instincts of justice and humanity cast with them, he will reject the entire American people save the immensely rich and the vicious elements of our metropolitan populace.

Again he says:

> It is neither good politics nor is it honest to teach the people to expect the government to provide a living for them.

True, but did the Chicago Convention do so? Does the reformed and regenerated Democracy, the restored and reclaimed Democracy of 1896, teach any such thing?

> Nor to lead them to believe that all the ills to which the body politic is naturally subject, can be cured by legislation.

When and where did the Democracy of 1896 ever say they could be? But the above assertion of the Senator is pregnant with apostasy to popular rights. It implies that it is useless to attempt to right existing wrongs by legislation. Which is saying in effect that the Democratic party, as Senator Hill would have it, should, in its platforms and public utterances, and in its acts if in power, wholly ignore existing evils. What sort of Democracy would this be? Ah! It would be the kind described by Mr. Andrew Carnegie in that mockery of democracy written by him some ten years ago and entitled "Triumphant Democracy." On page 470 he quotes with approval from Mr. Dicey, an English writer, as follows:

> The plain truth is that educated Englishmen are slowly learning that the American Republic affords the best example of a conservative democracy; and now that England is becoming democratic, respectable Englishmen are beginning to consider whether the Constitution of the United States may not afford means by which under new democratic forms may be preserved the *political conservatism dear and habitual to the governing classes of England.*

The italics are my own. And Mr. Carnegie adds:

> The laws are perfect. These being settled as desired by all, it follows that a vital question can arise but seldom. The "outs" are left to insist that they could and would administer existing laws better than the "ins." A politician may be safely challenged to state wherein the Democratic and Republican parties of to-day differ.

Such is the democracy of Carnegie and of Senator Hill. It is the democracy of plutocracy. It is not the democracy of the people. In fact, it is not democracy at all, but the vilest counterfeit that ever dared to masquerade in a worthy historic name. Since the passing of Tilden and the coming of Cleveland there has not been nor is there now, collectively, any *real* democracy east of the Alleghany Mountains and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers. As the shores of the Mediterranean under republican forms became the seat of

tyranny, and liberty found her home beyond the Alps amid the dense forests of central and northern Europe, so the north Atlantic coast, under republican forms, has surrendered to the rule of mammon; while manhood, and all that manhood can cherish, must find an asylum upon the farms of the central North, and upon the wide plains and indomitable mountains, and in the sunlit valleys, of the West and South.

Again, the Senator, after enumerating a score or more of things which he claims should not have been done, not one of which was done by the convention, naïvely observes:

> Honest agitation for the correction of governmental abuses is legitimate, and deserves encouragement, but agitation for the mere sake of agitation may become mischievous and dangerous.

Granted. But the action of the convention was in strict conformity with the above rule as to agitation. There was no agitation "for the mere sake of agitation." The entire effort of the convention was to correct "governmental abuses," and was therefore, according to the Senator himself, "legitimate."

Says the Senator:

> If success is to crown the future efforts of the party, certain agrarian and socialistic tendencies developed in the recent campaign, for which the Democracy was ostensibly responsible, must be promptly checked.

In what sense does he use the word "agrarian"? If he means that it was proposed to arbitrarily distribute lands, or to limit holdings by law, he is mistaken. If he means that it was proposed to "ease the people," to redistribute public burdens, and to equalize opportunities so as to do justice to farmers, laborers, and agriculturists, he is correct; but in that case he writes himself down as the enemy of agriculture, which has always been the object of the first and greatest solicitude of Democracy. The eleventh of the sixteen principles of Jefferson is, "Encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce, as its handmaid." Even Mr. Carnegie, in his spurious "Triumphant Democracy," quotes Isaiah:

> And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation. Neither shall they learn war any more.

And the Scotch parvenu, the pampered child of protection, adds:

> Ceres is the prime divinity in the Republic. To her the American makes his most profound obeisance, upon him her sweetest smiles are lavished in return.

Even Mr. Carnegie, the plunderer of Ceres, felt that while posing in the garb of democracy he must at least make obeisance to Ceres, hollow and hypocritical though it might be. But Senator David B. Hill makes no obeisance to Ceres. He has not a word for the oppressed and rapidly vanishing farmer. He scouts at the idea that there are "wrongs" and "oppressions. He pleads for what he terms "vested rights." He pleads for "property." He sneers at "poverty." He deprecates the arraying of "class against class," thereby admitting the existence of antagonistic classes. He hurls the most scornful anathemas at the poor and unfortunate, and exalts the rich and powerful, defending their right to immunity from any change in law or procedure which will check their remorseless career of pillage and conquest, while bitterly inveighing against that just criticism of courts which is as essential to an honest administration of the laws as criticism can ever be for any purpose whatever.

Agrarian tendencies! Who but patricians, nobles, and aristocrats ever feared them? Was the agrarian law of Rome wrong? Is our law limiting and equalizing the amount of *public* land which a person may acquire by homestead or preemption wrong? Why were its homely limitations established? Is it wrong to advocate policies which tend to the ownership of lands by the many instead of the few? Is it wrong to support measures which will save from annihilation that remnant of proprietary farmers which still remains with us, or shall we go on "checking" and oppressing the "agrarians," and licensing the vultures of trade, till the lands are all owned by urban landlords and tilled by a tenant peasantry? Was not the maintenance of the agrarian law coincident with the maintenance of Roman liberty? Was not the Hebrew Jubilee redemption "agrarian"? Did not Aristotle declare that "the best republics were those in which the citizens themselves tilled the lands"? Were the martyrs

Cassius and the Gracchi wrong? Or were their arrogant, inhuman, purse-proud assassins wrong? Is the Democratic party to be democratic, or is it to be aristocratic? Shall "the future of the Democratic organization" be limited to an act of self-destruction, namely, proclaiming absolute enmity to all things "agrarian," all things plebeian, all things popular, all things ameliorative? — a proclamation of cruel scorn of poverty? fierce hostility to equity? base and servile submission to presumptuous and heartless plutocracy? Or shall its perpetuity and its future power and glory be assured by a brave return and strict adherence to the "agrarian" principles of its great founder, Jefferson, who turned to the forests and fields, and looked to the country, for political righteousness, but never dreamed that it could be found (except in isolated individuals) amid dense populations, where poverty and crime, want and squalor, debauchery and degradation, are the companions of cruel greed, merciless avarice, and inordinate wealth. Shall the Democratic party in the future content itself with reiterating its mere *adhesion* to the "eternal principles," and with chanting parrot-like the empty and vapid sophism, "I am a Democrat"? or shall it realize the full meaning of the "eternal principles," and that their beneficence is wholly lost if they are not constantly *applied* to the changing conditions of men? That the mere formal indorsement of the most sacred principle, *unless the principle is applied to, and made operative through*, the affairs of men, is the veriest mockery? That good principles, like other good things, are designed for use, and that a party which forever prates of principles, but never reduces its principles to use, never offers to apply them to existing conditions, will be repudiated by a disappointed and disgusted people?

In vain may Senator Hill summon before the experienced gaze of the restored Democracy the stale and antiquated ogre of socialism. The reclaimed Democracy is thoroughly conscious of its own identity, and of the legitimacy of its claim to the Jeffersonian inheritance. It is not socialism. It is not anarchy. It is not plutocracy. It is not lawless. It is not licentious. It is not predatory. It is not destructive. It comes as Tilden came, with "Reform" on its banners and

"healing on its wings." It is apt, sympathetic, receptive. It has no Bourbon corpuscles in its strong healthy blood. It listens with interest, but with caution and criticism, to all men. It learns from the individualist that "Safety lies in distrust of power," — not only governmental power, but also the power of property. And it is admonished by the growth, solidarity, and boundless ambition of property, that monopolies must be governed, checked, and controlled by *government*. Democracy recognizes the individual as the unit in the social and civil compact, and has, therefore, regard for numbers. The greatest good of the greatest number being the desideratum, and the presentation of the rights and opportunities of each individual being the effectual protection of all, Democracy is pledged by its very genius to abolish, remove, and destroy the great monopolies, which, having vanquished competition, rule commerce, trade, and industry with a sway absolute and exclusive.

In its choice of means, Democracy, while keeping in view the perils of paternalism, will nevertheless resort to restriction, segregation, and suppression, as likewise taxation, not only of incomes, but of undue accumulations, and by amendment of the Constitution where necessary.

It must make railways public highways in fact as they are in name, and it must not falter at any step necessary to accomplish this. It must banish protection and monometallism, disincorporate ordinary trade, disenthral commerce, emancipate labor, and restore to the people their lost right to live.

The preservation of human rights, the sole aim of Democracy, imperatively requires that *property* must be kept under control by *government*, lest property *control government*. The Magna Charta extorted from King John by the Barons was for the Barons; the Bill of Rights in our Constitution was designed to limit official action and prevent official encroachments upon the rights of the people. A new Magna Charta, a new Bill of Rights, must be proclaimed. A charter can and will be found in the "eternal principles" of Democracy, not only negative, restrictive, and prohibitive, but affirmative and suggestive, which will reach, treat, and dispose of

wrongs which have grown up in the very shadow of the republic, out of industrial, commercial, and economic conditions wholly unforeseen by the founders of our institutions. Liberty is the goal; character is the end; virtue the ideal. To the possession, enjoyment, and development of these, material independence, or at least comfort, is indispensable. Laws, therefore, which render inordinate accumulations of property impossible, and which tend to the dissolution and diffusion of existing aggregations of wealth, are imperatively demanded by every consideration which could move a wise, just, and humane people.

Civilization rests upon property. Property is at once the product and parent of civilization. He who has it can live as he will. He who has it not must live as he can. It quenches all thirst. It appeases all hunger. It ministers to every taste, responds to every impulse, supplies every want, satisfies every desire. Avarice, ambition, cruelty, greed, and ostentation join like a ravening pack in fierce pursuit of property. Except at intervals the world has been unable to withstand them. We have reached that stage in our development as a nation where we are face to face with the question whether ours shall be any exception to the fate of other nations. If we are incapable of self-government; if we are too voluptuous to be humane, too sordid to be patriotic, too selfish to be just, too cowardly to be free; if we are to go the way of all other nations, the sooner we succumb and sink into the inertia of hopelessness, the better. But in that case let us at least not pollute our souls by any false and puerile protestations in the name of *Democracy*.

If our bosoms no longer hold the celestial flame, if on the altar of our hearts no longer burns the Promethean fire, if cupidity and cunning have supplanted courage, justice, and compassion, then indeed it were idle to discuss "the future of the Democratic organization." Liberty, equality, fraternity were the watchwords of the old as they are of the *renewed* Democracy. Has Senator Hill the hardihood to assail them?

In Jefferson's day the preservation of popular rights depended upon successful resistance to authoritative preten-

sion and the invasive instincts of official power. In our day it depends upon successful resistance to a power more subtle, more insidious, and vastly more extensive; a power whose activities and potentialities extend to every home and touch with a silent but awful admonition every individual — the power of money, the power of capital, the power of property. If we prove equal to this unparalleled occasion, if we rise to the height of this stupendous era, it must be through the power of a Democracy as pure and as constant as that of Jefferson, and as much more bold, adventurous, and comprehensive, as much more defiant, direct, and concrete, as the power of Mammon is more hostile, more tenacious, more cruel, more able, far-reaching, and determined than the power of mere political ambition.

The future of the Democratic organization depends upon its being able to realize the presence of the most profound issues that have confronted mankind since the dawn of history.

Failure means Democratic extinction, national chaos, and revolution. Efficiency in this supreme hour means Democratic ascendency, peaceable evolution, prosperity, justice, liberty.

THE MULTIPLE STANDARD FOR MONEY.

BY ELTWEED POMEROY.

THE money question is a great, disturbing question in our economic and political life. It will continue to be such till it is settled right, and it will never be settled right till it is put on a true scientific basis. This paper is an attempt first briefly to analyze money, so that we may know the conditions of the problem; and, second, to suggest a synthesis from that analysis and a theory which shall be constructive and truly scientific.

I. ANALYSIS.

Money has two functions or uses. It is a medium of exchange and a measure of exchangeable value. All of its functions are included in these two. Hoarding does not come under these heads, but hoarding is not a function or use of money. It is an abuse of it; it then loses its money quality and becomes a mere commodity.

1. A Medium of Exchange.

As a medium of exchange, money must have five properties. The material of which it is made must have, first, fitness; and, second, be hard to counterfeit. In itself it must have, third, exchangeability; fourth, be of sufficient volume; and, fifth, have sufficient elasticity of volume for the business which it is intended to promote.

Money is not the only medium of exchange. Checks, notes, drafts, credits, etc., unauthorized by the government, are as truly mediums of exchange as money when they are accepted. They are either founded on or measured in terms of money. All of them, when freely passing current, with money constitute the currency of a country. Money is that part of the currency of a country which is issued by the government and clothed with the legal-tender power. Should the government become so weak and issue so large a quantity of money that it ceases to pass at par, then money loses some

of its money power; and it finally ceases to be money when it ceases to pass current at all. It has then ceased to be a part of the currency of the country.

In early times, and in all countries with unstable governments, alleged intrinsic-value money, or money of which the material had substantially the same exchangeable value as the money it composed, was used. We get our word "pecuniary" from the Latin *pecus*, cattle, because the Latins originally used cattle as money. In Africa they use ivory as money. In pre-revolutionary times, prices in the Southern States were reckoned and salaries paid in tobacco; and there is still an officer at Washington whose salary by law is so many pounds of tobacco, but it is now paid in terms of the present money. In Tennessee, coon-skins were legal-tender, and the Governor's salary was paid in them. In some few transactions we now use gold or silver. Many other illustrations could be given of the use of commodities. This, however, is only a refined kind of barter.

To-day, in all civilized countries, from ninety-five to ninety-nine per cent of all transactions are consummated with currency which does not have its full exchange value in itself. Edward Atkinson is authority for the statement that three hundred million dollars of gold coin suffice as a basis for three hundred thousand million dollars of purchases and sales in every year. That is, that one dollar in every thousand, or one-tenth of one per cent of business, is transacted with gold. It may be a certificate of deposit or a promise to pay, but it does not have full value in itself. In many cases the promise to pay is very indefinite or at a distant date, in others it does not exist at all. The nickel used as a street-car fare is worth as metal less than a cent. This is true of all subsidiary coinage, which transacts the bulk of the retail business. In wholesale business, checks, notes, drafts, and other forms of credit currency transact at least ninety-five per cent. These may be currency, but no one will claim they are value-in-themselves money. The civilized nations are beyond value-in-itself money, which, after all, is but barter. The revival of barter-money is retrogression.

It is said that money should represent value. True, and

all money should represent — not money, for that is reasoning in a circle — but value. But representing value is an entirely different thing from being value.

The currency of a country depends in part upon its laws and in part on its trade customs; but as the government becomes deeper-rooted and more stable and better able to enforce its laws, these laws become the controlling element in forming trade customs, so that under a stable government the money depends only on the laws. Hence every year that passes, making our government more stable and secure, registers both the less use and less need of value-in-itself money or barter money.

There is no such a thing as an international money. There may be an international currency depending on convention, but there cannot be such a thing as an international legal-tender money till there is an international government.

It is said that money is a promise to pay full value. Much of it is. The government at Washington keeps from five per cent to twenty per cent of the necessary gold in the Treasury to redeem its promises to pay on demand. This is true in about the same proportions of all European nations. If all the promises to pay were presented at the U. S. Treasury, it could not without borrowing, pay them to-morrow or the next day or probably the next year or score of years. This is true of the financial systems of all nations. Take our banknotes; they are based ultimately on United States bonds, which are promises to pay five, ten, or fifteen years hence. The full value could not be obtained for the banknotes under the term of years for which the bonds are issued or for any other money save as it is generally received.

Really there is no such a thing as intrinsic-value money. Use a gold coin for making jewelry or filling teeth, and it ceases to be money. It cannot be used as a commodity and retain its money powers. As soon as it becomes a commodity, it ceases to be money; and if there were no free coinage of gold, making an abnormal demand at an artificially appreciated price, the gold could not be turned into money again, and as a commodity it would sink to its normal or true value. Divide a silver dollar into one hundred equal parts, and each

part is not a cent, though worth as bullion much more than the metal in a cent. It has lost its stamp, become a commodity, and ceased to be money.

1. *Fitness for Monetary Use.* The money of a country should be convenient to handle, transport, use. In China, where wages are very low, prices low, and goods are bought in tiny quantities, the principal coin is a copper one, worth about a tenth of a cent; it has a square hole in the centre so as to be strung on a string. This is convenient for them; for us it would be cumbersome and useless. To-day the civilized world has settled on paper as the best form to materialize money. During the 1894 money famine in New York City, gold coin commanded a premium of one per cent over bullion, silver coin of two per cent, and paper of four per cent, showing that paper was preferred to metallic money.

2. *Hard to Counterfeit.* The government stamp must be hard to counterfeit, else it will lose a large share of its exchangeability. The arts of paper-making and engraving and the science of detection have become so perfect that that question is practically settled. Yet few people see the importance which fitness and difficulty of counterfeiting have in determining what money shall be made of. They are the final controlling factors.

3. *Exchangeability.* This dominates all other properties. If money will not be accepted as money, it ceases to pass current, or be currency, and hence ceases to be money. It is necessary that money should be exchangeable, not in New York only, nor in any one centre or set of centres, but in every village, hamlet, and cross-roads in the whole country as well, to be a national money. The money issued by the city of St. Joseph, Mo., rarely travelled over forty or fifty miles from the city, but within its own locality it had a complete local exchangeability, and was a pefect local money, but was not money in the sense of being national.

Can any class or set or clique of men be intrusted with this duty of making money exchangeable or receivable? No. First, no class is able to completely set the standard of receivability all over the country; and, second, if it were intrusted with that duty, it would do as it has in the past, abuse that

privilege. It is too great a power to be intrusted to any class of men. The government, extending as it does all over the country, gathering money for its support as it does all over the country, is the one and the only one to fix and keep the standard of receivability of money. It should receive the money of the country for *all* its dues — not for one or two or the bulk of them, not even for all but one, but for ALL. This is the best method of making the money completely receivable. If there is no overwhelming suspicion of its stability, it thus fixes the standard of receivability on which exchangeability depends.

In fact, money ought not to be a promise to pay, as some class or clique of men may corner that article or articles, and demand payment from the government in those artificially appreciated articles. The fewer and scarcer these articles, the easier and more probable will such a corner be. At present a class of men have secured the limiting of the promise of ultimate payment of the money of the civilized world to one article, gold, and that article has greatly appreciated, and these men are reaping their reward at the expense of the rest. This could never happen if the money was an agreement to receive and not a promise to pay. Money of this sort was used in Venice for over six centuries, when she was at the height of her power, and it never sank below par and often commanded a premium. It was in use in Holland for several centuries, when she was the greatest commercial power on the globe. It is also adapted to small communities and short periods of time. The city of St. Joseph, Mo., has issued such a money within the past thirty-five years, and used and retired it without disturbance.

4. *Volume.* In our present system sufficient volume is supposed to be assured by the free coinage of gold, and previous to 1873 by the free coinage of silver, and between 1873 and 1893 by the coinage of a government-fixed amount of silver, and by the varying but recently steadily decreasing issue of National Bank bills and the fixed issue of the government greenbacks. This has been eminently unsatisfactory.

What is the gauge for the volume of money needed in a community? Is it the good or ill fortune of the gold miner,

or the gold and silver miners? No, because that makes volume depend on the chance of mining, and such is not scientific. Is it so much per capita, or head, of population? Only very indirectly and slightly, as some people use money in exchanging products much more than others. The city laborer buys almost everything he consumes, and buys in small quantities, usually paying cash, so that he makes many money transactions. The farmer produces much that he consumes, buys an assorted lot at one time, and often runs an account and settles with his farm products, so that he has few money transactions; and he has less need for money as a medium of exchange than the laborer. The same per capita would not fit both classes. Again, the rapidity with which money passes from one to another decreases the amount needed per capita. Again, society is becoming more highly organized, more specialized ever yyear. This means that we are becoming more interdependent, have need of more exchanges, and so have need of more currency per capita. Hence the per-capita circulation which would be suited to a quarter of a century ago, would be too small for to-day, and to-day's would be too small in the next century. Again, so many transactions are consummated in prosperous times with credit currency that the same per-capita volume of money would be too little when that credit currency is largely cut off, as in time of depression.

But there must be some scientific method of regulating it. All economists have agreed that as the volume of currency, which includes all forms of credit which pass current as well as money, increases or decreases, so do the prices current of the staples of life increase or decrease. The two have the connection of cause and result. They obey the law of supply and demand. Decrease the volume of currency, and prices fall; there is less currency to buy things with. Increase the volume of currency, and prices rise; there is more currency to buy things with.

The government has no control and at present a very slight influence over the volume of credit which passes as currency, and which in ordinary times transacts a very large part — it has been estimated at ninety-five per cent — of the

exchanges of the country. It does control the volume of money. The gauge of the volume of money needed in any community is the legitimate demand for it as shown, not by the luck of the gold miner or the gold and silver miners, not by the rate of interest, which when perfectly ascertained shows the demand for capital, only indirectly by the population in a country, not by the price of one commodity, no matter how stable in value, as it will fluctuate some — gold has fluctuated — not by the price of two commodities, as gold and silver — they have varied and do vary in price — but by the prices current of the great staples of daily life, among which gold and silver might properly be reckoned. When the prices current of the great staples of life fall, it shows that more money is needed; when they rise, that less money is needed, to do the exchanges of the country. All the staples of life should be included in these prices current, and then it will be an automatic regulator.

5. *Elasticity of Volume.* The elasticity of volume of our money is at present supposed to be given to it by the varying issue of the National-Bank bills. It is supposed that the rate of interest measures the demand and supply of money, and that the issue of bankbills would automatically follow the rate of interest. When interest went up, it was thought the banks would issue more bills, and when it went down that they would retire them. This has not happened, for three reasons. First, the actual issuance of this money is intrusted solely to the banks, who do the loaning and control the supply. The demand has no voice in it. This is a one-sided affair. The issuance of money is a thing which concerns the whole people, and not one class only. At first the bankers did not constitute a class; they came from the people, were parts of the people, understood the people: but gradually they have been drawing together into a more and more compact class, with their trade papers and their special columns in the daily press, their organizations, and their quiet means of influencing public opinion. The giving to them of a special privilege has made them a privileged class. While this forming into a class was only a tendency, the National-Bank system worked well. Now that the influences

surrounding it have partially worked out their inevitable result, it has become a power and a menace. Twenty years ago banks and bankers were not regarded with the popular distrust which is now prevalent. While rarely reasoned out, this distrust is not illogical and unreasonable.

Second, the means of issuing banknotes is so slow that the damage has been done by the time the remedy is ready. The fact that the New York banks have combined to issue a currency based on their own credit, called clearing-house certificates, entirely without government sanction, and at times while they were violating the laws as to their reserves, is an attempt by private and extra-legal means to remedy this lack of elasticity in our money. Moreover the United States bonds, which are the basis of our bank money, have been so rapidly paid off, and have risen to so high a premium, that it is becoming increasingly difficult and less profitable for the banks to issue money, hence the volume is becoming less and rigider. This means at times great harm.

Third, the rate of interest is not a fair criterion for the demand for money, even if the banks automatically followed it. When properly ascertained, it is a criterion of the demand for capital; but capital and money are not identical, even in most cases. Capital and interest are measured in terms of money, and this has caused confusion. We say we want money when what we really want is capital. Interest is the measure of the demand for capital. It is not the measure of the need for money.

The measure of the need for money is price. As private credit-currency, which is not money, transacts so large a share of exchanges, and as it is liable to sudden breakdowns and contractions, it is evident that the public credit-currency or money must be so arranged as to quickly, easily, and automatically increase where private credit-currency breaks down and contracts, causing a sharp fall of prices. Recent financial history shows that private credit-currency is becoming more and more liable to violent breakdowns and contractions, and so the elasticity of the public credit-currency or money must reach a finer degree than ever before.

Recapitulation. Money has two uses. It is a medium of

exchange and a measure of exchangeable value. Money is not the only medium of exchange, but a part of currency. Anything that passes current is currency. Almost all things have been used as money, but money with value in itself has been almost abandoned. The revival of such barter-money is retrogression. No such thing as intrinsic-value money. As a medium of exchange, money should, in the material of which it is made, have, first, fitness, and, second, be hard to counterfeit, and in itself it should have, third, exchangeability. The government is the only one that can fix this. It should not be promises to pay, but agreements to receive for *all* dues. Fourth, volume. The gauge of this is not to be found in mining or in a per capita or in interest, but in prices of all the staples of life. Fifth, elasticity of volume is needed in a finer degree than ever.

2. A Measure of Exchangeable Value.

For money as a measure of exchangeable value it is, first, an absolute necessity that its fluctuations should be reduced to a minimum; and, second, it is the material embodiment of an idea of relation.

1. *Unchangeableness.* Absolute, eternal unchangeableness is, of course, an impossibility in anything human, but money must be so near as to be for all practical purposes unchangeable in value. A measure is not a just one unless it is always the same. As all men are interdependent and becoming more so, a change in the yardstick with which they measure all their exchanges will do increasingly greater damage. Go back three or four centuries, when a farmer raised not only all his own food, but also the materials to clothe himself in, and made them into cloth and raiment, gathered his own fuel, built his own shelter, and was dependent only for a few luxuries on those outside of his own immediate circle; it made little difference to such a man whether the king changed the money standard or not. That is ended now. A change in the measure of value affects vitally every one of us. The crude standards then used were well enough for those times. They are too clumsy and inequitable for our interdependent, highly specialized system of business, ex-

change, and life. It is so evident that a standard must be kept invariable, and that in these times its invariableness must reach a higher and finer degree than ever before in the world's history, that it only needs statement and not argument.

Probably no one article can be used better as a measure of exchangeable value than gold. But it does fluctuate. Probably no two articles can be used better than gold and silver, and the two are better than one. But that unchangeableness which does not reside in any one article or any two articles, is found in an average. There is nothing so stable and constant as an average. The current market price of any one article is the buyers' and sellers' average estimate of the value of that article. The current market price of all articles is the average estimate of all buyers and sellers of all value, or it is the idea of value in the mind of man put in terms of mathematics. Hence from the current market price of all articles, which is the mathematical statement of the idea of value, one should be able to deduce the unit or measure of value, and this, being an average, would have a far finer degree of invariableness than any other measure known.

An Exclusive Government Function. Who can keep this standard inviolable? A group of men set off from their fellow-men? Lecky has said that no man or set of men have ever been intrusted with absolute power without abusing it. The power to swell or shrink the measure of value is vaster in its effects in modern society than that of the most absolute monarch. Give this power to one group of men and you create a privileged class, and privileged classes are contrary to the genius of our institutions. Disturbance and trouble will ensue till either the privileged class truimphs and democracy is overthrown, or democracy reconquers special privilege. Can that power be intrusted to the bankers? No. To the owners of gold? No. To the owners of gold and silver? No. Only to the whole people. It is an exclusive government function which the government cannot safely delegate.

2. *It is the Material Embodiment of an Idea of Relation.* A measure is not a material thing, but an idea of relation. It resides in the mind. It is an idea of capacity, power,

value, or some other property of matter. It is embodied to the senses in whatever material form is convenient. A pound is not a thing. It is an idea of weight. A pound weight may be made of anything that is convenient. On lever scales the same weight, by pushing it along the lever, is used to weigh one pound, five pounds, or five hundred pounds. A quart is not a thing. It is an idea of liquid volume. A quart measure holds a quart. It may be made of anything. The material of which it is made is not an intrinsic quart. A horse-power is not a thing. The steam-gauge measuring it is made of brass and steel because they are fittest for that purpose; if sugar and coffee were fitter, they would be so used. But the steam-gauge has no power.

A volt of electricity is measured by an instrument which has no electricity. The power of the eye is gauged by a thing which has no seeing. So one might go through all the measures and show that they are ideas which are embodied to the senses in whatever material forms are convenient; they are not material. This is why I have previously said that fitness and difficulty of counterfeiting are the final, controlling factors in determining what shall be the material embodiment of money, the representative to the senses of this idea of relation. The dollar is neither gold, silver, nor a piece of paper. At the bottom it is an idea of a certain amount of exchangeable value residing in the brain of man, and it is embodied to the senses in gold, silver, a piece of paper, or whatever else the determining power may fix on.

A curious illustration of this is found in actual operation to-day in British Columbia, according to Mr. Lee Meriwether, who writes in the November, 1894, *Cosmopolitan:*

> At the Hudson's Bay Company's posts on the Mackenzie river, actual money is unknown, all the trade being conducted by means of an imaginary currency, the unit of value of which is one skin. What sort of a skin, on one knows. In fact, it is no sort of a skin in particular. It is merely an imaginary skin about equivalent in value to half a dollar. The hide of a beaver is worth ten skins, a musk-ox is worth thirty skins, a fine silver-fox hide is worth three hundred skins. These are the big bills of this unique currency. Small change is made by the musk-rat hides, worth one-tenth of a skin, by mink hides worth two skins, and by lynx hides worth four skins.

All ideas are fixed as this one plainly is, in the brain of

man. Credit is only an idea; organize, classify, and publish it, as in mercantile agencies, etc., and it still remains someone's idea of somebody else's character and possessions. Yet almost the entire business of the world is done on credit — an idea. From this it follows that

Labor is No Measure. The time or amount of labor or exertion by an individual, whether physical or mental, is no proper measure of exchangeable values. To say so is to confound a source of value with the measurement of exchangeable values. It is true that the law of supply and demand will so regulate the production of any article in a free market that it will ultimately rise or fall to the spot where its price approximates the average cost of production as compared with other products, but this is rarely true of individual cases of production. It would be more true if the same exertion always produced the same value with all men. Such is not the case.

The exchange value of the products of labor varies not only as the quality of the labor, as the condition of the laborer, as the labor is well or ill applied, as whether they have good or poor tools, as the condition of the market, as fashion and custom, but also as many other things. In fact, so many conditions surround the determination of the value of labor's products that it is only of the simplest products that it can be roughly predicated with any degree of certainty that the same labor will produce the same value. Many economists, particularly of the socialist school, have fallen into this error of making the labor-time of an individual their standard of value.

Statisticians have generally agreed that the prices of the staples of life have fallen at least thirty per cent in the last thirty years. This means that the value of the measure or of money has risen. It has occurred simultaneously with the world-wide demonetization of silver. Many able men think that that demonetization, or the restriction of the volume of money in circulation produced by it, is the cause of this depreciation of prices and appreciation of money. I think it is. Others say that it is due to the marvellous progress of invention, which has so cheapened the labor cost

of production that they can be sold for less. This in a cloudy way makes the labor or exertion of the average individual the ultimate standard of value.

It is true that invention has wonderfully reduced the amount of labor needed for many articles. I think it would be safe to say for most articles. It is true that a reduction in the labor cost of one article may change its value relative to other articles. But invention cannot reduce the value of all articles and increase the value of the standard of value. The statement is then a contradiction; such is then a dishonest standard. It makes no difference whether a person thinks the cause of this depression of prices and appreciation of money is due to restriction of circulation caused by the demonetization of silver or to the progress of invention. The fact that it has occurred is sufficient; and the evidence of that fact is so ample that anyone familiar with the current economic literature will certify to it.

The fundamental cause of this is that the civilized world has taken as the mathematical statement of this idea of relation, money, the price of two articles, gold and silver, and within the last thirty years has contracted it to one article, gold. Such is too narrow a standard. The safer course is to enlarge it to the average price of the main staples of daily life.

This unit or measure of exchangeable value would then be not monometallic, founded on one thing as gold, an inverted pyramid perched on its apex, nor would it be bimetallic, an inverted pyramid swaying uneasily on two apexes, but it would be based on all the necessaries of life, a pyramid placed fairly, squarely, and solidly on its base. Such a standard would be unimpeachable, incontrovertible, and unchangeable. Such is the multiple standard for money.

Recapitulation. As a measure of exchangeable value, money must have, 1st. Unchangeableness; and this must rise to a finer degree than ever before in the world's history, because we are becoming more interdependent. This can be found in an average better than anywhere else. The preserving of it cannot be intrusted to any one set of men; hence it is an exclusive government function. 2nd. It is the material embodiment of the idea of relation. All measures

are ideas of relation. Hence there is no such a thing as an intrinsic-value dollar. Credit is an idea. Labor is a source of value, but not the measure of exchangeable value. Prices have fallen. It is due to a narrowing of the standard of value. Increase it to all the main necessaries of life, and you have the ideal standard or measure or unit for money.

II. SYNTHESIS.

A Constructive System for the Multiple Standard.

Of course in building up any constructive system, the details have to be filled in more or less fully, and these details are subject to revision or entire change as experience may show necessary as long as the main lines of the underlying principle are preserved. This part can be divided into three heads, 1. The getting of the standard, or measure, 2. The keeping of it uniform, and 3. Conclusions.

1. The Getting of the Standard.

The government, through its various statistical bureaus, gathers from, we'll say, one hundred centres of commerce — this number may be more or less as is expedient; it is simply taken as a convenient number: but these centres of commerce should be numerous enough and widely scattered enough to fairly represent all the commerce of the country — the current market prices for, we'll say, two hundred staple articles of daily use. This number is also empirical, and may be more or less, but it should be large enough to cover the main staples or necessities of civilized life, and should be fairly representative of all these necessities. It should include such articles as wheat, corn, rye, oats, hay, cotton, flax, gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, iron, flour, cloth, and paper of certain standard grades, lumber, bricks, leather, sugar, etc., etc. It thus eliminates local fluctuations. It gathers these for a period of fifteen to twenty years. The period of fifteen to twenty years is fixed because it is long enough to eliminate time fluctuations, such as a big or a short crop, and because such a period is long enough to more than cover the average period when the time debts, such as mortgages, etc., now in force, were contracted. It then makes up the average price

of each of these two hundred main staples of daily life, gathered from the principal centres of commerce for fifteen or twenty years, and we have an average price with the elements of local and time fluctuations eliminated. It may not be known, but the facts for such a table are already in existence, and much of it is even now tabulated.

Then the actual consumption of a large number, say a thousand families, of working men widely scattered over the country is carefully recorded for a long enough period, say five years, to eliminate inequalities of consumption, and from this table is scientifically found out the proportion in which the staples of daily life are actually used by the average man. Such tables have already been made and are in actual use by scientific statisticians.

Having the scientifically fair average price of the staples of daily life and the proportion in which they are consumed by the average man, it is a very simple problem to figure out the quantity of each of these staples which should enter into a dollar or a thousand dollars, whichever is the more convenient unit to figure to. You then have a standard or measure of exchangeable value based not on the exchangeable value of one thing, like gold, or of two things, like gold and silver, but of all leading commodities; or it is the idea of exchangeable value in the brain of man as embodied in the average prices of commodities in the proportion in which they are used. This is an ideally just standard or measure.

2. The Keeping of it Uniform.

Prices are continually changing; how is this standard to be kept uniform? By varying the quantity of money in circulation, increasing it when prices in general fall, decreasing it when they rise.

The government issues paper money engraved in the highest style of the art, and surrounds it by the time-tested and effective laws preventing counterfeiting. The money is not promises to pay, but agreements to receive for *all* (no exceptions) government dues, and to be full legal-tender for all debts. It keeps on gathering these prices current of these two hundred staples of daily life from these one hundred cen-

tres of commerce, we'll say, once in three months, or oftener if necessary. If on multiplying the "quantities found" for the standard as above stated, by the prices gathered, the results foot up to more than $1 or $1,000, whichever figure is used as the convenient unit, then prices are rising all over the country, and there is need for less money; accordingly the government draws in money till the prices fall to par. Should this index price fall below par, it shows that prices are falling, and that there is need for more money, and so the government issues more till prices rise to the level again. The amount it shall issue or draw in as this index price falls or rises, will have to be empirically fixed at first. It might be one-eighth of one per cent decrease or increase of volume for every one-eighth of one per cent increase or decrease of this index price above or below par. There would also probably have to be a small annual or decennial increase of volume to make up for the loss of notes by wear and accident and for the increased need of money due to an increase of population. But a few years of experience can easily settle these points.

Its Issuance and Retirement. How shall this money be issued and then drawn back as needed? The first thing that should be paid by its issue is the expense of gathering and tabulating these prices and of printing the money and managing its volume. But this expense will use a very small part. It should only be used on regular government expenses to a limited degree, and when necessary to carry out the principle. It should be regarded as collective capital to be utilized for the benefit not only of present but of future generations. Hence it should be mainly used on permanent improvements, such as river and harbor improvements, the building of the Nicaragua Canal, the buying up of the telegraphs and railroads so that the government may operate them. When these channels are as full as the circumstances will permit, we should remember that there are other governments than the national government in this country, and the national government should loan this money to States and municipalities under proper restrictions as to security, and restrictions that it should be spent for

permanent local improvements, such as State roads, canals, asylums, colleges, etc., etc., and municipal lighting and water-works, street cars, schools, libraries, pleasure-grounds, sanitation, etc., etc. As this is national property, and as all localities will not want to borrow proportionately, a small rate of interest, say one per cent per annum, should be paid to the national government. If there is not enough money to fill these channels, then it should be given out in some fair ratio, and probably a fair one would be a combined ratio of the area and of the population.

If there is more than enough to fill these channels, it might be loaned to individuals and corporations under carefully drawn restrictions and at a higher rate of interest, say three per cent. To make this impartial, the money, after the property which was pledged as security had been most rigidly scrutinized to eliminate the risk, might be auctioned off to the highest bidder in the same manner as many building and loan associations now do.

Using Postal Savings Banks. If this government had a system of postal savings banks, such as almost all other civilized governments have,—and the movement for them is growing so strong that probably they will be established in a few years,—the change of the rate of interest in them could be used to regulate the volume of money in circulation to a limited degree. When prices were falling and there was need of more money in circulation, the rate of interest could be decreased so that it would be less profitable to keep money deposited in them and more profitable to draw it out and use it outside. When prices were rising, and there was need of less money in circulation, the rate of interest could be increased so as to make it more profitable to deposit money in them. Also the maximum amount bearing interest allowed to each individual depositor could be decreased or increased. But it is evident that, as this would only concern small depositors and not touch the large capitalists, these changes would have to be made slowly and carefully, and could only be used in a limited degree.

Interchangeable Bonds. John Brisben Walker, in a recent number of *The Cosmopolitan*, has proposed a significant plan

which would give rapid elasticity to this money. The government refunds its present bonded debt into long-term bonds — say fifty years — bearing a low rate of interest. Mr. Walker says two per cent; I would say, for convenience in calculation, $1.82\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or one-half cent a day, on every one hundred dollars. He thinks that these bonds, with the privileges they would have, could easily be sold at par. I agree with him. If experience should prove the contrary, the rate of interest should be raised. They should be issued in low denominations to suit the purchaser, at least in multiples of one hundred dollars, and perhaps in multiples of twenty-five dollars. These bonds could be taken to any sub-treasury or large post office, say any money-order post office, and after the interest was paid to date, could be exchanged for money. It would follow from this that these banks could hold them as part of their legal reserve, as they would be exchangeable for money at any time.

Practical Working. Suppose there is a sudden contraction of credit currency and a money famine, as happened in 1893 and in 1896; the rate of interest goes up until a point is reached where it is more profitable to turn in these bonds and get the money for them than to keep them. The money famine is remedied, the rate of interest falls, and these bonds are bought back from the government. Thus a rapid elasticity is given to the volume of money in circulation.

Suppose there comes a prosperous season when credit is being extended, new enterprises are being floated, and prices are advancing; it then becomes the duty of the government to reduce the volume of money in circulation. Accordingly it calls in, say, ten per cent of the loans bearing the highest rate of interest, those to individuals. Times are flush; these are easily paid, and the money is withdrawn from circulation and cancelled. Should prices still continue to advance or even to remain above par, more calls are made till all the loans to individuals are paid back, and after this the loans to municipalities and States are retired. Remember, this is only done when prices are advancing and in a season of prosperity, when credit-currency is plenty and private loans are easily floated; hence it is easy to repay.

Then the rate of interest in the postal savings banks and the maximum amount allowed each depositor might be increased so as to persuade more people to deposit.

Should all the loans be called in and the index price still remain above par — a very improbable occurrence — the government could auction off its bonds which are interchangeable for currency. As this could only be done in seasons of prolonged prosperity, when there was a great redundancy of currency, whether private credit-currency, such as checks, notes, drafts, etc., or value-in-itself currency (the government could still coin all the gold and silver offered at a reasonable seigniorage without giving it the legal-tender quality), these bonds would doubtless be quickly taken above par. At the same time the government should increase its taxation so as to provide a sinking fund for the bonds and in a slower manner contract the currency. As this would only be done in a season of great and long-continued prosperity, this increased taxation would not be seriously felt.

Suppose the reverse to happen. It is a time of depression, credits are contracted, prices are falling, and it becomes the duty of the government to increase its money. Of course many of the interchangeable bonds are voluntarily presented and exchanged for money. The government calls in the excess of them, paying for them in newly printed money, and at the same time reduces the taxation, which has been put on to form a sinking fund and to contract the circulation. Both of these things would counteract the panic, as money would be freed for other investments. It follows this up, supposing it still to be necessary because of a fall in prices, by increasing its expenditures for great public improvements, thus employing more labor and putting money into circulation in small amounts in the wages paid. If the index price still remains below par, it loans money to States and municipalities for local public improvments, and, when that field is filled, to individuals; and it might lower the rate of interest and the maximum amount to each depositor in the postal savings banks.

3. Conclusions.

The multiple standard thus secures to the nation using it a money having: 1st and 2nd. Fitness and difficulty in coun-

terfeiting, which two points have already been secured in the paper money now issued. 3rd. Perfect exchangeability founded on the legal-tender quality given to it by the government and its complete receivability by the government for *all* dues, taxes, etc. 4th. Sufficient volume; and, 5th. Elasticity of volume. The volume is automatically regulated to the country's needs. It increases when prices are falling, credits are restricted, and business is depressed. It decreases when prices are rising, credits expanding, and business is good. It provides for less taxation in the first case, and more in the second. It provides for more government expenditure in the first case, and less in the second. A quickly responsive elasticity would be given by the interchangeable bonds. 6th. Unchangeability. A debt contracted to-day is paid to-morrow or fifty years hence in exactly the same exchangeable value measured by the staples of life, the things that man most needs and values. 7th. The issuing of legal-tender, which is money, is exclusively in the national government's control. The mobilization of the wealth and credit of a land is purely an operation of the people's will, and must be sustained by the people's corporate act. The granting of it to a class separate from the whole people establishes a privilege. Privilege is not democracy, and so powerful a privilege as the control of the money of the land, if unchecked, will in time be subversive of democracy. And, lastly, it is the efficient embodiment in terms of mathematics of the idea of all exchangeable value residing in the mind, not of one man, not of one set of men, nor of one class, but of all the people of the country. That money is an idea is a fundamental fact in the creation of democratic institutions. It is not the representative of the demand or of the supply, but gives play to the demand when the supply is in excess, and of the supply when the demand is in excess, but it only allows the play of these opposing forces till the index price is returned to par. It thus makes prices more stable, cutting off speculation and drying up the gambling mania at its roots.

The idea is not new. It has been advocated in a more or less complete form by many economists of note. It has even been demanded in political platforms, and it was put in

actual practical use over a century ago in our own country by the New Englanders, who in political principles and policies were intellectual giants. By law, in 1780, the State of Massachusetts issued legal-tender money reading:

In behalf of the State of Massachusetts-Bay, I the subscriber do hereby promise and oblige Myself and Successors in the Office of Treasurer of said State, to pay unto ——— or his order, the sum of ——— on or before the First Day of March, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and———, with interest at Six per Cent per annum: Both Principal and Interest to be paid in the then current Money of said State, in a greater or less Sum, according as Five Bushels of Corn, Sixty-eight Pounds and four-sevenths Parts of a Pound of Beef, Ten Pounds of Sheep's Wool, and Sixteen Pounds of Sole Leather shall then cost, more or less than One Hundred and Thirty Pounds current Money, at the then current Prices of said Articles — etc., etc.[1]

This is the scientific standard for money, scientific because it places money above mere barter, because it considers and gives value to the qualities which underlie the idea of money, because, to keep this standard uniform, it utilizes great social forces which no man or set of men can control, and which act automatically in their regulating.

The great social force of a special privilege is striving to get a complete control of the money of the country. It has won some victories. Few people realize how subtly, how strenuously, it is striving. Should it succeed, it is a long step toward imperialism. The opposing forces have not grasped the situation or fully understood the battlefield. They have occupied a position which looks promising at present, but is not the impregnable citadel of the multiple standard.

The money question is a great disturbing question in our economic and political life. It will continue to be such till it is settled right, and it will never be settled right till it is put on a true scientific basis. This reform is great enough to wait the fit time for recognition and adoption.[2]

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[1] See a reduced facsimile of one of these notes given as the frontispiece to this number of THE ARENA

[2] While the writer is alone responsible for the opinions in this article, he wishes to express gratitude for advice and suggestions in preparing it to Messrs. Henry Winn of Boston, J. W. Sullivan of New York, Dr. C. F. Taylor and Wharton Barker of Philadelphia, Richard J. Hinton of Washington, N. O. Nelson and Frederick C. Crunden of St. Louis, W. H. Harvey and Henry D. Lloyd of Chicago, and others.

ANTICIPATING THE UNEARNED INCREMENT: REMEDIES.

BY I. W. HART.

THE business man in a newly settled country is naturally speculative by reason of the rapidly changing values all around him.[1] In proportion as he foresees these changes and takes advantage of them, he accumulates wealth. According to the nature of his business and his station in life, it may be assumed that he owns more or less real estate in the city of his residence. The prospects are more or less certain that the rapid increase of population in this city will cause his lots to double in value within a brief term of years. He therefore, in assessing their value to him, puts a prospective value upon them, instead of the present value for use.

All the other business men — we are now leaving the professional real-estate speculators out of account — are influenced by the same consideration, which is perfectly natural. For use, Robinson's lots may not be worth more than $600 to-day, but why should he limit their value to that figure when he may be able to sell them for $1,200 next year?

The result is that real estate as a whole, in any rapidly growing town, at a given time, is uniformly held at prices far in advance of its value for use; and this proposition is true of Eastern as well as of Western cities, although to a less extent, inasmuch as the speculative element in business is not so prominent in the East. Transactions in real estate in a growing city are therefore unavoidably more or less speculative. A shrewd purchaser may readily pay twice the use value, if he believes in the probability of being able to sell for three times the use value within a year.

[1] The speculative element in American business particularly impressed Mr. Bryce. In his chapter on Wall Street, he says: "There is, even in the eastern cities, where the value of land might be thought to have become stable, a real estate market in which land and houses are dealt in as a matter for pure speculation, with no intention except of holding for a rise within the next few hours or days; while in the new West the price of lands, especially near cities, undergoes fluctuations greater than those of the most unstable stocks in the London market."—"American Commonwealth," Part VI, cap. C.

Now, we will suppose that a purchaser appears who wants a lot for use, which means that he intends to build a house or a block or a factory on his lot, and is not buying simply "for the rise." Nevertheless, he must pay the speculative price instead of the use value, and this is a heavy additional tax on his enterprise at the start. He can recoup himself only by charging higher rents or higher prices for what he sells or produces.

Tenants pay rent according to advantage of situation. Other things being equal, a storekeeper might be willing to pay twice the rent for a certain corner in a city of twenty thousand people that he would for the corresponding corner in a city of ten thousand, since he might reasonably count on twice the business. But if he finds that rents in the ten-thousand city are already on the twenty-thousand basis, he must get even by charging up the extortionate rent to his customers in higher prices and inferior goods, and he will be able to do this because all the other storekeepers are in the same relative situation and avail themselves of the same alternative.

If we stop to analyze this fictitious element in rents in growing towns, we shall find that in many cases it exceeds the total amount of municipal, state, and national taxes, and that, like most indirect taxes, it bears most heavily on those who are the least able to bear it, the laboring and producing classes. It drives into tenement-house squalor myriads of wage-workers who under the proper working of our present economic forces, at the same wage they now receive, might enjoy decent homes. It lowers enormously the possible standard of comfort for all city-dwellers, except the favored few who are its beneficiaries; and in so far as it attacks the general well-being of the mass, it attacks their independence and usefulness as citizens. Remember that we are considering now, not simply the question of giving city land monopolists the "unearned increment" which they are to-day in a position to exact, but the question of allowing them to abuse their opportunity so far as to extort from us to-day the unearned increment which is not due until ten years from now. This is exactly what the craft and cunning of real-

estate speculation in all our growing cities is contriving, — to discount and pocket the unearned increment as far ahead as possible.

I once lived in a rather attractive Western city of seven or eight thousand people. Several years before my arrival the place had been "boomed." This boom, which lasted for about a year, marked prices of real estate up to a point from which they never afterwards receded to reasonable figures, although it was on the whole a "light case" of boom, not characterized by the virulence with which the craze often attacks small Western cities. Ever since the boom year business had been comparatively dull; still the city continued to grow steadily, just as it had done before the boom folly disturbed the even tenor of its way. But real estate has not, to this day, experienced any further increase in price, since the natural increase for many years to come had been anticipated by the boom.

Some six years after the boom in question I had occasion to inquire the price of a small cottage which was for sale, situated about a mile from the business centre of the town. If the town had really been built up over the whole area within a mile from its business centre, it would have contained something like seventy thousand people, but at least nine-tenths of the land within this area was vacant, and likely to remain vacant for years. The price of the cottage and lot was $1,500, which was considered cheap. It was the sort of dwelling that would come within the means of a mechanic or clerk with an income of from $700 to $1,000. The agent admitted that the little five-roomed house and accessories could not have cost more than $1,100, which left a supposed value for the lot of $400, or at least ten times its value for any legitimate use at that distance from the centre of the town. This was also about the price, as I ascertained, of vacant lots, similarly situated, in that vicinity. Now, it is calculated that a landlord in this city, where interest rates are high, may reasonably demand every year fifteen per cent of his property investment in the form of rent, in order to recoup himself for his fixed charges of taxes, insurance, repairs, and depreciation. It may be urged that none of the fixed charges, ex-

cept taxes, properly fall upon the land alone. We will therefore admit that the landlord might be content with a return of eight per cent on his land investment in this case. On such a basis the perpetual annual charge on this $400 lot to any tenant who occupied it would be $32. At the risk of shocking my real-estate friends, I make the assertion that the use value of this lot is not now more than $75, and that if all the city lots together were put up at auction it would not bring even that price. This means that there is $325 of water in the valuation of the lot. An eight-per-cent annual charge on this water amounts to $26, which is a pretty heavy tax for a wage-earner of moderate income to pay in order that a professional real-estate operator may skim the cream of the unearned increment and make a "good thing" out of an "addition." And it is none the less an extortion because it has probably never occurred to the tenant himself to complain of it. This particular form of exploiting the poor and middle classes is so universal that the average victim of high rent has never imagined any other possible system.

And it must be noted that the $26 is by no means the end of the tax. For all the tradesmen who pay extortionate rent-tribute for the benefit of the unearned-increment anticipators, must charge our tenant higher prices for the necessaries of life in order to make themselves even. Every time that he buys a bag of flour or a yard of calico, every time that he has a prescription filled for his sick child or replenishes his coal cellar, it is probable that he pays a further instalment of this most subtle and insidious of all indirect taxes.

This explains why living in our American cities is so very much dearer than in the country. The expense of living ought not to be so much greater in centres of population, where production is specialized and distribution is effected with the least cost. Our western American comes east and is surprised at the cheapness of living in a stationary New-England town. The greater part of the cheapness arises from the fact that real-estate values are on a normal basis, since it is not expected that the town will grow appreciably larger, and there is therefore no inducement for unearned-increment anticipators to exploit the municipal site.

It is an experience common to humanity to be obliged to pay for the sins and errors of the past, but the denizens of our growing American cities must pay heavy penalties for presuming to live in them, on account of something which may happen in the future. It is not only that the unearned increment, which the people themselves have created by establishing a centre of population, goes into the pockets of speculators. If that were all, the case would not be so deplorable. But the speculators are not satisfied with taking possession of the unearned increment accruing from the present size of a town; they insist upon discounting the future, and greedily grasp at the unearned increment ten or twenty years ahead, — an increment, in fact, which may never materialize at all. Their efforts are crowned with success in a growing town, because the possession of land in a given place is a natural monopoly, and those who have it can hold up those who want it.

Suppose now that the man appears who wants it for use, — the capitalist who desires to erect a business block or an apartment-house. This is exactly the individual for whom the speculative bandits have been lying in wait. For such a purpose requires a particularly eligible site. The speculative element in the cost price of the site is therefore very prominent. How does the capitalist defend his pocket? The most approved expedient, in order to make the most of the forced investment of capital in a site, the valuation of which has been absurdly watered, is to erect a towering and unsightly edifice, as cheaply constructed as possible. There it stands, a monument of grotesque ugliness, with its mask of mongrel architecture fronting the street, and its huge slice of dreary brick wall, equally visible, bounding another side. The effect is very likely heightened by contrast with the adjacent half-block, occupied by one-story shanties because the owner holds it for a still higher price.

If private ownership of land, as its champions maintain, is defensible as a necessary condition of civilization up to a certain degree of development, then its right of continuance as an institution rests wholly on its continued usefulness to society, and wherever such usefulness is shown to have been

transformed into positive harm, there we may rightfully assume that the time has come for its abolition. There is no more certain indication that the institution of private ownership of land has outlived its usefulness in cities than the fact that it is associated more and more with tendencies which are distinctly reactionary as regards the social and economic welfare of city-dwellers.

Let us apply this test, for the sake of illustration, to a single one of these tendencies to which allusion has already been made.

A good many years ago Mr. Emerson asked: "Is not the selfish and even cruel aspect which belongs to our great mechanical works, to mills, railways, and machinery, the effect of the mercenary impulses which these works obey?" If Emerson were writing to-day he would include in his list of bad examples the "sky-scraping" apartment-houses which have sprung up like rank weeds in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis within the last decade. If the apartment-house as now constructed were indicative of any form of social amelioration, of any tendency to establish a true neighborhood or social unit among those who congregate under the same roof, — if it were leading the way, for instance, to coöperative housekeeping, — there would be some excuse for it. But it is not perceptibly associated with any such tendency. And does anyone suppose that, from actual economic necessity, dwelling-houses are built fifteen stories high in modern cities? On the contrary, this phase of urban development is the more anomalous when it is considered that the natural tendency of modern cities is to spread over a large area. It is no longer necessary, as in ancient and mediæval cities, that the houses of the residence quarters should be closely massed together in order to be included within walled protection from probable enemies. Furthermore, facilities of street transportation by cable and trolley, constantly improving in cheapness and convenience, together with the popularization of the bicycle as a means of locomotion, make it more practicable than ever before to reduce the density of city populations. Business men, clerks, mechanics, even day laborers, may reside several miles from their daily toil with positive advantage.

The construction of the Babel-tower office building, structurally of doubtful security, æsthetically an abomination, is equally anomalous and indefensible in a modern city. With such time- and distance-annihilators as the telephone, the district telegraph, the stock-ticker, the pneumatic tube; with all our latter-day devices for simplifying and accelerating the transaction of business, it is downright imbecility to assume that it is necessary to confine the business centre of a modern town to a single narrow quarter, and to concentrate and huddle that centre to such an unprecedented extreme that its streets become sunless cañons.

A modern city whose development had never been cramped or distorted by land speculation, would expand continuously and symmetrically from a central nucleus; it would not straggle here and there, with its site pock-marked in one place by a block of vacant and wholly unimproved ground, and pimpled in another by the monumental hideousness of a many-storied apartment-house. It would have wide streets, plenty of parks, or breathing-spaces, even in the poorest parts, with buildings nowhere so high as to prevent the admission of sunlight to the streets, or so thickly grouped as to be unwholesome for human habitation. Its citizens would no more permit a ragged sky-line than our present city-dwellers permit deviation from a uniform street-line.

What, then, is to be the remedy? Shall we apply the Single Tax of Mr. Henry George to this festering evil of private appropriation of the unearned increment years before it falls due? Much is to be said in favor of the Single Tax on ground sites, as a basis of municipal tax reform. The abuses which are incident to the present systems of municipal taxation are so great, the gap between the use value and the speculative value of city land is so wide, and constitutes such a convenient breeding-ground for unequal and iniquitous assessments, that the experiment of the Single Tax could hardly result more scandalously than the actual working of the present system in such a city, for instance, as Chicago. It must, however, be admitted that the Single Tax would tend to perpetuate the dangerous power of assessors, and perhaps subject their virtue to even greater temptations than the present sys-

tem. With the corrupt conditions at present generally prevailing in our municipalities, it is not easy to see how an equitable imposition of the Single Tax on land is to be assured.

There is another alternative, which at first blush seems more radical than Mr. George's famous remedy, but which at least has the advantage of having been partially tested and of being already in successful operation. This is municipal ownership of the site, or of such a portion of it as to limit and control private speculation in it. In consideration of the great evils from which our city-dwellers suffer on account of the system of private ownership in city land, it will not be difficult to maintain that the municipality would be justified in acquiring the fee simple to its site;—that this site should really be, in every sense of the word, the *town* site, held by the municipal corporation in perpetuity for the benefit of the whole people, and no more to be alienated than the people's streets or parks. The ground sites would then be rented by the municipality at regular intervals, at public auction and to the highest bidder. The leases would be of sufficient duration to induce building and improvement on the part of the lessor, the value of such improvements to be appraised at the expiration of the lease and returned to the lessor. We already have an illustration of the practical working of this system on a large scale.

By a legislative enactment passed in 1870, the city of New York was authorized to establish a Department of Docks, and to issue bonds for the acquisition of dock and wharf property from private owners, and for the improvement of the same. Under the operations of this act the city is now the owner of a large part of the docks, and in time will acquire them all. Up to April 30, 1895, over twenty-six millions of dollars of dock bonds had been issued by the city for the purpose of acquiring and improving dock property. The rentals received by the city for docks and slips amounted for the fiscal year ending on that day to nearly two millions of dollars, while the expense of running the department, including repairs but exclusive of new construction work, was in round numbers only $265,000.[1]

[1] See Annual Report of the New York Dock Department for year ending April 30, 1895.

The public piers of New York are leased for terms of years, sometimes at public sale, sometimes by resolution of the Board. The lessees usually erect the buildings and make the improvements which the nature of their particular business requires. At the expiration of the term of lease the pier is put up for lease again. If the lease is not renewed to the same party, the former lessee has the appraised value of his improvements returned to him. The ordinary term of lease is ten years.

As to the practical working of the New York Dock Department, it must be noted in the first place that for nearly the whole of its quarter-century existence it has been under the domination of the predatory Tammany machine. Nevertheless, Mr. A. C. Bernheim, in a carefully prepared magazine article, says: "The result is gratifying, even though millions may have been lost by official negligence or corruption." [1]

The comparatively successful experience of New York City with her Dock Department, under unfavorable conditions, would seem to indicate that municipal ownership of a large area of the municipal site may be established upon such a basis that the minimum of opportunity shall be given to city officials for maladministration. Their duties in this connection, for the most part, need be only discretionary, and the performance of these duties can be made so public that it would be difficult to make an opening for corrupt practices.

A striking example of land municipalization is to be found in the great English town of Birmingham. About twenty years ago, the City Council, under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, matured a plan for the condemnation, demolition, and improvement of ninety acres of slums in the heart of the city. "The chief monument of this undertaking is Corporation Street, Birmingham's finest public thoroughfare and business avenue, splendidly built up with new and solid structures that will become the property of the municipality when the seventy-five-year ground leases expire." [2] That is to say, the municipality acquired this por-

1 *Century* for May, 1895.

2 "Municipal Government in Great Britain," by Albert Shaw, p. 180.

tion of its site by condemnation proceedings, and then leased the lots fronting on the new street to individuals, who were not only willing to erect splendid buildings upon it at their own expense, but also to face the contingency that at the expiration of their leases the buildings would become the property of the city, without any compensation whatever to the lessees. This is in accordance with English usage, but it would seem better policy for the municipality to make the term of lease much shorter, and upon its expiration to allow the lessee the value of his improvements, as appraised, following the practice of the New York Dock Department. In this connection it is interesting to note the experience of the famous Randall estate, also in New York. This estate consists of about twenty-one acres of land, between Fourth and Fifth Avenues, and bounded on the south by Waverly Place. It was left in trust, nearly one hundred years ago, for the building and maintenance of a Sailors' Home, and was at that time simply a farm in the country. It was long ago solidly built over, mostly under twenty-one-year leases. No absolute right of renewal was granted to a lessee who had erected a building, but at the expiration of the lease the value of the ground rent and of the building were separately appraised by disinterested arbitrators, and the trustees had the option of taking over the building at the appraised valuation, or of granting a new lease to the builder at an annual ground rent amounting to five per cent on the newly appraised valuation of the lot. On such terms plenty of people were found in New York who were willing to erect buildings on leased land, and a very fine class of buildings too.

Municipal Ownership vs. Municipal Control, — this is the great municipal issue of the present. Heretofore an attempted municipal control of semi-public corporations has been considered more compatible with American political ideas. But nearly all the efforts on the part of our municipalities to efficiently control the powerful and unscrupulous corporations which steal and exploit municipal franchises have proved such lamentable failures that the drift of public opinion at the present time is certainly toward municipal ownership. The results of municipal ownership and manage-

ment of gas, electric lighting, and waterworks, even under untoward conditions of city government for spoils, have on the whole been such as to fully justify the movement in that direction. The points in the controversy, on the respective sides, are well stated in the papers by Mr. Richardson of Philadelphia and Mr. Loomis of Buffalo, read at the last Conference for Good City Government at Baltimore. In the interesting discussion which followed the reading of these papers, Mr. Richardson said:

> We have had for nearly forty years in Philadelphia the complete power by the City Councils and the city government to control the street railways. They had the power under the original ordinance, before a rail was laid in the city, to take the property of every company that was thereafter allowed to lay its tracks, at cost. With that power they could certainly have controlled it, so far as legal power is concerned; but as a matter of fact the companies have controlled the city, and control the City Councils to-day.

Now Mr. George's Single Tax, as well as all other tax reforms which aim to recover from city land, for the people, the unearned increment which the people themselves have created, is to be classified as a species of municipal control. Would it be treated with any more consideration by conscienceless millionaires and corporations who have permanent corruption funds for tax-assessors, than previous attempts at municipal control? On the other hand, would not municipal ownership of the city site tend to do away with the bribery of tax officials, in proportion as the class of city landholders became extinct, just as, under the system of municipal ownership and operation of public franchises, bribery abates in proportion as there are fewer companies to do the bribing?

Of course it is not practicable to put the system of municipal site-ownership in full operation in our old cities. The amount required to condemn and appropriate the site of New York City, for instance, would appall the imagination of the boldest reformer. But that is no reason why a beginning should not be made, the same as the New York Dock Department made a beginning. Wherever the slums are condemned and demolished, as they are sure to be, and wherever the land is not needed for parks, let the city hold and lease the cleared area, under conditions such as will insure its being rebuilt on

in a proper manner. Let the municipality be given authority, under carefully guarded provisions, to acquire additional areas, as favorable opportunity occurs, say after an extensive fire in the business or tenement-house districts, where the abuses of unearned-increment anticipation are found in their most malignant form.

But, however hopeless this problem may appear in our older cities, it need not be permitted to arise at all in the new cities which are still to be founded by the thousands in this city-building country. It is only necessary to apply the principle of land-municipalization at the start. In the far West, town-sites are still being carved out of land which is comparatively worthless until society has conferred a value upon it. How easy it would be for the infant municipality to hold its town-site intact, for the common benefit of all its people, present and to come, the same as the square reserved for the court-house and the block set aside for the school! How much baneful and demoralizing gambling in real estate would be forestalled, how many disastrous booms averted! As the new town grew populous and wealthy, the unearned increment from the municipal lots would construct the sewers, grade and pave the streets, uniform the police, and educate the children. There could be no unearned-increment anticipators in that city, and the maintenance of normal ground rents would reduce the cost of living and production to an extent quite astounding. It is probable that in such a city the line of life for the average man would approach much more nearly to the theoretical curve of ease, — the condition of greatest reward for least effort.

And that, after all, is only what we have a right to expect from a centre of human society.

STUDIES IN ULTIMATE SOCIETY.

I. A NEW INTERPRETATION OF LIFE.

BY LAURENCE GRONLUND.

Author of "The Coöperative Commonwealth."

"None is accomplished, as long as any is incomplete." — *Emerson.*

COLLECTIVISM — that is rational socialism — is, exclusively, an economic system, which in its full-blown development will mean: public, or collective, management of all means of production, of land, machinery, raw material. It has nothing directly to do with morals and religion, but indirectly almost everything. The reason for this lies in the fact, too often overlooked, that economic, industrial relations are the foundation of society and of civilization, while morality and religion are the flower and fruit thereof. N. P. Gilman, in his "Socialism and the American Spirit," complains that "the monotonous emphasis of Socialists is upon the material side of life rather than on the slow moral advancement that conditions lasting material progress," and that "the characteristic article of the socialist creed is, that circumstances are all that we need to change." To be sure, we emphasize the material circumstances as the first thing to change — not "the all," by any means, just as in a garden the flowers and fruits, which of course, as the essential objects, entirely depend upon the roots underground and the seeds from which they sprang. We do say with complete assurance, that it is contrary to reason that the masses of our people should be moral and religious in their present material surroundings, that is to say, as long as they are cursed with the present insecurity and dependence, often not knowing where their next meal is to come from; as long, moreover, as they constantly are being tempted to immoralities, as in fact they are by the existing system. Huxley here agrees with us: "It is futile to expect a hungry and squalid population to be anything but violent and gross." It is for maintaining this evident proposition, that Gilman charges us with "wor-

ship of the majority!" Well, surely, this writer may rather be charged with "worshipping" the minority — the "remnant," as Mathew Arnold quaintly calls it; I mean the enlightened, warm-hearted few who are to be the instruments in raising the whole of society upon a higher plane; and they evidently must be filled with the very highest ideals, since it is these that will furnish them with the powerful motives they will need. But with the great majority of men, and with society as a whole, it is entirely different: they and it have no high ideals at all, can in fact have nothing worthy to be called an "ideal." I shall now try to show that the new economic system called Collectivism will naturally evolve the very highest moral and religious ideals, for which reason alone the noblest among us ought to bless and work for the advent of this new social order.

We have a competitive industrial system, and we have a reigning philosophy that justifies and upholds this system. I now call attention to the fact, that it is the competition in our daily affairs that has created this philosophy and made it acceptable to us. All the influential writers of our age are permeated by it, but it is Herbert Spencer who has been the principal expounder of this philosophy to us, so much so that he may be called *par excellence* the philosopher of this competitive era. There is a curious contradiction in Spencer's writings, which also Huxley[1] has observed; while he has devoted essays to demonstrating that society is an organism, all his social and moral speculations start from and are throughout controlled by the very opposite assumption, adopted, it seems, unconsciously to himself, to wit: that we men are purely "autonomous" individuals, with no vital organic relations between us at all; that we have come into this world, each exclusively for the sake of himself; that in consequence society, far from being an organism or anything like it, is rather to be compared to a heap of sand, a heap of conscious grains of sand, whose sole business with each other is simply that of getting along together as tolerably as possible. This, as a matter of fact, is the reigning philosophy, and Spencer has become so popular as he is, because

[1] In "Administrative Nihilism."

he has most perfectly given expression to it. One thing that shows that it is our competitive system which is really the parent of this philosophy is, that the latter originated with the genesis of private capital, and has spread with its growth; the preceding centuries knew nothing about it. Lecky confirms this by saying:[1] "When we look back to the cheerful alacrity with which in former ages men sacrificed all their material interests to what they believed to be right, and realize the unclouded assurance that was their reward, it is impossible to deny that we have lost something in our progress."

This "something" which we have lost — not compensated for by our own vast material progress — was, I say, the inner, underlying meaning of all robust faiths of the past, with all their myths and dogmas. I refer to the conviction of our belonging together, the sense of man's organic unity, of *the solidarity of man.* This it was that actually dominated the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, as also the Christians during the so-called Ages of Faith. With the ancients this sense was very strong, in the form of devotion to the commonwealth, which we know was the vital principle of their polity. It is here instructive to observe how wholly incapable Herbert Spencer is of comprehending this feeling; he speaks of the Greek citizen being a slave of his city!" Why, this devotion to his state, this close fellowship, was a very necessity to these ancient people; this living Athens, these altars, these customs, were to them a part of their very being, without which they absolutely could not live! And so we know that the Hebrews were moulded into unity by their ideas about Jehovah, their national God, who held out promises and threatened punishments, always referring exclusively to *the national life* of the entire people, always bringing general weal or general woe *upon their commonwealth.* This surely was solidarity in its strongest expression. But there was a deplorable limitation to the sense of man's unity in all these ancient folk; they confined it narrowly to an exceedingly small part of mankind, to the free-men only of their own city, or, at most, of their own nationality; all others

[1] In "European Morals."

were "barbarians," out of the pale of their fellowship. The Christians of the Middle Ages showed themselves far broader-minded than the ancients, but manifested an equally strong sense of human solidarity by making human nature itself divine in Jesus, made God; thereby conferring on all beings with a human countenance a supreme common dignity, and providing prince and peasant with the same means to reach an identical glory. They, however, also introduced a lamentable defect in their practice of solidarity, in this: that for the unity of the race they substituted the *unity of the elect;* that is to say, they very illogically divided their deified humanity in two, and gave to the two parts different destinies; a defect which Protestantism later on very much aggravated, and thereby has done considerable to arouse man's coarsely selfish concern for his soul, for his private salvation. In fact, Protestantism has just by that means paved the way for the present unbridled individualism.

But now comes modern rational socialism, or collectivism, which once more revives the condition of man's solidarity, and which I believe will once for all complete it. The collectivist *régime*, or the coöperative commonwealth, will, with its social coöperation and public functions for all, make every citizen of the state conscious of their organic unity, must indeed impose it on them as a *fact*, just as it was on the minds of our ancestors. We shall become conscious that humanity surely is the very reverse of a heap of grains of sand, that it is, on the contrary, an organism; that is, *a whole whose parts are reciprocally means and ends, and partake of a common life.* We shall come to feel it "in our bones," that humanity is an eternal, progressive, social organism, with *one* destiny, and that we men and women have all come into this world with a function to perform, and that is, to advance humanity towards its destiny.

To be sure, already now unfortunately a similar defect to that of the two previous periods threatens to be introduced, and that by European socialists. They acknowledge human solidarity; yet they do all they can to substitute for it the solidarity of the working-classes alone; they make the blunder also of parting humanity in two, of dividing society

by a horizontal line, the wage-workers below, and every one else above that line; and then they most lamentably preach a war between the two sections — "class-war;" that is what they have made their wretched shibboleth. This is what makes the prospects of socialism on continental Europe so gloomy.

But here in America, where class hatred fortunately as yet is only in embryo, we shall, I hope, insist on the grand doctrines of the organic unity of the whole society. Then, under collectivism, will humanity actually come to self-consciousness; men will then naturally come to inquire, Why is there this organic unity in man, and not in horses or dogs? Why, indeed, unless man actually has an end to accomplish, a destiny to fulfill in a way that animals have not. Human life consequently will have a new meaning for us; we shall come to look on ourselves and all our fellow men as both precious tools and responsible agents for advancing humanity's destiny, which is our own individual destiny. We shall become intensely interested in our fellow men; we shall become personally ashamed of our vulgar, venal, and vicious fellow, for we then shall feel that he actually degrades our own manhood, that we are responsible for him and his vices. On the other hand, we shall feel personally proud of our Shaksperes and all our great characters and geniuses, for we shall know ourselves a part of them, and them as a part of us, and be conscious that they have ennobled each of us personally — they were and are great as *men*, just what we are. This will be in truth a *new interpretation of life*. We may actually call it a new faith, and say, that it is a synthesis of the ancient and Christian faiths, appropriating the principal constituents of each: from the former it takes devotion to the commonwealth; from the latter the conception of a divine humanity. This new interpretation will give to life not merely a new meaning, but its contents; it will fill life out completely, to the exclusion of all miserable fears for one's private salvation.

With this new interpretation of life — one that will satisfy the highest intelligence and maturest conscience — accepted by the majority of our people as the product of a collectivist industrial system, we at last can have a higher ethics, a collec-

tivist ethics. There is no word in our language of so loose and vague a meaning as the word "moral." This indeed is most natural, since we affix either no meaning to life, or such a palpably false one as that we are simply a heap of conscious grains of sand. Our practical morality in consequence has become either a lubricant, a kind of grease wherewith to ease the friction of our social machinery, but containing not one element of *law*, or pure pharisaism, simply teaching "respectable" people how to be better than their neighbors, and to hold aloof from their fellows. We need only further listen to the conclusions of two modern celebrated expounders of theoretical ethics, Professors Sidgwick and Leslie Stephen, to at least understand that there are intelligent people who actually despise current morality as fit only for bibs and tucker. The former, in the closing pages of his "Methods of Ethics," confesses: "I am unable to construct any systematic answer, deserving of serious consideration, to the question: *What is the Ultimate Good?*" The latter closes his "Science of Ethics" with these words: "*It is a hopeless search:* that after some reason, binding any man *simply as reasonable;*" which surely is even a worse predicament for an ethical teacher. Are such ethics and such morality anything but worthless and contemptible? And it is plainly due to the fact, that the very foundation is rotten. Our morality is what it is, because each self, each soul, is at present exclusively its own centre; because we are immersed in the bottomless delusion that man *can* live for himself alone, a delusion even only tolerable now, when we are living in a transition period, but which, if it ever became our permanent ideal, would convert us into howling hyænas.

Now look at the transformation that will take place when the new interpretation of life inclines us, or rather compels us, to make society our centre; why, it will actually be to introduce the same order into morals that the Copernican system founded in astronomy! These two orders of ideas are not only similar, but exactly parallel. These disorders in our ethical teachings and practice are just as much due to our focusing the moral world on the *ego*, on self, as those in the Ptolemaic astronomy were due to the blunder of making the

earth the centre of the solar system. Collectivist ethics, on the other hand, by referring all our actions to society and humanity, will make everything fall beautifully into its right place, just as was the case with the solar system the moment Copernicus made the sun the centre of it.

Now, however, we have reached a most important point, which involves the very essence in the definition of collectivist morality. We start from our new interpretation of life, which assures us that we men are indissolubly and organically bound together, that hence humanity's destiny is our destiny, and the social welfare our welfare, in precisely the same way that the health of the whole human body conditions the health of each organ and of every individual cell. If this be true, then, of course, this social welfare is that "ultimate good" which Sidgwick could not ferret out; and it is equally evident, that if we are thoroughly convinced of this new interpretation, then we shall strongly want to lead a life conformable to that conviction — and this is the formal definition of the word "moral." Hence at the same time we have found what Leslie Stephen declares it "hopeless" to search after, because he knows of no meaning to life whatever. A man under that new conviction certainly will know better than ever before, that "selfishness" — that is, the effort to make "self" a *direct* and *exclusive* end — is not alone vicious, but a foolish, feverish dream.

Yet he would greatly deceive himself if he should jump to the conclusion, that all consideration for self should be banished. This is the important point that we must have cleared up: that collectivist morality, sound morality, *does not mean pure unselfishness*. "Self" is a constituent part of human nature of which we can divest ourselves just as little as we can of our own shadows; aye! it is impossible to have regard for others unless we esteem and value our own selves; hence it is not alone perfectly right to care for self and to pursue our individual interests, but we ought to do so; it is our duty. *Egoism is verily an integral, an essential element of morals*, without which morality emphatically could not exist at all. The reconciliation of what here seems contradictory is effected by insisting that it is your *true* self you must care

for; it is your *real* interests and your *highest* welfare you should pursue, and this is done by making self an *indirect* end instead of a direct end. Seek your individual welfare; this is your solemn duty; but work that object *through the collective well-being*, for that is the only way you ever will accomplish it. This is evidently not selfishness, and just as clearly not unselfishness; it is something between them for which I do not know of any acknowledged term. "Self-hood" surely is not appropriate (for that is not a motive), and therefore I take the liberty to coin a word, and call what I mean, *selfness*. The French socialist, Pierre Leroux, years ago undoubtedly had the correct idea, but he expressed it in this one very obscure sentence: *La loi de l'homme n'est ni le sacrifice, ni l'égoisme, mais la solidarité.* ("The moral law for man is neither sacrifice nor egoism, but solidarity.") Selfness, I contend, is the golden mean that should move men to bless and work for the speedy coming of collectivism.

The collective well-being, or the social welfare, should be our *immediate* object, upon which all our thoughts and actions should be bent — directly bent. This is really a clear-cut summing up of collectivist morality. Morality, as we have noted, is the conduct that conforms to our inmost convictions; and ethics is simply the science that treats of that conduct. Now, collectivist morality can for short be called social morality, the conduct that exclusively regards society; and collectivist ethics, social ethics. And now see how properly egoism and altruism fall into their places, when it be said that they both are and ought to be the means to, *the servants of*, this social morality. You care for your true self, and care for it only, by looking on yourself as a precious tool and accountable agent for advancing the social welfare, and by acting accordingly; and thus *egoism* is *moralized*. Collectivist ethics, for instance, will of course inculcate personal cleanliness, but it will do so on its own peculiar ground, that you cannot perform your social duties properly without being habitually clean. In order to perform your duties to society, you may often need a robust egoism; ambition becomes ennobled; indeed, ambition in the service of society is one of the noblest of passions, and is greatly needed.

Just in the same way *altruism will be rationalized* — altruism, which can perhaps best be rendered into English by calling it fellow-feeling. At present this is purely a sentiment, and hence a very weak motive force; it is the weakest element of the present morality. But morality must be a *law*, or it is worthless; it must be an inexorable but most beneficent law. Altruism will become strong as steel when it is made rational, and then we shall come to acknowledge that human solidarity is indeed the bond which wise men have been seeking after that might become *authority*. Altruism will be rationalized when we come to look, not on self now, but on all our fellow men of every degree as valuable tools and actors in working out humanity's destiny, and treat them accordingly. That is, we thereby substitute our intellect instead of our feelings as springs of action; and this will be an immense gain, for it will make us recognize authority. When we esteem all our fellow citizens as the predestined colaborers in advancing the social welfare, which we know is our individual welfare also, then we of course shall deem it simply *irrational* to compete with them; and, on the other hand, simply *rational* to coöperate with and emulate them; we then shall think it nothing but *rational* to reverence our true superiors among them and follow them. Personal authority and dependence on individuals will appear in a high degree *irrational;* while even self-sacrifice will seem *rational* in our eyes, for it will in last resort be simply the sacrifice of our lower self to our higher self.

Those who are inclined that way can look on this collectivist ethics, this sounder ethics, as was done with the new faith, as the union of ancient and Christian ethics, taking from the former the public spirit of the ancient peoples, and from the latter man's moral personality, that is, the capacity in every man freely to conform to the moral law.

But a friend, Prof. Julius Platter, of Zürich, Switzerland, objects, that "A thorough devotion of citizens to the commonwealth is now forever impossible, because the essential prerequisite for it was the confinement of the governing element ('the state') to *one* city, with which the citizen stood and fell; and this in modern nations is necessarily and irrev-

ocably lost." To be sure, great nations have forever displaced cities, like Athens and Rome, but to say that this fact makes devotion to country impossible, seems to me absurd; it would be the same as to say that civilization now must cease. I, on the other hand, contend that public devotion will germinate and develop as the benefits which the commonwealth confers on the citizen become more and more apparent, and he himself becomes more and more a constituent part of the commonwealth. Patriotism then naturally will gradually assume the form of gratitude.

I almost think this idea enables us to account for the power of the literature of the ancients over us. The fact that these people so much insisted on devotion to the state and public spirit, coupled with that other fact, that Catholicism wholly neglected these sentiments, may very likely be the reason for the *élite* of mankind so persistently clinging to the Greek and Latin classics. It may be added that this public devotion will further be likely to increase from society becoming a more and more perfect organism, for as yet it is of course only partly developed as such. If it were already fully developed, it would be right to claim, as some do, that "society owes every man *a living*," just as every organ in the body is nourished before work is required of it. But because the social organism is still in the process of development, such a claim is at present a most dangerous misconception; but the claim, that "society owes every man an opportunity to gain a living by work," is timely even at this stage, for society is now able to provide that.

It is commonly said by Guizot and others of this individualistic age, that "Man is not for society, but society is for man." From the above considerations I think we should repudiate the first half of this statement, and affirm the very opposite: that *man is* here on earth *for society*. We are in this world, and have come into it, precisely in order to serve humanity, and, in the first place, as the best way of doing this, to help in advancing our country's welfare; and this, we repeat, because *it is the appointed way of accomplishing our own highest destiny*. Then again, how may we not expect devotion to our country to be fostered and invigorated when we

are thus conscious of being instruments of its advance, as we may hope to be in the glorious twentieth century.

Now, is this collectivist morality not good common sense? Especially, is not selfness, as I have defined it, the only sane foundation for any morality in any way satisfactory? Neither selfishness nor unselfishness surely affords any basis that satisfies the most ordinary intelligence. There is one touchstone that verifies the correctness of the claim here made, and that is *happiness*. Selfishness is evidently the foe of happiness; whenever anyone on purpose directly pursues it, him we know happiness surely evades; he will never find it. On the other hand, pure unselfishness is impossible; as already said, no son of Adam can escape from self; even the greatest saint has had for motives some form of selfishness, even when seeking the golden crown of martyrdom. Carlyle's words may sound cynical: "Live to make others happy! This is mere hypocrisy. Avoid cant!" but they contain the simple truth. If you say that you will live to make strangers happy, for their own sakes, your talk is hypocrisy and cant, and nothing else. But happiness is a blessed incident in life, the natural accompaniment of usefulness, and this must now test selfness to every intelligence. To say that you will live to make your fellow men happy *because* you know that thereby you are working out your highest destiny, that indeed "nothing human is foreign to you" *for that reason* — this is not cant, but is rational and wise. Happiness is the natural consequence of thus fulfilling the moral law; and thus selfness is proved a legitimate prompter, the rightful spring of action.

We are not attempting to make the masses of men first moral, and then make them collectivists, for that would be to place things on their heads; but we do want to convince and persuade *you*, the enlightened few, the "remnant," that collectivism will evolve the highest ideals and the highest practical morality; and then we ask you to help raise the whole society upon a higher plane *for your own sakes*, for you cannot save yourselves or be saved, on this earth or elsewhere, but by bearing your brethren aloft with you. *You* must know, that "*none is accomplished, as long as any is incomplete.*"

II. INDIVIDUALISM *VS.* ALTRUISM.

BY K. T. TAKAHASHI.

Disappointment, despair, and inaction are, in nearly a correct order, the steps by which men reach the sad state of slavery and vagrancy. From this point of view, I have long doubted the wisdom of that doctrine which imposes it upon man to be of utility to others, and which enters so largely into the discussions of social problems that many seem to think the triumph of altruism will be the final salvation of the world. The dreams of altruism are fascinating; nevertheless they are dreams, — the dreams of diseased brains, — and as such can lead the world only to imbecility and hypocrisy. I therefore protest against altruism.

Of altruism, there are apparently three kinds, the sentimental, the conventional, and the evolutional. The first may conveniently be represented by modern Christianity. It interprets Jesus as the centre of all that is unselfish in man, regards modern civilization as its own creation, and altruistic conversion as its goal.

Christ indeed cherished an ideal man after his own fancy, and left behind him a teaching, the faithful observance of which he no doubt believed would enable mankind to transform this world into a heaven on earth. But in these nineteen centuries there has been but one Jesus, and the world remains the same old world. It is then either that Jesus was not right in His teaching, or that posterity has misunderstood Him. For my part, I think the altruistic interpretation of posterity is a mistaken one.

As for the claims of those who believe that the Western civilization of to-day, the highest yet attained, is a product of Christian altruism, it is to be pointed out that Christianity has never been either a constructive or a destructive force in the social evolution of man. Our present civilization came only as a result of the triumph of the intellectual over physical force, which means simply that peaceful trade and industrialism have superseded militarism.

A friend of mine, a gentleman of deep learning and wide knowledge, differs from me on this point. His argument is

that civilization is essentially a dissemination of truth, and that Christianity, by reason of its missionary spirit, is the greatest truth-disseminating force the world has ever possessed; therefore Christianity has always been a powerful factor in the bringing about of the present civilization. This is very ingenious, but we all know that there is a vast difference between what are commonly called gospel truths, retailed by preachers and missionaries, and those fundamental principles upon which stands the fabric of human society,— the reliability of science and the emancipation of mankind. It is the latter kind of truth which promotes civilization, precisely the kind which preachers and missionaries have always shunned.

Then again, because there is observable in our midst a more extended growth in charitable movements and practical philanthropy, and also a wider recognition of fraternity among the classes and races than before, Christians would see in this a spread of altruism, and attribute it to their Christianity. But history avers otherwise. From the days of distant bygones down to the end of feudal times, the continuous prevalence of tyranny and extortion made tradesmen, artisans, and all common people, except the fighting class, companions in patient suffering, a circumstance which necessarily engendered among them a spirit of mutual assistance in a more generous degree than was possible with their oppressors. This spirit, beautiful as it has always been, naturally received a double impetus when its beneficiaries triumphed. It was therefore in the very nature of the change, that, when feudalism succumbed, there would follow a period of freer and wider growth of peace and fraternity. Whatever was the cause of the coming of the new civilization, it is a mistake therefore to say that Christianity led the way. Besides, Christianity as it stands even to-day rests upon essentially theocratic principles, and theocracy in its social working is but a plutocracy of a very arbitrary type; and it is plain that this clerical plutocracy could not have been the foster mother of democratic civilization.

Christians talk of peace and fraternity as if these things

had been exclusively theirs all the time; but it was only the other day that crusades, the inquisition, and persecution formed an integral part of Christianity; and be it remembered that the persecution idea is still maintaining a lingering hold upon a large portion of people in not a few countries. Any unbiased person will thus see that Christianity did not foster civilization, but that civilization civilized Christianity.

I freely admit, however, that there is another side to Christianity, and that is that, as a social institution, the church is an indispensable organization to Christians. Human society in its present stage subsists on two broad principles, voluntary cohesion and coerced submission. The church embodies the primary force of voluntary cohesion for Christians, and as such it is a necessity to a Christian community. At the same time, the fact of a religious organization working indirectly and unconsciously as a social instead of a religious institution is not and has never been peculiar to Christianity; and it goes only to emphasize the fact that Christianity, in this aspect, is not that which leads and moulds, but is only a local name for a social force that binds and appeases.

Coming to doctrinal argument, the generally accepted gist of Christianity is regeneration, or being born again, that is, being converted so thoroughly in one's nature that the physical and physiological principles which constitute all that is self in a man shall become subjugated and put under control by his altruistic impulses. The subtle ingenuity of this enunciation is almost irresistible, and I have long been subject to its profound illusion. Even to-day, when I recur to the grand Sermons on the Mount, I am often tempted to fall on my knees that I may return to its dreams. For all that, however, it cannot be denied that the correctness of the doctrine of regeneration depends entirely upon an assumption that there is at least a potency in man which makes such a conversion a possibility. But that that assumption is an unfounded one is evident from the fact that the laws which govern the physical and physiological existence of man are inexorable, and amenable to none beyond a certain

limit; while all those things which debase self and exalt sacrifice are impulses of emotion, and therefore fitful and exceptional. The doctrine of regeneration, altruistically interpreted, is thus an attempt at making exceptions *permanent and general*, which is a contradiction in itself. No wonder modern Christianity has failed to follow Christ and His teaching, and belies itself when it upholds altruism; for it only leads one to hypocrisy.

I come now to modern socialism, as representing the second form of altruism. But let us clearly understand at the outset that there are no such things as "right" and "justice" in nature. In all human matters these notions are based totally upon some conventional order of society existing in fact. Yet the existing order cannot in itself be right or wrong, though it may appear one way or the other in view of some untried theory, and *vice versâ*. If you believe in the present system, nothing can be right which runs amuck with its fundamental principles. If you do not, you can only preach revolution; but in so doing you can talk only nonsense unless you can offer a demonstrable plan of your own. In short, it is useless to advance or advocate any theory on a mere ground that it is "right and just," for its rightness and justness become possible only when the possibility of the new order of things is demonstrable.

This much understood, let us now take up socialism.

Omitting differences of detail, socialists as a whole claim that, with the coming of equal facility for the enjoyment and maintenance of life, there will be no more discontent, and that crimes will cease on earth. To proletariats, equalized sharing in the good things of this world means a social gain, and it is thought that they would embrace the new system with enthusiasm and lasting contentment.

But it must be remembered that contentment and happiness are entirely subjective phenomena, and have no quantitative limitations. Behold! the rich man of to-day can have almost every want satisfied at his beck and call, and yet he knows no abiding contentment and happiness, and is seldom an ideal man. It is, however, manifestly absurd to suppose that the rich and the poor are in their essential natures of different

casts. Indeed, a great many rich men of to-day were once proletariats themselves. Consequently, even under the reconstructed system there will be in this world exactly the same amount of self-aggrandizing forces as at present, and the possibility of a socialistic *régime* will depend upon the possibility of a complete change in human nature, which, so long as left to itself, will remain the same. That is to say, the equalization will not cure discontent or stop crimes.

Socialists urge that the very spirit of discontentment first arose when material inequality in the sustenance and enjoyment of life became the order of human society. Very true; and it would appear that the real aim of socialism is the abolition of, and making punishable, the interdependence of private individuals. By interdependence of private individuals I mean the depending of Peter upon John for his breadstuff, and John upon Thomas for his clothing, and so on. If socialism is going to be the order of our existence, I say that this depending upon one another among private persons, and the consequent transactions of commerce, must cease. For, whether mutual or one-sided, the dependence of one person upon another for his well-doing — not necessarily living — is solely at the root of that state of society in which aggressive ability transforms itself into a right, a power, and property, creating the two classes of men, employers and employed, which is none other than the one we are living under. The socialists propose to get over the difficulty by a series of promulgated laws. These laws, according to them, are to bring about and perpetuate the nationalization of the land, capital, inheritance, and transportation, and the equalization of labor.

Nationalization of land can mean, at most, that a certain area of soil will be made free of access to anyone who may choose to till or work on it. In that case the ratio of farming population to the rest of the inhabitants of the world will remain practically the same as at present, and a vast majority of people will have to look to farmers for their breadstuff, and this, even though a large part of the farm laborers should be converted into a national militia. The result will be either that the farmers will amass wealth and

live in luxury, while the balance of mankind will be reduced more or less to a state of penury, or that the farmers will become the most oppressed of creatures under the sun in spite of professed equalism. This is a rather sweeping statement to make, but here is an instance to illustrate the point. You have in military language an expression, "the base of operation." Though faddish politicians and socialists would overlook it, as a matter of fact the farmers do and and forever will hold the key to this "basis of operation" in human economy of existence. And so, as long as there exists an unequal burden of life, land nationalization will achieve nothing toward preventing private interdependence. With this fate awaiting even land nationalization, I cannot see how it will be otherwise with capital and transportation.

After all, the socialists' secret is to convert people by instruction and agitation to a faith in an impersonal object of worship and submission called the "State," conventionally created by themselves and invested with all the attributes of a God. That is to say, the State is to become what Carlyle derisively calls "Mumbo-Jumbo" of black men. The State, as representing the people, becomes the sole and universal owner of labor and its products; but don't you see that you, as an individual, become relatively the servant of everybody else but yourself? The equalization of the hours and of the award of labor does not alter the situation; the State becomes the taskmaster, and you become a slave. Human nature revolts against such a drastic form of altruism. But if private transactions involving interdependence are to be abolished by law, universal slavery will inevitably follow. But socialism has not yet demonstrated that such a state of things will be practicable. So altruism in socialistic form is but a dream of one-sided fancy.

Apparently in opposition to Christians and socialists, modern philosophers of the evolution school, whose claims will now be considered, contend that when a social organism reaches a stage of complete development, it will become a coercive whole to which a man of independent and individualistic tendencies will be an object of execration and removal, which is to say, that these philosophers believe that there is

a certain law of nature which compels and governs the conduct of human society in such a way that ultimately each individual person who composes it will realize that the reason of his existence in this world is not for himself, but for society, and that he must conduct himself accordingly. In brief, the law is that man is given life in order to complete a social whole.

This is another case of altruism, only with the presence of an ulterior law. Its argument is founded upon the similarities that run between a social organism and an individual organic body, it being inferred that the law which governs the latter must also govern the former. There is nothing to dispute about in this statement, but the error lies in the interpretation of the law itself, which in an individual organism is thought to take this form, that organic parts are for the perfect development and maintenance of the whole. To my mind, however, there is as much vitality in a part as in the whole, and life is a resultant, a phenomenon whose completeness depends upon the perfectness of the balance of power among the conflicting forces exerted by all the parts. A part exists for itself, not for the whole. Some parts have become practically eliminated in course of evolution, but I regard this as having occurred through the inflexible law of the survival of the fittest among the parts themselves. The axiomatic truth, that there can be no whole without parts, and that the completeness of the whole depends upon the completeness of each individual part, does not at all imply that the parts exist for the whole. If they have a force of sustenance in common among themselves, that force is there to impart to each part its share of existence, not to compel it to uphold the whole. When one feels hungry, it is because the different parts of his body call for their nourishment. After a rainy season the valleys of the great Nile present a grand panoramic whole of verdant life. The heat, moisture, and soil combine to sustain the growth and existence of myriads of different organisms; but it is absurd to say that the latter sprang into life in order to help the sun, the Nile, and the earth to prosper on.

In a similar way I can understand life only as a resultant

phenomenon, the parts living for themselves. Indeed, the very law of evolution from simplicity to complexity demonstrates that the fundamental principle of a body organic is to develop and perfect the parts.

Hence social evolution, if it means anything, must mean the perfection of each individual person biologically and psychologically, as forming a part of the organism; and any theory that places an individual man in a position subservient to the interest of the state, as representing a whole, rests on a false conception. In this sense philosophic altruism is no less chimerical than the others. By the way, the occultists' fancy of the manifoldness of a man's nature, or Ego, is but a crude perception of the fact that he is an aggregate of conflicting selfishness.

To recapitulate, altruism in its three principle forms, sentimental, conventional, and evolutional, has no ground to stand upon.

But I have not yet stated what I understand by altruism, and it remains to determine what it really means.

Well, pain and sorrow, joy and pleasure, each originates locally through conditions and impressions produced upon, and represents a gratification or its reverse of, the parts concerned. But, although a man's nerve centre is acutely sensitive, and everything is supposed to be recorded there with very delicate precision and discrimination, yet the multitude and variety of the messages reaching there are so overwhelmingly great and complex, that it is not at all unreasonable that the thought impressions induced through touch, sight, hearing, and other organs of communication are sometimes mistaken for those of direct local origin, and the despatch centre is made to act, in a sense, upon illusions and delusions. For an instance, when one finds a person hungry, he would give the latter assistance, not because any law compels him to do so, but because his intelligence centre received a message that feeding is needed. He simply acts under a delusion. The delusion in this case renders a good service, but none the less it is a delusion. There is, however, no delusion in a case where a man is in a state of affluence and power, and

yet demands submission and tribute from others. Such an act is characterized by extortion and tyranny. But, given the condition that calls for and deserves assistance, and if you act at all, then you do so out of sympathy. And that acting out of sympathy is precisely acting from delusion. Can you conceive an instinctive law of rendering services to others, situated between coercion and sympathy. It is impossible to do so. Then altruism necessarily presupposes an implied or explicit appeal, and its acts cannot but be those of sympathy. To say that there is natural altruism, is therefore making delusion a law of nature. That is, altruism is a law of imposition. In fact, it is nothing more than a fad of our age. A fad! Once the word is uttered we see it in all its true characteristics. Altruism, how erratic in its enthusiasm, but how indifferent to its consequences! "Altruism," you cry; and your brothers and sisters in need and sorrow respond, "We rely!" Then you turn round and hiss out, "Mendicity!" But a law of nature must needs endure reliance. Altruism inspires reliance and then scatters disappointment and despair broadcast, and plods about the living grave of submergence in triumph! Oh! damnation to altruism.

I turn away from this sickening fad and sophism, and hail individualism, a truth, a law of man's existence!

A man's body, as already stated, is an aggregate of different parts striving each for its own existence. A man is a sum total of selfishness. By individualism is meant this totaled selfishness. For fear, however, that some may welcome individualism with a vengeance, while others who have been living in a languid dream of altruism may awake in terror at a least intimation of selfishness, I may further explain in a few lines what is meant definitely by this term.

It is supremely important to grasp the notion that this sum total of selfishness does not mean a homogeneous aggregate, but a heterogeneous aggregate. The wants and inclinations of the different parts of a human body are not the same either in quantity or quality. They are often diametrically opposed to each other in these respects. But when there happens to exist a state of excessive or abusive activity in

a part to the injury of the others, the latter protest, and if they are strong enough to carry through their point, then, in coöperation with the despatch centre, they make the erring part resume its normal condition.

By individualism is therefore meant, that condition of the human body in which each of its parts is given a free scope for existence, development, and perfection, attended by gratification of instinctive requirements, without causing injury to other parts. This is the law of human existence. This is individualism in its true sense.

It naturally follows, then, that — the relation of man with a social organism or a community being such as has been already stated — the laws of the state should, first and last of all, be based upon the principle that each and every humanity shall enjoy an unrestricted freedom of existence without injury to others. The result of the recognition of this individualistic principle will be, on one hand, —

That he who weakens at disappointment, succumbs to despair, and dwindles into inaction must either suffer or perish; and, on the other, —

That he who, for the sake of a local gratification of his body, causes suffering or death to others, shall himself undergo a corrective or exterminative penalty.

In either case the culprit meets his punishment because he violates the principle of individualism.

Thus, individualism is a doctrine far healthier and more manly than altruism, for the former frankly avows a struggle as the condition of life, so that a man may be prepared for it; while the latter inspires in him a spirit for reliance which can never be fully realized, and as a rule hurries him down the damnable steps of disappointment, despair, inaction, simply because that inspiration is a deception, a fad.

Having reached this stage of our argument, it is opportune to point out that neither philosophy, nor Christianity, nor socialism was originally altruistic in its teachings, and that the change came only through not understanding what individualism really meant.

Look at philosophy. It was born to the world after mankind had passed into a phase of social existence in which a

few ruled over many. It came to perpetuate this order of society, teaching it as one of the inevitable conditions of life. In other words, it came to give reason for upholding the active selfishness of the ruling few. When this school became superseded by that of democracy, philosophy sought practically to reverse the above order, but the starting-point was still self-interest.

Again, Christ himself taught nothing more than self-interest. How intensely selfish is the sentiment that pervades throughout the Sermons on the Mount! It is not for God He speaks ; it is for the man, individual man. He advises one to part with his material possessions because He believes subjective contentment is the source of supreme happiness. He urges one to love another because the other will love him in return. His teaching is, in brief, that God ordains man to be good to himself, avoiding all that hinders, and laboring for all that promotes, the attainment of this end. Christ's Christianity was emphatically a religion of self-interest.

Socialism rose as a protest against the exploitation of proletariats, and its stronghold rested in the recognition of the right of individual ownership and disposition of labor and its products. So socialism, too, derives its origin from intense selfishness.

What socialism, religion, and philosophy really protest against is not self-interest, but self-aggrandizement at the expense of others. It is precisely what individualism protests against. Yet there is a vast and unbridgeable difference between altruism that seeks to subordinate the self to the interest of others, and individualism that demands complete emancipation and independence, and strives to perfect the development and gratify the wants of the selfish parts, so that the beauty and completeness of the phenomena of life may be maintained and perpetuated. It is therefore to be urgently hoped that teachers, thinkers, and leaders of our age would speedily see that altruism is not a necessity, but a sophism, born of misconception.

I may anticipate here an objection that individualism will annihilate in man all spirit of nobleness. I would retort that even altruists themselves acknowledge that the

genius of civilization is to reduce the frequency of occurrences that call for or necessitate self-sacrifice and other kindred acts of magnanimity in this world. Mankind will be the happier the less the occasions of heroic deeds. It is self-evident, then, that altruism is a hindrance to civilization.

Finally, I declare that altruism in a great majority of cases is a positive hypocrisy. The scope and purpose of this paper did not allow me to treat with any semblance of detail the points already touched upon, and I shall again have to content myself with merely citing an instance or two illustrative of this last remark. Here, for example, is the phenomenon of love. A man can profess love, but he cannot love where there exists no love. A man loves, not because altruism demands it of him, but because the love loves, for love is a psychological force of its own. Professed love may be altruistically correct, but it is hypocrisy. Or take a case of a man's doing a noble act of giving, forgiving, or self-sacrificing. He may do it because he takes pleasure in so doing. That is not altruism. Or he may do it through a momentary force of inner prompting; in that case he does so to avoid or stop a feeling of anguish caused by delusion. Or, again, he may do it as a matter of duty, which implies retribution. Add vanity to this list, and then think if it is possible for man to act against his own willingness unless he is a hypocrite. Indeed, wherever altruism is claimed, there it is only as a mask. Verily progress of altruism can only mean progress of hypocrisy. Even to-day altruism is most loudly professed by hypocrites, for it can only be professed. Thus, altruism is an unhealthy doctrine at best.

But individualism can never be hypocritical. Even for that one reason, mankind should uphold and cultivate individualism. Absolute conversion, or regeneration, and complete equalization are both unconditional impossibilities; while, evolutionally, altruism is a fallacy. Individualism alone is the truth, the law, and the salvation of Man.

MONTREAL, CANADA.

GENERAL WEYLER'S CAMPAIGN.

BY CRITTENDEN MARRIOTT.

Correspondent in Cuba, of the Chicago Record.

THE second Spanish campaign of the war in Cuba has now come to an inglorious end. The rainy season has fairly begun, military operations have been suspended, several thousand troops have been sent back to Spain, and most of the regulars have been withdrawn from the interior towns and concentrated in the coast cities, leaving the local troops to defend their own homes. Military operations cannot be recommenced on any large scale until next October, by which time we may expect important changes in the situation. This, therefore, seems the proper time to review the state of Cuba, and ascertain, as accurately as may be, what Spain has achieved, and what she has still to achieve before reconquering the island.

I arrived in Cuba on January 19th, and left it on April 24th, my visit there covering the entire campaign of General Weyler against the great province of Santa Clara. I went there as a newspaper correspondent, and as such, while not permitted to accompany the Spanish troops, I followed, preceded, or encircled their line of march, keeping a close watch on all their movements. I did not attempt to reach the insurgent armies, but, through a series of circumstances too long to explain, was in close and constant communication with them during the last two months of my stay.

This alleged war has been, in many ways, one of the most singular that the world has ever seen. It is a war without battles; there has not been a real battle in Cuba since the spring of 1896, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding. The thrilling combats narrated with circumstantial detail in certain newspapers simply do not take place.

It is a war where the invading army, in all 260,000 strong, opposing a retreating, bushwhacking, battle-avoiding force of from 12,000 to 40,000 (according to different au-

thorities), yet puts more than two-thirds of its numbers behind stone walls, in forts, trochas, and other forms of defensive fortifications.

It is a war where, for every insurgent killed in fight, two Spaniards are so killed and five die of disease. Worse, it is a war where the chief fury of the attacking party seems to be directed against the non-combatants, and where starvation is a potent weapon relentlessly employed against a vast throng of people who were never hostile, and who are now utterly desolate and vainly pleading for mercy.

Once more, it is a war where the mother country is bleeding at every pore, where her credit is getting worse and worse every day, where her debt is already so enormous that it will exclude her for years from any place amongst the powers of the world, where her armies are unable to bring the foe to give battle; and yet it is also a war where her officers are all amassing riches, stolen partly from the Cubans, but mostly from the coffers of their mother country, and where (most ludicrous of all, but a fitting termination of the farce) her general in command is claiming that he has pacified Cuba, although dozens of skirmishes take place daily, and he knows, and the world knows, that there are more rebels in arms to-day than ever before.

On the other hand are the rebels, who follow the amazing, if effective, policy of hoping to win their freedom without fighting for it; who permit their friends to be butchered without an effort in their defense; whose chief aggressive tactics involve the blowing up of railway trains with dynamite, and the forming of ambushes, in which half-a-dozen Spaniards are killed, followed by a precipitate flight through fear of being brought to close quarters.

Add, that both sides have deliberately set out to destroy the country, the rebels burning or ruining the sugar-cane and tobacco fields, and the Spanish destroying everything else, including the farm buildings and the orchards, and it must be admitted that the situation has rarely been paralleled.

General Weyler started west from Havana on January 19, 1897, with an army alleged to consist of 16,000 men. This he gradually increased to 25,000 from garrisons scattered

along his route. He reached the city of Santa Clara on February 1, and at once issued "concentration" orders for that province similar to those already put into effect in the three western provinces. On February 9th he marched to Placetas, and thence south to Sancti Spiritus, both important towns. Three weeks later he returned to Havana, discouraged by his inability to bring the rebels to bay. On March 8th he received orders from Spain, directing him to enter into negotiations with the rebels. He was kept at Havana for some time by a severe cold, but finally, on March 28th, reached Cienfuegos, whence he sent a commission of three Cubans, leaders in the last war, to negotiate with the rebels. General Gomez refused to receive them, threatening to hang them if they came to his camp. Gen. Weyler thereupon, after marching here and there in the province for two weeks longer, on April 22 declared it pacified.

Meanwhile, General Gomez and President Cisneros crossed the central trocha from Jucaro to Moron in January, and attacked the town of Arroyo Blanco. The garrison resisted gallantly, and on February 3rd were relieved by General Weyler's advance guard. Gomez then detached General Magia Rodriguez to pass General Weyler, get in his rear, and create a diversion in Havana and Mantazas provinces, left partially stripped of troops by the Spanish. This Rodriguez did with great success.

General Gomez himself scorned to retreat. Sending President Cisneros and his cabinet back across the trocha to a place of safety, he established himself within ten miles of Arroyo Blanco, and has remained there ever since. The Spanish have reported three battles with him at almost the same place, and in each have claimed a great victory. It is noticeable, however, that it is the rebels who have held their ground and the Spanish who have retreated. For more than four months previous to the date of this writing (June 1), General Gomez has been within five miles of the field of La Reforma, his position perfectly well known to both friend and foe, keeping up regular communications with the world at large.

The truth of the matter is that there have been no such

battles as the Spanish claim. There have been a few long-range skirmishes, and that is all. The Spaniards, though enormously overnumbering the insurgents, have not cared to come to close quarters with Gomez, and he, as a matter of policy, preferred to harass Weyler by ambushes and skirmishes, rather than risk a battle, which would mean ruin if he were defeated. The Spanish army, therefore, if not beaten, has at least been ineffective. This is due chiefly to its childishness, corruption, and cowardice.

Many newspaper writers have remarked on the youthfulness and apparent stupidity of the regulars. I suppose seventy-five per cent of them are under twenty-one, and ninety-five per cent are under twenty-five. They are mostly plow-boys, freshly caught by the conscription, and shipped across the seas without any training or drill whatever. Spain has kept her older troops at home to protect herself against the Carlists and the Republicans who are supposed to be plotting against the government.

These boys are set down far from home, in a strange land where yellow fever and smallpox prevail by turns the year around. They are treated with the greatest brutality by their officers, robbed by the commissaries, insufficiently clothed and fed, shot down from ambush by enemies whom they cannot see and cannot catch, and are paid irregularly or not at all. Can such soldiers be expected to prove efficient?

I have seen a whole company crying like children because one of their number had received a letter from home, and the rest were homesick. I have seen a major-general in the Spanish army lash a private over his face and head with a whip, because the man did not notice his approach and failed to salute him quickly enough. I have seen half-a-dozen of these soldiers scrambling on the floor of a coffee-house for a few coppers contemptously thrown to them by an American correspondent. Are these the proud soldiers of Spain, the descendants of the foot soldiery that were the terror of Europe a few centuries ago?

The contrast between the officers and the privates is most striking. The former are the handsomest race of men I have ever seen. Not very tall, but well set up, of good figure, with

intelligence in every feature, kindly, courteous, and polite in civil life, no doubt, but cruel in war. The men are heavy, dull, with vacuous faces, badly developed figures, and, though young, are bowed by labor. No one seeing the private and his officer together would imagine that they belonged to the same race. Yet the officer, equally with the man, has his faults, and terrible faults they are. I do not speak of his cruelty, fiendish as it is, for opinions may differ as to that, but of his corruption and his cowardice and his mendacity. From the highest to the lowest the Spanish officers in Cuba are corrupt; corrupt with a deadly, destructive corruption, which strikes at the very heart of their mother country. It is a jest in Havana that General Weyler has made a half-million dollars out of the war. Merchants there have shown me on their books the records of enormous bribes to him and to other generals. Colonels carry on the rolls of their regiments the names of dozens of men killed in battle, claim pay in their names, and will appropriate it when Spain pays the soldiers. Captains and lieutenants make large profits by taking their troops on numbers of unnecessary railway journeys, and sending in false vouchers about them. The commissary department robs the government at home and the soldier in the field, ruining the one and half starving the other. A general officer has been recalled to Spain, charged with having accepted a bribe of $40,000 to change his line of march and avoid a fight with the rebels. Nine-tenths of the rebels' ammunition nowadays is bought, in the original boxes, from Spanish officers. I do not speak from hearsay, but tell what I know.

The officers are cowardly, too, and shrink from active service. The coffee-houses in the cities are crowded with them. On a railroad train fired on by half-a-dozen rebels from alongside the track, I have seen them, clad in full regimentals, grovelling in the dust of the floor underneath the seats to avoid the bullets, while the train, in spite of its large military escort, put on extra steam and ran away. It is only when he gets some poor devil of a pacifico tied to a tree, and at his mercy, that the Spanish officer shows how courageously he can fight for Spain. The murder of non-combatant prisoners is the first article of his creed.

The official reports of operations in the field sent in by the officers are alone enough to convict them of the most outrageous mendacity. When a colonel reports that his regiment was exposed for three days to a murderous fire from continual ambushes, and finally charged up the side of a mountain, and took three successive lines of stubbornly contested intrenchments, killing fifty rebels (who were carried off by their comrades), all with the loss of one man wounded, it needs no expert to tell that he has told a falsehood. Yet this report and others quite as extravagant are repeatedly published.

The worst of it all is that these things are perfectly well known. There is no real concealment about them. They are commonplaces in Havana; they have been repeatedly brought to the attention of the Spanish government by the few honest officers in Cuba; they have been published in the Madrid papers; everybody knows them to be true. Yet Spain's only answer is to prosecute the editors of the Spanish papers that dare to publish them.

To barricade itself behind multitudinous stone walls is certainly a curious way for an attacking army to make war, but it is the way of the Spanish in Cuba. At least two-thirds of all its troops in the island are garrisoned in cities, forts, and trochas, and have never fired a shot except when attacked by the insurgents. For, mark you, the most curious thing about these garrisons is that they never sally forth. Their orders are to defend the fort or the trocha or the defensive house they occupy, and not to defend the town, or bridge, or railway station, which, in other lands, they would be expected to protect. For instance, a town is encircled by a number of these forts, and has one or two squads located in some large building inside of it. If the rebels attack this town, and come within range of the forts or blockhouses, the soldiers will fire on them, but they will never leave their defenses to attack. Two or three times a week, during my stay in Cuba, large towns were entered by squads of insurgents, who pillaged and burned a goodly part of them, and the garrisons, though far greater in numbers than the rebels, never came out of their forts to give battle. The command-

ing officer always telegraphed to some near-by town for some one of the numerous marching columns that happened to be there at that time, and whose business it was to fight in the open. The garrisons of the towns were not expected to do this under any circumstances. I know this, for on two occasions I was present in such towns when attacked.

The favorite time for the rebels to enter a town was about nine or ten o'clock at night, because they knew that no column would make a night march to attack them. Invariably the troops would remain quiet until daylight, thus giving the rebels time enough to loot the town and get away. A Spanish column never makes a night march, never camps out, and seldom continues its pursuit of a rebel band for more than one day.

Thousands of these little forts are scattered all over Cuba. I call them forts for want of a better name, but they are not at all what we think of when we speak of forts. The smallest are about fifteen feet square, two-storied, built of stone, the walls two feet thick, with one narrow doorway elaborately loopholed on both stories, and defended by a garrison of seven men and a sergeant. Others are larger, but the same in plan, and hold twenty men; and a few still larger have fifty. Most of the larger forts, however, are old stone buildings, with their walls reinforced by roughly broken stone piled against them. Usually, around a town, there is a series of these little sentry-box forts, each surrounded by a ditch, and all the ditches connected by one grand encircling ditch.

These forts are very strong, and the rebels cannot take them without artillery, and, as a matter of fact, have taken only two or three since the war began. But what earthly use they are in offensive warfare I am unable to see.

The same is true of the trochas. There are two of these, one in the west, separating Pinar del Rio province from the rest of the island, and the other in the center, cutting the island nearly into halves. The first was very prominent in the campaign of last December, which ended with the "pacification" of that province. It is now of little consequence, and has been practically abandoned, and most of the forces that held it for so long have been drawn off to the central trocha.

These erections consist for the most part of a barricade of stone and barbed wire, backed by a ditch, with a wagon road or railroad running along it. There is a string of the little sentry-box forts at short intervals, with occasional depots where larger garrisons are stationed. At two or three points in the rear are large bodies of field columns, which go in a hurry to any attacked point — always provided that it is daylight. The garrisons of the forts here, like those in other parts of Cuba, are not expected to leave their fortifications under any circumstances, nor are the marching columns required to go out in the night air.

The whole system is curious, and seems very foolish in the circumstances prevailing in Cuba. The rebels never attack a trocha, and, of course, the latter is of no value outside of rifle range. It might be valuable for shattered columns to fall back upon and to reform, but there is little danger of it ever being required for that purpose.

The only way a trocha comes into action in Cuba is through an effort of the rebels to cross it for some military purpose. As a matter of fact they do not care to cross very often, but when they have tried, there has never been a recorded case where they were prevented. Obviously the garrison at any given point is not strong enough to stop any considerable force, and by the time reinforcements can be brought the rebels are over and gone. Moreover, by crossing just after nightfall, the rebels not only get over with less resistance, but are sure of at least ten hours' start before pursuit will be made.

The most recent crossing on record was that of Quintin Bandera, the negro rebel leader, who crossed the central trocha in April with about five hundred men, was killed in doing it, and his force destroyed utterly, according to an official Spanish report. A few days later he met General Weyler's forces and was annihilated again, a celebration was held by the troops over his defeat, and Santa Clara was declared pacified on the strength of it. Still a few days, and he came east through the island, and crossed the other trocha into Pinar del Rio. Is it necessary to say that he was once more beaten and driven back? The last reports from Havana

now say that he has been beaten in Pinar del Rio, himself badly wounded, and his troops scattered. Probably before this is printed he will have been killed — in the official reports — two or three times more.

This account is literally true. The official reports declared that he was defeated, wounded, and dispersed four separate times in three weeks, by columns stationed over three hundred miles apart. All four of the officers who defeated him have probably been promoted and decorated before this.

The trochas are in parts very unhealthy. The western one runs through swamps at the south, and through an unhealthy region in the north. During last summer it used to send some 2,000 to 3,000 soldiers to the hospital every month. The central one is nearly as bad, and may be expected to show as large a death rate during the coming summer. According to the Spanish reports, there were a little over ten thousand deaths from yellow fever last summer, with rather less than one-third of the present number of troops in the field. It is easy to calculate what it will probably be this year.

Possibly the most novel feature of the war in Cuba is the treatment of the non-combatant, or pacifico population. This matter is not properly understood in the United States; indeed, it is doubtful whether our people *can* understand it without personal observation. We think of these pacificos as being such in name only. We imagine them as a sort of Kuklux or White-cap body, who come out to fight and then return home and pretend to be altogether innocent. We imagine, when we hear of "concentrations" in squalid villages, that only women and children have been brought in, and that the men have all gone to fight.

All this is wrong. The pacificos are really pacific. They will not fight. Peace at any price is their motto. They will dare the firing squad in the early morning, or the torture of the African prisons, or the risk of being cut down by the guerillas, — dare anything,— if they are not called upon to kill anyone or to go into actual battle. This they will not do. They will be killed unresistingly with bravery and

composure, but they will not fight. They have less spirit than a cornered rat.

This is not the idea of the average American, who thinks of Spanish-American people as being all alike, and in whose mind Spanish America is a land of stilettos and assassination. The mistake is in confounding Cuba with the mainland, and in missing the important fact that there is in Cuba no admixture of Indian blood to lend fierceness to the nature of the people. The Cuban peasantry are all either negroes or of pure Spanish descent, enfeebled by generations of life in a soft, easy, tropical climate. The whites abhor all strife; the assassin, and even the fighter, is unknown among them: they would favor universal arbitration if they ever heard of it. Naturally enough the Spaniards despise them and tyrannize over them. Their willingness to be slaves makes their masters tyrants. A race that will not fight for its privileges will lose them, and ought to lose them. Spain would never have dared the abuses that brought about this and all previous rebellions, had not the Cubans so invited outrage by their meekness.

Americans sometimes question whether Spain is not right after all, when they see the scores upon scores of great hulking white men loafing about the concentrations, without work, or money, or food, starving themselves, watching their wives and children starve, and yet unwilling to take up arms, although they know that within rifle-shot of their huts they will find brothers-in-arms ready to welcome them. It is not that they fear to fight, but that they feel no impulse to do it. The Anglo-Saxon, treated as they have been, would see all red, and would fight until he dropped against any odds. The Cubans do not even feel angry. Question them and they will tell you their stories without hesitation, but with no note of anger in their voice. Misery, starvation, death,— they undergo them all as a matter of course. One turns in relief to the negroes, who, at least, will fight for their lives.

The truth is, the war was not started by Cubans, but by foreigners — Central and South Americans and naturalized citizens of the United States. The former, soldiers of fortune who had fought in every revolution from Mexico to Pata-

gonia, scented the rich plunder that must fall to their share if they could control the government of Cuba, and hasted to the banquet; the latter, learning for the first time what freedom was, and thereby gifted with imagination,— the first requisite in a battle for an idea,— yearned to free their country from the yoke of Spain. The home people of Cuba, bovine, indolent, unimaginative, took no part in the uprising, take no interest in its progress, and will care little if it fails. Between the rebels and the Spanish they are ground to powder.

The population of the four western provinces, where concentration prevails, is, in round numbers, 1,300,000, of whom one-third are negroes. There are no statistics of rural or urban population, but, for a rough computation, the country dwellers may be placed at about half this number. That gives 650,000 people to whom these concentration orders apply. Supposing 50,000 of these are living under rebel rule (a very liberal estimate), it leaves 600,000 people who have been "concentrated."

These people are herded in small towns, in swampy, unhealthy locations, with narrow streets, shallow surface-wells, no good protection against the fierce tropical rains now beginning, and with no provision whatever for carrying off the sewage. Their hovels, built from the fronds of the palm trees, are crowded to the doors, sick and well together. What this means in a warm, yellow-fever, smallpox country can be readily conceived.

They are all starving. In these days of idleness, even the original city-dwellers are hungry, and the peasants, torn from their homes, robbed of all they possess, skilled in no labor except that of the farm, find themselves utterly destitute. How the majority of them keep soul and body together is a problem I have been unable to solve. They long ago gave over begging, they have no work, they get no rations; how they live at all is incomprehensible.

Now, what has Spain gained by all this misery and bloodshed? What are the prospects for her final success? Concede all that General Weyler claims, and where does she stand? According to her own reports, she has gotten the

Cuban rebels into a position a little better than the one they occupied at the *beginning* of the ten years' war from 1868 to 1878. That war was confined to the two eastern provinces of Puerto Principe and Santiago de Cuba, and never penetrated the west at all. Yet it lasted ten years, and was ended only by a treaty, making promises which were broken before its ink was dry. Even Weyler does not claim to have pacified these two eastern provinces yet, although, according to his interpretation of the term, he might just as well do so.

But, as a matter of fact, the war in the west is not over yet. On the contrary, there are more rebels under arms there than ever before. They avoid battle whenever possible, ambush the Spanish columns at long range, and retreat to the hills on the least effort at pursuit — not a noble form of warfare, but an effective one nevertheless. Whenever the Spanish evacuate a spot, the rebels swarm into it. Pina del Rio, which has been pacified for five months, requires 30,000 troops to keep the rebels bottled up in the hills and prevent their doing mischief. The other two western provinces are as bad. In Santa Clara, the central province, Maximo Gomez is still camped where he has been for months, and his subordinate generals are all around him.

If Spain can keep up her present army and her present operations for ten years longer, she *may* win, otherwise the triumph of the rebellion is certain.

THE AUTHOR OF "THE MESSIAH."

BY B. O. FLOWER.

GEORGE FREDERICK HANDEL, who was born at Halle, on the Saale, in Saxony, February 23, 1685, was one of the greatest pioneer spirits among the creators of modern music. He was born with the soul of a bird; he loved every melodious sound, and his stern and practical father was alarmed to find his son so impractical and visionary as to be charmed by song. He kept him from school for a time lest he should learn something of music, but the child's passion for it seemed a part of his life. His father was baffled in spite of his vigilance, and the boy secured a dumb spinet and taught himself to play.

Almost everyone is familiar with the incident which led to the change in the fortunes of the child. One day, when George was in his eighth year, his father set out to the palace of the Duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, where he was employed. Young Handel ran after him, crying bitterly because he could not go. The father hesitated, his heart was touched. What was it prompted the rather stern man to relent? Did some guardian angel whisper to his spirit? Did a premonition flash upon his soul, giving him a hint of future benefits for his son from this visit, or was it merely the sudden melting of the stern exterior, the assertion of the parental love which the bitter tears of the little boy called forth? We cannot tell. All we know is that the father relented, and that George accompanied him to the ducal palace, where the little fellow made himself quite at home. It is said he won the favor of the court musician, who gave him the privilege of using the chapel organ, a permission which the boy was not slow to accept. The pleasure of making music such as he longed to hear, of giving expression to the pent-up inspiration of his child brain, afforded him the keenest delight. He was lost to the world in a real elysium until he was rudely awakened. His father learned of his

son's presumption with dismay and anger, and the child would have felt the full force of the indignant parent's displeasure had it not been for the duke, who, unknown to the child, had been a delighted listener while the little fellow was engaged at the organ. To the father's amazement, instead of his son's presumption angering and offending the great man, whom he expected would express his displeasure in no uncertain language, the duke patted the frightened child on the head, exclaiming "Bravo!" then, turning to the astonished father, declared that George was a genius whose talent must be encouraged. From that hour fortune smiled on Handel's early career. He possessed a passion for music, loved study, never tired of practising, and had that wonderful capacity for work which is characteristic of the Germans. He came under the tuition of the famous organist of Halle, Zachau, who, though an excellent musician, was soon eclipsed by his gifted pupil. Subsequently he went to Berlin to enjoy special advantages offered in that city.

After the death of his father, in 1697, it became necessary for him to assist his family, which was at that time in poor circumstances. Thus, in 1703, he became one of the musicians at the Hamburg opera house. While there engaged, the young musician was tendered the position of organist of Lübeck on condition that he should marry the daughter of the old organist. Handel went on a tour of inspection, but, presumably after seeing the maiden, he decided that the old gentleman had asked too much. The offer was not accepted, and he returned to Hamburg, where a few weeks later he engaged in a duel with the composer Mattheson, and according to the late Franz Hueffer, author of "Musical Studies," "Had it not been for a large button on Handel's coat, which intercepted his adversary's sword, there would have been no 'Messiah' or 'Israel in Egypt.'"

On arriving at his majority he set out for Italy, the land of history, romance, painting, poetry, and music. In Florence he was warmly received, and while there composed "Roderigo," his first Italian opera. From Florence he went to Venice, arriving at a most auspicious time. The carnival was in progress, and the Mistress of the Adriatic

was decked in holiday attire, and given over largely to pleasure and pastime. Handel captured the city. Even his great rival, Domenico Scarlatti, the foremost Italian harpsichord player of the day, acknowledged the genius of the German. On one occasion at a masked party Handel commenced playing on the harpsichord. The attention of Scarlatti was immediately drawn to the masked musician, and he exclaimed, "That is either the devil or the Saxon." The latter seemed to take this as a rare compliment, and from that night the two were great friends. From Venice Handel proceeded to Rome, where his great genius was fully appreciated, and he was well cared for by his liberal patron, the wealthy Cardinal Ottoboni.

After a sojourn in Naples and short farewell visits to Rome, Florence, and Venice, Handel reached Germany in 1709, where the news of his success in the land of music and art had served to make him popular at home. The elector, George of Brunswick, afterwards king of England, gave him three hundred pounds a year to serve as court musician, and permitted him to visit England. Little did the great musician imagine while tossing on the Channel that his visit to England was destined to change his life's plans; and little did London dream that the wandering musician from a land at that time by no means famed for music, would powerfully impress English thought and culture, or that he would come to be regarded by England as one of their own great master minds. Handel won a great triumph in London. His Italian opera, "Rinaldo," scored an instant success. The music was soon heard throughout England. The publisher of the opera realized a rich harvest. According to one story he received the lion's share of the profits, much to the disappointment and chagrin of the musician, who significantly remarked, "My friend, next time *you* shall *compose* the opera, and *I* will *sell* it."

The Elector George, though gratified to know that his court musician was so popular in London, had no mind to permit him to remain in a foreign land, and Handel was summoned to his post, where he found life intolerably dull. He longed for the applause, the liberal emoluments, and the

larger life of the British metropolis, and at length he incurred the grave displeasure of his patron by fleeing to England, where he took up his residence. London gave him a royal welcome. He became at once the idol of the court and the crowd — the reigning favorite of the town — for the musical factions had not as yet arisen, Handel being regarded as a visitor rather than a fixture in London. Hence for a time whispered criticisms were set down as the offspring of jealousy or ignorance on the part of the presumptuous critic.

At the close of Queen Anne's reign, however, Handel found himself in an embarrassing position. The Elector George, whom he had braved, became king of England, and quickly showed that he had neither forgotten nor forgiven Handel's desertion by forbidding the musician's appearance at his court. This was a real disappointment to the court, for the musician still held his high place in the favor of cultured London. In time, however, the breach was healed, and he who was king by grace of an accident smiled upon him who was king by grace of genius, and London was happy.

It would now seem that a career of uninterrupted success was open before the favorite musician of the age. But, as is so often the case in this strange life of ours, this triumph was the prelude to the real battle. It proved a challenge which was to be taken up rather than a happy incident which should be accepted as conferring the victor's wreath upon the musician's brow. It is true that for some time Handel held undisputed mastery, and during this period, when under the patronage of the Duke of Chandos, he composed the celebrated Chandos anthems, so rich in musical gems. Nothing, however, is so fickle as the public. The king to-day is the felon to-morrow, if the steeds of fate upon which he is riding chance to stumble. Jesus entered Jerusalem escorted by a great multitude who were shouting "Hosanna," strewing his pathway with flowers, and waving palms. A few days later the multitude in the same city became a mob and made day hideous with shouts of "Crucify Him! Crucify Him!" Handel had reëntered London amid the applause of an infatuated people; he had steadily grown in favor; his fame, popularity, and position seemed assured; but in this very

hour of apparent triumph the favor of the fickle public began to wane. Rival factions arose. Scholars, nobles, courtiers, and musicians took sides, and before the great German was aware of it he was engaged in a herculean struggle to maintain a place in popular favor.

Handel was one of the most industrious men of genius of any age. He composed opera after opera. His compositions were improving rather than deteriorating, but the fickle goddess frowned upon him. A rival company produced operas in a brilliant manner at Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre. The popularity of Handel waned rapidly, but the great composer, though perplexed and greatly irritated at the sudden change, would not despair. He knew that his work had never been better. He knew that his untiring labor and fertile genius were sending forth more splendid flowers than those which had called forth the wild applause of this same public a few years before, but he did not know that the public does not like to be held up to their highest. He had set a high standard. He was striving to elevate a popular taste which could only in part appreciate music so far in advance of what it had been accustomed to. The splendor of Handel's genius had dazzled England and stirred the deeper emotions, but it was a difficult task to hold the taste up to this high standard. As the standard of his music became higher, the gulf between the musical genius and the people seemed to broaden.

At length Handel determined to gratify the popular appetite. He pandered to the public taste, but he was too late. The rival house had won the public ear, and though Handel sunk a sum equal to $50,000 in an attempt to win back public favor, though he composed opera after opera with incredible rapidity, though he secured the best talent available to interpret his splendid creations, the public would no longer enthuse over his music. A melancholy fascination broods over this period of Handel's life, when the clouds were darkest over his sky, when the splendid promise of the morning seemed to have fled, when, like a mighty Titan, we see him battling to win back the favor of the nation of his adoption. For a time all seemed to go against him. A

weaker nature would have given up the struggle, but defeat only incited Handel to nobler efforts. He was so profoundly convinced that his work was improving, and that he was on the whole educating the popular taste upward instead of downward, that every failure seemed to nerve him with new strength. In this struggle he reminds me of a fine passage from Epictetus, in which he thus answers the question, "Who then is unconquerable?" "He whom the inevitable cannot overcome. For such a person I imagine every trial, and watch him as an athlete in each. He has been victorious in the first encounter. What will he do in the second? What if he should be exhausted by the heat? What if the field should be Olympia? . . . What if he be tested by fame, by calumny, by death? He is able to overcome them all. If he can bear sunshine and storm, discouragement and fatigue, I pronounce him an athlete unconquered indeed."

Handel fought his battle inch by inch. He poured into his work the rich melodies of his aroused soul. He strove to catch still grander strains which were haunting his mind. He supplemented his operas with oratorios. "Esther," composed years before, was carefully revised, and properly rendered in 1732. It proved a success, and was followed by "Deborah." The Titan was emerging from the struggle a victor, but as yet he knew it not. He had forged a magic weapon, but was slow to realize that it was more potent than the arms with which he had won his maiden victories. Through years of masterful work he had unconsciously led or drawn the popular taste to a higher vantage-ground, but even the German himself for a time failed to realize that in the oratorio he had hit upon the form of music which would express the full measure of his genius. In his operas he had long been compromising with the public demand. Now he branched out, giving his genius full scope and creating work which was destined to place him in the front rank of musical masters.

The early oratorios were successes in many ways, but they failed to bring in the sums of money necessary to meet his expenses and the great outlay incident to their proper pre-

sentation; and though Handel felt a great new hope filling his mind, though his new work afforded him a satisfaction he had never known before, it was not until he had the good judgment to appeal from the court and nobility to the people that his masterpieces were appreciated and great financial success accompanied their enthusiastic reception. That was not until after the brilliant success which marked his memorable trip to Dublin, in 1741, when "The Messiah" was first produced. The production of his oratorios represented his entrance on the last and greatest stage of his creative work, and if for some years they failed to prove so financially successful as their author anticipated, in the end they brought to him far greater popularity than he had known in his earlier days, large funds in money, and an immortality of glory.

During the long dark nighttime in which he seemed to be struggling against fate, Handel's naturally high temper became uncontrollable, at times rendering him absurd and costing him many friends as well as the loss of the services of some of the finest singers of the time. On one occasion Cuzzeni refused to sing as Handel desired, whereupon the great composer seized her, shook her savagely, and while denouncing her in broken English dragged her to the window, declaring he would pitch her out unless she did as he desired. The terrified woman promised to do as he wished, and the rehearsal continued. On another occasion, when a brilliant audience had assembled to witness a grand opera, Handel, who always had the instruments properly tuned before the performance began, entered, whereupon the signal was given, but great was the dismay of the great composer and the musicians at the result. A wag had tampered with every instrument. The effect was indescribable. Handel, wild with rage, entirely forgot himself. He kicked to pieces some of the instruments, he threw the kettledrum at the retreating leader of the band, his wig fell to the floor, but without heeding it he poured forth expressions of rage until the Prince of Wales stepped down to him, and urged him to quiet himself and to proceed with the performance. It is pleasing to know that during the closing years of Han-

del's life his spiritual nature gained such supremacy over him that his once uncontrollable temper gave place to a wonderful serenity and gentleness of spirit.

In 1739 Handel produced the oratorio of "Saul," containing the ever popular Dead March, which, though written in C Major, is one of the saddest and most solemn of the great musician's creations. It splendidly voices the grief of a nation over the loss of a hero. "Saul" was followed by "Israel in Egypt," a wonderful masterpiece, which was not appreciated during its author's life, because so far in advance of public taste. The reception of his grandest works by the rich and noble disappointed Handel, who knew their worth. He now felt convinced that his creations were to live after him. But the success of his earlier oratorios had again awakened the fury of his enemies, and his music was ridiculed by critics who knew little of music in general, and who were wholly incapable of judging anything which transcended the dead level of the Italian operas of that time.

In 1732 Handel was induced to go to Oxford. At first he met with much opposition, and scurrilous criticisms of his works were sent out broadcast. Before his engagement was over, however, he had discomfited his enemies and carried the university city by storm. Then it was that some of the professors tried to get Handel to pay a fee and have the university confer on him the degree of Doctor of Music. The musician was too great a man to either need or desire a degree, and the proposition that he should pay even a small fee that a degree might be conferred upon him who had created immortal music was met with a refusal which, if inelegant, was characteristic and vigorous. "Vat the tevil I trow my money avay for dat vich te blockhead vish? I no vant."

Because Handel had a contempt for the offer of an honorary degree for a consideration, we must not suppose he was uncultured or that he did not enjoy the companionship of the ripest English scholarship of the time. And just here it will be interesting to notice a few names eminent in literature which belong to the London of Handel's time. Alexander

Pope was one of Handel's most steadfast admirers. He was no fair-weather friend, but during the darkest hours of the great musician's life defended his work with as much zeal as he would have exhibited if fighting for his own productions. Pope often referred to Handel as a giant in music at a time when few persons appreciated the colossal genius of the master whose work was destined to shed lustre over the age and land in which he lived and labored. Probably next to the Prince of Wales no person of influence sustained Handel with such unfailing earnestness as did the great poet.

During the stormy period of Handel's career Doctor Samuel Johnson, who once taught David Garrick, might have been seen walking the streets of London with the poet Richard Savage, neither of them posesssing enough money to pay for lodgings. Johnson, however, soon attracted attention by his superior literary work, and his career grew more and more illustrious as he advanced in life, while his condition also prospered as the years passed. In 1747, when Handel was bringing out his immortal oratorio "Judas Maccabæus," Doctor Johnson was entering upon his herculean task of compiling a complete dictionary of the English language. In 1742, one month after Handel had brought out his greatest creation, "The Messiah," before a brilliant and enthusiastic audience in Dublin, David Garrick, the master dramatic spirit of that age, captured London by his wonderful representation of Richard III. Garrick, it will be remembered, ranks as one of the greatest actors of any age. He was also a man of fine tastes and of excellent character, and he did more than anyone else during his day to purify and elevate the English stage. The keen pen of Jonathan Swift made the London of Handel memorable for all time. His "Gulliver's Travels" appeared during the stormy period of the great musician's career. Henry Fielding was another celebrated writer of this period. His "Tom Jones" and "Amelia," despite the coarseness and imperfections which mar them, occupy a permanent place in our literature. During the days of Handel's early triumph in England one of the reigning favorites in the literary world was Joseph Addison, the great master in English composition, whose

fame has in no wise been dimmed by time. An age which produced "The Spectator," edited by Addison, Pope's "Essay on Man" and his "Universal Prayer," "Gulliver's Travels" and "The Tale of a Tub," "Tom Jones" and "Amelia," Johnson's Dictionary and his "Lives of the British Poets," and Handel's "Israel in Egypt," "Saul," and "The Messiah," is justly entitled to a proud position among the glorious epochs of creative activity and intellectual achievement in the history of England.

We now pass to one of the brightest moments in the career of Handel. In 1741 he accepted an invitation from the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to compose some music for a great festival which was being arranged by a society of Dublin musicians for the benefit and relief of the wretched prisoners for debt in that city. Handel threw his whole soul into his work, and when it was completed set out for Ireland. He was received with great enthusiasm, his rooms were thronged with cultivated admirers, the music hall, where he opened a series of performances, was crowded with audiences which sorely tested its capacity. The ancient city was soon in a furore. Crowds were turned away for lack of standing-room. At length the hour arrived for a splendid special benefit in aid of the prisoners for debt. It was a noble object, the principal singers imitating Handel in giving their services gratuitously, and the great musician had reserved for this performance, which was to carry joy into so many darkened and imprisoned lives, the first production of the greatest oratorio which musical genius has yet created — "The Messiah." It early became evident that the hall could not begin to hold those who desired to be present, and the spirit of generosity became for a moment infectious. Handel and his leading singers were to give their services gratuitously, but it did not occur to many of the ladies, who could ill afford to purchase more than one ticket, that they also could aid by making a sacrifice, until some one suggested that one hundred more persons could be accommodated in the hall if the ladies would leave their hoops at home. This was a rather daring proposition, seeing that fashion rules with an iron hand, but it was cordially received

and instantly acted upon, and the strange spectacle was witnessed of fashionable ladies appearing at an élite performance without their hoops. Thus one hundred more persons succeeded in hearing "The Messiah" at this never-to-be-forgotten benefit, who otherwise would have been forced to remain away. Within the hall enthusiasm knew no bounds. It is doubtful whether there had ever been an entertainment in the city which took hold of the public heart so profoundly or appealed so irresistibly to the quickened imagination of those present. One clergyman, who entertained a very poor opinion of public singers, was so carried away by an air sung by Mrs. Cibber that he sprang to his feet, exclaiming, "Woman, for this be all thy sins forgiven thee," an episode which only added to the indescribable enthusiasm of the audience.

This was one of the most splendid moments in the life of Handel. He had been requested to compose music for one of the noblest humanitarian works within his power to aid. He had written from the loftiest summit of human inspiration. He had selected a theme wonderfully appropriate. He gave his services gratuitously, and thus received added satisfaction of soul; and to the rare gladness which came to him as he contemplated the joy and relief which this work was destined to bring to many aching and breaking hearts, was added the satisfaction of a public approval placed upon his capital creation. Perhaps he little dreamed how many poor people in days to come would be blessed by receipts from benefits at which this superb oratorio should be sung. Perhaps he little dreamed how the deepest convictions of millions of persons would be profoundly stirred in the coming years by the transcendent genius, the daring imagination, the wonderful creative power which lifts the auditor far above the dead level of life and for a time holds him in the magic of an invisible spell. But whatever may have been his hopes or fears in connection with "The Messiah," there was little left to be desired in regard to his first reception, and though, on his return to England, London was very slow to show its appreciation, the experience in Dublin had confirmed Handel's belief in its possessing the element of popularity.

It is very probable, also, that this success in Dublin suggested to the composer the wisdom of appealing from the fickle and superficial court and nobility to the music-loving heart of England's masses for a verdict on his work, for after his return to London, where he found the old-time jealousy still present and apparently intensified by his recent triumphs, he determined to appeal to the public to support his efforts. This, however, was not until 1746, after he had been again ruined through the mean prejudice of certain persons of influence, who went to the most absurd lengths to cause the failure of his performances. The people were not slow to set the stamp of public approval on Handel's wise decision, and from thenceforth the great master succeeded financially as well as artistically. He was soon enabled to pay his debts and to live in comfort. In 1747 he produced "Judas Maccabæus," one of his greatest creations. It was composed in thirty days and proved very popular.

It is good to know that after a life of incessant toil, a life so radiant in its early days, so tempest-tossed during its maturer stages, Handel at length emerged again into the sunshine of popularity. His splendid genius was recognized, and his indefatigable labor was crowned with success.

But after victory had been wrung from a fickle and begrudging public, after his noble genius had become acknowledged and his days of financial embarrassment were forever passed, a new blow fell upon him. In 1751, while at work upon "Jephthah," his eyes failed him. As the awful night creeps upon him he feels the importance of improving every moment in which he can see, even though it be as "through a glass darkly." With immense effort, with a heart filled with sadness, and with the terrible consciousness that every sunrise would be dimmer than its predecessor, he painfully traced the last chorus of "Jephthah." It was his last oratorio, and indeed he composed little after its completion.

But in this nighttime of his body a new, soft light stole upon his soul, the spiritual side of his life assumed great proportions, his whole nature seemed transformed and lighted by the splendor of a broad, all-encompassing charity.

To use a beautiful sentiment of Whittier's, "Love trod out the baleful fires of anger, and in its ashes planted the flower of peace." He was lavish with his money when it came to aiding the children of poor musicians, the indigent sons of clergymen, and others whose need appealed to him. The Foundling Hospital was one of the special charities which frequently received large donations from him. He had often expressed an earnest desire to die on Good Friday, and as is frequently the case where an intense wish is persistently held in the mind, his prayer was granted. He passed from view on Good Friday, 1759, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

He had for some time looked forward to his departure with serenity of soul, and perhaps with a positive desire to go, for he had no fear of death. He was at peace with the world, and he could no longer see the splendor of the sun. Notwithstanding his blindness his closing days were in many respects the richest and fairest he had ever known. Loving all men, and loved and honored by all, he quietly passed beyond the veil, leaving a world marvellously enriched by his genius.

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT ANDREWS.

DEAR SIR:

The American people have learned with regret that your manly and patriotic course in espousing the cause of bimetallism has been made the occasion, if not the cause, of your resignation from the presidency of Brown University. We learn that instead of being applauded and encouraged by the Regents of that institution, over which you have presided with such signal ability and success for so long a time, you have by them been pressed to the wall. This act of blindness and infatuation on their part, whether springing from a mere difference of belief between the majority of the body and yourself, or whether originating in the hope of gaining financial assistance from some personage whose opinions they must flatter before he gives, is a fit subject for comment and criticism. Aye, more; it is an act well calculated to excite the contempt of the public. It is an act that should kindle the indignation of every thoughtful, liberal-minded citizen of the United States.

As for yourself, President Andrews, you have for a long time stood in the forefront of American educators. You have represented Brown University in the most able and acceptable manner. You have made the institution to be well and honorably known where before it was scarcely known at all. You have carried the fame of Brown beyond the Alleghanies, and have disseminated the generous influence of the University in the great valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Your voice has been heard on many public questions, and it has always been the voice of a patriot counselling for good.

Your recent course in defending the old bimetallic monetary system of the United States as against the new gold-based system of monometallism has been the most laudable of all your policies. You have never hitherto had aught to say on any public question which has gone so far and produced so salutary an effect on the opinion of your countrymen. Your countrymen know you to be an honest and

able man. A great majority of your countrymen are bimetallists in heart and purpose; but they have been defeated of their purpose by the intrigue, skill, and powerful momentum of concentrated wealth, whose interest it is to gather up and consume the entire resources of the American people without an equivalent. You know as well as we know what monometallism is, and what it means. You know as well as we know what bimetallism is, and what it means. Bimetallism is the use of *two* primary money-metal units instead of *one*, without prejudice to either. Bimetallism is the use of both silver and gold as primary money at an established ratio. Bimetallism is the right of free coinage for both metals on terms of perfect equality. Bimetallism is the right of the people to transact their business, and in particular to pay their debts, in the one money metal or the other money metal just as they may choose. Bimetallism is the right of the *debtor* to discharge his obligations according to the law and the contract by the measure of a gold unit or a silver unit just as he will, according to the plentifulness of the one or the other statutory coin.

This right is *not* the creditor's right, but the debtor's right. It is a right which he enjoys under the law and the contract; for the law has always recognized our money in both kinds, and every public contract in the United States, and every private contract (unless specifically payable otherwise), is based on a monetary unit defined by the word *coin*. This coin is either silver or gold, according to the choice and convenience of the debtor. No man is wronged or can be wronged by the exercise of the debtor's right to pay in gold *or* silver, for every contract in existence has been made with a full knowledge of the existence of this right, and of the purpose of the debtor to claim it at the date of settlement. Whoever, therefore, attempts to take away the right of alternative payment in either coin and to confine payment to one coin only, is an abettor of a fraud, which, when carried into effect, becomes a crime. For these reasons bimetallism is a correct theory and an honest policy. Monometallism is a false theory and a dishonest policy.

These truths your own luminous and powerful mind has

declared with perfect clearness to the people. Your action has always been modest and in keeping with the character of your office as President of Brown University. You have been a President in deed and in truth. The American people hold you in honor; and the puny act of the Regents of Brown University will have no effect upon the public judgment except to confirm it in your favor.

While we regret that some harm seems to have been done to you and your fortunes, we regard this harm as one of those transitory hardships by which men are developed into higher, nobler, and more useful lives. The American people are not going to let you fall or fail. Their strong arm is lifted in your defence. Their voice is heard like a murmur arising from the far horizon; it is as the sound of many waters — waters that will overwhelm with oblivion the bigotry and mercenary sentiments and proscriptive purpose of those who have tried to strangle you with a cord.

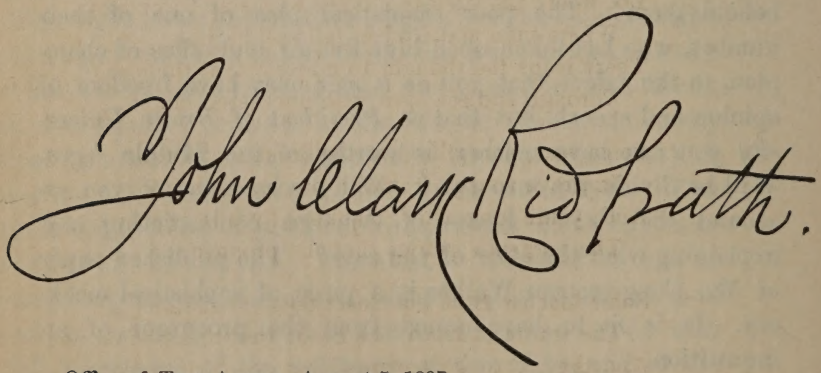
The Regents of Brown University find themselves already at the bar of public opinion. They are haled to that august tribunal by a power that is over us all. There they stand; behold them! The poor casuistical plea of one of their number, who has taken upon him the air and office of champion, to the effect that you *as a man* may have freedom of opinion and speech, but that as *President of Brown University* you can have neither, is worthy of the Middle Ages. Will he divide you into two? Will he have *one* of you go around the United States of America contradicting and explaining what the *other* of you says? The published paper of Mr. Congressman Walker is a piece of sophistical mockery. It is fit to have issued from the procureur of an inquisition.

President Andrews, be of good cheer. Let the Regents of Brown University go to their own place. Put yourself without reserve upon the confidence and support of the public. We think you have in you heroic material — the stuff out of which prophets and bards and martyrs are made. Keep a brave heart; this policy put in force against you will react upon those who invented it, and upon the interests which they foolishly hope to promote by the sacrifice of you. Do

the Regents of Brown University think that they can make an institution of learning out of gold? Let them try it. Their scheme will come to naught.

The battle is on in this country between the Man and the Dollar. It is a fight to a finish. You are one of the champions of the Man. Brown University seems to be wedded to the Dollar. This episode will redound to your honor and fame. Do not dwell upon it as a personal affair calculated to do you harm, or by reaction to do you good; but look at it from the higher point of view. Civilization has chosen you as one of the individual atoms which she wishes to hurt and grind a little for her own purposes. That is the way History does when she wishes to honor a man. She hurts him, and sets him free. You have been hurt with a glorious wound; but it heals already. Now are you a free man. Let the people hear your voice. Follow your own leadership in doing your duty; and that done, the benignant future will not forget the name of E. Benjamin Andrews.

Yours in the cause of truth,



Office of THE ARENA, August 5, 1897.

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

THE ONMARCH.

BY FREEMAN E. MILLER.

Lo, progress is no swift release from error,
No sudden sun that banishes the night;
Through weary cycles, Man, the burden-bearer,
Gropes in the dark and struggles toward the light.

'Tis not in death-throes where the battle rages,
And nations heap the winrows of their slain,
That Progress leaps across the darkened ages,
And truth frees all the bondmen of the plain.

And from the fields where armies meet despoiling,
No love-born carols hush the cries of wrong;
But through the yearning years with anguish toiling
Man makes himself the instrument of song.

Lo, where the tireless thinker works and wonders,
Where man and God in fellowship unite,
There leaps the thought to majesty that thunders
Through endless ages with unceasing might.

Some seer, enraptured at the dreams of duty,
In grave speech frames a precept or a law;
And, years long after, mankind lives in beauty
The gorgeous glories that the prophet saw.

Some teacher from his closet tells the nations
The words of truth, the deeds that men should do;
And they, through sorrows and deep tribulations,
Toil fiercely on to prove his lessons true.

Man's mind is greater than his brawn or bullet;
His thought far vaster than his labor stands:
Men's hopes are higher than the world, and rule it;
Their hearts are stronger than their helpless hands.

Development, unwearied, outward courses
Through deepest darkness with resistless tides;

Brain-throbs and heart-beats are the deathless forces
That lead us, lift us, where the day abides.

Still up and onward, up and forward, surges
The toiling race near-drawing to the goal,
While truth with whips of angel-anger urges
The craven one to prove a master soul.

Quote not the Past! Its regal courts were rabble,
A puny herd of worse than worthless things;
The world moves upward through their beastly babble;
The tireless toilers are the only kings!

Yes, man himself, the fruit of long endeavor,
Grows from the smallness of his ancient youth,
And shall, at last perfected, stand forever
An angel shaped and fashioned to the truth!

THE TOIL OF EMPIRE.

BY JOHN VANCE CHENEY.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;
* * * * * * *
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

The suns go over; of a truth,
Full soon the circuit will be run;
But the long toil of empire done,
Shall gray Time bear, and shame her youth?

The reek and din of press and car,
Serfdom of distance, sky-fire, steam —
Are these more than the early dream,
The joyance of the morning star?

The faith, the wisdom winged with fire,
The open days when visions were!
Shall noblest sons be born of her
That mocks the prophet and his lyre?

From morn to night, from night to morn,
Full soon the circuit will be run;
But the long toil of empire done,
What joy unknown to God's first-born?

THE DAY LOVE CAME.

BY THEODOSIA PICKERING.

I opened wide the chambers of my heart,
I set aside all that was good and best,—
All I had loved before I put apart,
To make a royal dwelling for my guest,
The day Love came.

I purified the soul and heart of me
Till they were clear as some wood-hidden lake,
I loosened the old dreams and set them free
With ever-willing hand, for his dear sake,
The day Love came.

Of the old self there was not left a part,
But sudden glory flooded soul and brain,
And the vast, empty chambers of the heart
Filled with such ecstacy 'twas almost pain,
The day Love came.

THE QUESTION.

BY JULIA NEELY–FINCH.

What must a woman do?
Wait!
And weep, and haply pray,
Until — too late —
The gods lay at her feet
Their laggard gifts.
She must not sue
For love,
E'en though his shadow drifts
Within her reaching hand.
She must not say
"Come hither, Sweet!"
And go to meet
Him, flying fleet
Across the land.
But she must wait
And weep, and look above,

For if love come,
And she be dumb,
Love then will hie him far away —
And leave her heart to ache
And break!

What must a man do?
Work!
From dawn of day till set of sun,
At what he can,
And not at what he would;
Force fate to give
So that he live;
And then —
He must away and leave undone
That which is scarce begun.
He must conserve
His vital force,
Nor lightly swerve
From duty's course
Through fear of men.
Look to the spirit's good,
For that shall be
When time is not;
A spark of immortality
From Primal Source
Begot.

TRIOLET.

BY CURTIS HIDDEN PAGE.

Wouldst thou know to be a poet?
Deeply feel, but lightly utter!
Ever toil, but let none know it,
Wouldst thou know to be a poet.
Bleeds thy heart? Thou must not show it,
Hardly let men guess a flutter;
Wouldst thou know to be a poet,
Deeply feel, but lightly utter.

THE CRY OF THE POOR.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

THE air is burdened with the half-smothered cry of the poor. Their lines have gone out to the end of the earth; there is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. From every land and nation, from every clime and kindred, there comes up, as if from the abyss, what Lord Byron, in one of the powerful passages of *Childe Harold*, describes as

A long, low, distant murmur of dread sound.

In an old Oriental classic something is said to the effect that the poor we have always with us. This day is that saying fulfilled in the presence of us all. The poor we have with us; and we are ourselves the poor. It is our own cry, then, that we hear echoing around the gulfs and coasts of the world. So be it. But let us reason together a little about this awful condition of poverty among mankind.

We say mankind, because the disease of poverty is universal. The world is smitten with it as with an epidemic. The Eastern races are nearly all in a state bordering on pauperism. Ever and anon they pass the line and perish by thousands and millions. Whoever will put his ear to the earth may hear the moan of the dying. Oh, it is pitiful! The great regions of Asia are strown with the decaying carcasses of the wretched beings that have died before their day from sheer want of the means of living longer. Beggary and semi-starvation are the estate of more than four hundred millions of Asiatics — a number six times as great as the entire population of the United States. The teeming islands of the sea, beautiful and fertile, are little more than pauper sepulchres that have swallowed up emaciated humanity until the very earth is a cake of man-mold, rimy and poisonous. Strange to remark that there is less starvation in Africa than in either Asia or Europe. Stranger still, that the portent of pauperism is already on the horizon of America. Unless the baneful

forces that are now rampant in our civilization can be reversed, our land also will become — aye, it is becoming — a receptacle for millions of famished dead.

The onfall of general poverty in the United States was not to have been anticipated. No such thing was apprehended by the strong forefathers who laid the foundations of our estate. We had here at the first a clean landscape and an open opportunity. Ours was a virgin world, as our ancestors saw it, rising dewy and sunlit from the waters. They found it and entered it, and made a covenant that it should be the home of freedom — and if of freedom, then the home also of abundance and hope forever. For poverty is the concomitant shadow of slavery — the premonition of it in every age and nation.

Boundless were the resources of glebe and valley, of field and hillside, of lake and forest, when our mighty pioneers began to build us into colony and state and nation. Nothing more bountiful ever offered itself to the cheerful hopes and ennobling ambitions of men than was revealed to the sober, industrious, and frugal people who came here out of smothered Europe and began, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to occupy this glorious and prophetic land. It was the new Atlantis. Population came on like a sunrise. Intelligence abounded. Just before the Revolution there was not a native adult in all New England who could not read and write. We got on well. Poverty was unknown. Like patriot Titans we shook ourselves out of the Old-World condition and began an auspicious career of peace and plenty. We abandoned the past. We abolished primogeniture. We sent entail into the limbo by the moon. We mocked at *Dei gratia* as an absurd delusion of antiquity. We declared three inalienable rights of man; namely, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We ought to have added the free possession of land.

Under such auspices why should poverty have ever supervened in the United States? Why should the voice of the poor ever be heard rising like a wail from plantation, hamlet, and cityful? Why should there be seen standing at the door of the homes of the American people the gaunt spectre — WANT?

Poverty in the United States has come not suddenly, but by stages. At the close of the first quarter of the century it had scarcely appeared at all. When the venerable Lafayette was in Boston in 1825 he made a speech from the balcony of an old house, still standing, at the corner of Park and Beacon Streets. Looking round over the well-ordered multitude of free men who blocked all the open spaces, the honored guest said, "Where are your poor?" He repeated it: "Where are your poor? In this assembly I see them not. Why have *they* not come also?" Some one said, "We are all here, rich and poor together." Lafayette replied: "No; the poor are not here. They are not *anywhere* in America! They are in Europe." And that makes the difference between an assembly of free men in 1825 and an assembly of inchoate paupers in 1897.

Down to the middle of this century the condition of equality, of common happiness, of free industrial pursuits, of fairly equal distribution of wealth, with plethora for none and poverty for none, still prevailed in our country. Men now in middle life can well recall that happy and free condition of ambitious citizenship which existed in all parts of the United States as late as the outbreak of the Civil War. The cry of the poor was nowhere heard. Even in the great valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi and around the far-stretching frontier of civilization, no wail of distress from want came up to vex the soul of philanthropy. The humble homes of the common people abounded with the essentials of human happiness. One must needs have seen in his boyhood, as the writer saw and is now contemplating with tearful remembrance, the plenty of the old-fashioned country homes, around which young fathers cleared new fields, and young mothers, the angels of the wilderness — God bless their memory! — rocked the cradles in which fat boy babies, with the spirit of the gods upon them, slept or crowed as the swelling ripple of life flowed through their healthy souls.

It was only after our great struggle, after our day of battle and devastation, after the sad estrangement of the South and North, after the chasm had opened with dreadful animosity to close with indivisible reunion, that the condition

of poverty in the United States appeared. Indeed, it was not in the *first* period after the war that this condition came. It is within the easy memory of men that a full decade — nearly two decades — passed after the day of peace before the coming of the day of poverty.

Nothing is more manifest than that this condition — this return of the old European and Asiatic fate to our American shores — was *the result of some untoward and fatal break in the remedial methods by which we set about to restore ourselves after the Civil War.* Had there been nothing abnormal, nothing criminal in these methods, we should have got well again. After the storm the calm would have supervened. Our wounds would have healed. The grass would have grown green over the hallowed graves of our Union and Confederate dead. After the wreckage and turmoil, the elements would have subsided, and the people would have been more free, more cheerful and hopeful in their subsequent abundance than in their preceding plenty.

It was the destruction of natural conditions that sent our woe upon us. It was the malevolent genius of man at work among the then silent forces of our forward movement that, in the seventies and eighties, brought about the conditions which we are now obliged to face. There were men — a large group of men — who were then alert while the nation was asleep. They began to intrigue before the smoke of battle had cleared away. They got hold of the industrial, economic, and financial forces of this reviving nation and deliberately turned them from the course of nature and justice to the course of injustice and iniquity. They purchased the war-debt of the United States and cunningly converted it into an instrument with which to torment the people by paralyzing their power to pay. They invented a method by which to make *impossible* the payment of that debt. They transformed it into a fangèd *desmodont.* They tampered with the contract existing between themselves and the nation. They made a fraudulent law in their own interest. They inserted a false counter into the money system of the United States, by which, when the people paid, they paid nothing; by which, when they paid one-half, the other half

was greater than the whole; by which, when the robbers had extorted more than five thousand million dollars from the hard earnings of the people and had stored the treasure in their own vaults, the maw of the debt-beast was more insatiable than ever!

Not satisfied with its store, the ogre wealth then began to organize and to concentrate its forces. It contrived one scheme after another by which to possess itself of more — *more*. Producing nothing itself, it devised methods by which to absorb the producing energies of the whole people. It scrupled not to lay far-reaching and dangerous schemes, the cords of which were gradually tightened, until after more than a decade the sense of suffocation began to arouse the people to the fact that an incubus had settled upon them — that a vampire was draining the blood and breath of our national life.

Well-known is the nature of the various enterprises which have been hatched in the last quarter of a century in the heavy but fertile brain of consolidated wealth. To say that when wealth accumulates men decay is only to repeat an aphorism good since the days of Goldsmith, and now unhappily verified in the United States. The reason is that the excessive accumulation of wealth is always effected from sources and resources other than its own. In proportion as the resources produced by labor are taken away and given to those who labor not, to that extent the laborer is discouraged and rendered hopeless. To that extent his arm is paralyzed and his heart darkened. To that extent his producing power is smitten with palsy, and the soul of him begins to sink. He loses the spirit of the free man and recedes towards the hovel. Instead of supporting free schools, he pays rent and interest to his masters. With that, poverty falls on him like a blight, and the outcome is either the enslavement or the open rebellion of the masses.

This state, so unexpected and so portentous, has come to pass in the United States. The great mass of the American people are slipping back from their vantage, like jaded beasts toiling on the apron of a treadmill — slipping back into lower and still lower industrial, economic, and political conditions.

As they are borne back and down by the pressure that is upon them and even by their own inert weight, they moan and sigh. That is their only sign; and I say it is the most pitiful wail of human history! Whoever has the heart of humanity in him will hear as he goes about from city to country seat, from office to village, from field to distant station, the half-smothered cry of the poor. — Let us note for a moment in what manner the appeal of them who are in want, or who are bordering on want, is received by the upper powers of society.

Whenever the dolorous condition of poverty begins to be pointed out by the friends of humanity, the enemies of humanity pick up the complaint and say three things in answer. First, they say that it is a lie; second, that it was always so; and third, that the good God loves his poor children and will take care of them! In this attitude towards the poor stands the high-up and powerful world to-day; and in this attitude stands in particular the parvenu American aristocracy.

When confronted with the poverty of the masses, our aristocracy, our gilded clan, declares, in the first place, that we have no poor in the United States. In the second place, it declares that the poor have always been, and always will be. And, in the third place, it declares that the good God, whose servants we are, whose churches we build, and whose priests and preachers we feed, will take care of his poor children — the meaning being that we are not responsible for it, that the estate of poverty is natural, and that the cry of the poor is only a false murmur of discontent. — Let us look at this casuistical answer of wealth to the complaint of philanthropy.

In the first place, they say that there are no poor. They say this for the reason that the poor may be avoided and not seen. The millionaire may build his house so that the unpleasing aspect of poverty may not shadow the halls or be seen through the shutters. The walls are thick and the windows are high, and the spiked-bronze fence around is sufficient for the abatis of a fort. Within such a keep the cry of the poor will not be heard. He who lives there may say

that there are no poor — since *he* does not hear them. And if the philanthropist, working his way by some kindly stratagem along the corridors, manages to meet the baron of the castle and asks him if he does not hear the cry of the down-trodden millions, he only answers that there are no poor in this country. "Everybody," says he, "is well and happy in this glorious land. I read only this morning in the Metropolitan *Hypocrite* that the happy laborers are all at work again, and that living was never before so good and easy! You are an anarchist arraying the poor against the rich. There are no poor in this country; and you ought to be arrested for stirring up a strife among the classes!"

At the next castle the baron says, "Why do you try to alter the laws of nature and Providence? The good book has said, 'The poor you have always with you.' There was never a time in the world's history when there were not poor people, and there will never be a time when they are not. Poverty is a natural condition. It cannot be avoided. He who fights against it is a fool. When men are poor it signifies only that they are not able or not fit to have more. If they had more, they would abuse the gift and waste it. We are the providential guardians of the wealth of the world; we keep it and distribute it so that it may be a blessing. We ourselves never abuse or waste it — never!"

The baron of the third castle says that God is good — meaning that we who love Him so much and obey Him so well are all doing our best to alleviate the griefs and hardships of the poor. Especially are we who have and control the wealth of the world using it in such a manner as to mitigate as far as possible the hard conditions of poverty. We build poorhouses and asylums; we organize charities; we preach for the poor and pray for them; we build great churches — into which they never come — and organize gigantic pawnshops — which they never enter. We spend great sums of money and consume our revenues in trying to lift up the abject masses; and when our efforts are not crowned with success we sorrow not as those who have no hope, but invent some new method of appeasing the dreadful condition which we admit, but are powerless to reform.

Of one thing, however, we are sure, and that is that we have good hearts and consciences, and we are doing as much as we can to make better the sad condition of mankind. For this reason we resent your interference and reproaches. By reproaching us you disturb the existing order, and being a disturber of the existing order you are yourself an enemy of peace and progress. We are the friends of the existing order. The existing order includes the system of wage-industry. It includes the tenement system of residence (or burial) for the poor. It includes the conversion of the mass of mankind into a concrete on which the structure of civilization is reared. It includes the government of the many by the few. It includes the domination of consolidated wealth over society. It includes the possession and control of the resources of nations and peoples by a few hundreds or thousands of men, of which we are conspicuous examples. It includes the stock exchange, the trade combination, the syndicate, and the trust. It includes every scheme which the quickened faculties of men have been able to devise for perpetuating, in a revised form, the horrid slaveries of the past. And yet, says plutocracy, if you should disturb this existing order you would upset the civilization of the world, and you shall not do it! We have prepared for you, and are still preparing. We know you of old. You are a believer in democracy. You think and teach that one man is as good as another. You think and teach that wealth ought to be so generally distributed that all may have a share in the blessings and comforts of plenty. You think and teach that poverty itself ought to be abolished. You think and teach that instead of alleviating the condition of the poor, that condition ought to be destroyed. You think and teach the great absurdity that there ought to be no poor; that men should go forth free, and have families, and feed them, and educate them, and bring them up to free citizenship in a great Republic of equal rights for all.

We meet you, say the millionaires, on this ground. We believe in none of the things which you advocate. We will accept none of them. We intend that the masses shall remain the masses. We intend that they shall not rise to free-

dom and spontaneity. We intend to keep them as they are — the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. We intend that they shall live under such conditions of ignorance and dirtiness and depravity as shall make their emergence impossible. We intend to hold them back, and to hold you back. For this purpose we have fixed the powers of society and arrayed them against you and your agitation. We intend whenever you stir to blow you into eternity! We have our arsenals ready. We have taken our millionaire sons and organized them into regiments, and have instructed the capitalistic press to indoctrinate them into the true principles of solid government. We have packed our arsenals full of arms and munitions of war. Not one bayonet, not one bullet, not one belt, not one grain of powder in them all is intended or ever was intended for a foreign foe. It is intended for *you*. Whenever the people begin to stir and to accept your pernicious doctrines of equal rights, we shall let down our drawbridges and plant our batteries at the corners of the squares. We will vomit death upon you in great floods until we have taught you that freedom is a delusion, and democracy a sham. Therefore go your way and teach no more the doctrine of equal rights for all. Or, if you teach at all, teach in a mild and soothing manner so as to disturb not at all the existing order. Let us alone, for God is good, and we are his servants. We will help Him take care of His poor children; and we will manage, meanwhile, to continue the consumption of the products of labor in those generous recreations, exercises, and humanities that are the peculiar functions of the rich and noble. We will build our palaces, and increase our livery, and illuminate our ball rooms, and provide our yachts with delicacies and rich wines, and sail away on visitation to the capitals of those good old stable states where wealth is properly honored, and where the poor know their places. — Such is the selfish plea of the American plutocracy.

Hard is it, O my countrymen, to battle against the imperial powers of consolidated wealth. Hard is it to face the condition which has already supervened in the United States. Such is the alluring splendor of wealth, and such is the rough exterior of free democracy, that many are seduced by the

former, and many are in dread of the latter. Fortunes are made, and those who wallow in them forget that their estate might be by disaster or convulsion brought down to the level of that of the under man. They adopt the motto, "After us, the deluge." And if this were all, there were less cause for fear in contemplating the destinies of humanity; but the disease of wealth-lust has disseminated itself like a poison, and the infection of it is felt as far as the borders of society. The virus is in the veins of thousands and millions. It is perceived that the rich are strong and free, that they have not only houses and equipages and tables burdened with flowers; but that they also have preëminence in all things else. Therefore, we too must be like them! Therefore, we too must by *some* means get away from our fellow men, cease to share their hardships, cease to hear their cry, and join the glittering cavalcade of the triumphant plutocracy.

This disease of wealth-lust must be met with an antidote; else we shall all likewise perish. Whoever strives to amend the existing order is obliged to combat not only the organized enemy in his front, but these sad human weaknesses around him and behind. I repeat, it is a hard battle, and whoever enters it must leave home and kindred behind, and offer himself freely for the good of mankind, for the attempted reform of a perverse condition in the civilized life. But let us do this freely and without fear. Let us perform our part in the great contest that is on. Let us who retain our sympathies with democracy, and believe in it, contend fearlessly for the faith that was delivered to our fathers.

As for the rest, we may be sure that the enemy will hear nothing that is in the nature of reason and truth and conscience; but nevertheless the enemy *shall* hear! Sooner or later the power of consolidated wealth will be humbled and restrained. Sooner or later those ambitious and selfish intriguers against the rights of humanity, against the equality and brotherhood of all men and all women before the law, will be brought to moderation and humility.

O ye money lords of the United States! O thou parvenu, pig-headed aristocracy! O ye men of unbounded wealth and license; ye men who reap where ye have not sown, and

gather where ye have not strewn; ye men who have arrogated to yourselves the right of establishing a despotism over American society; ye men who have banded together to destroy the great Republic and to rebuild on its ruins the abandoned, owl-haunted fabric of the past; ye men who are the foes of human liberty, who do not believe in the democracy of man, who trample down truth and crush the aspirations and hopes of seventy millions of people under your gilded Juggernaut; ye men whom nothing will satisfy but to gather up the total earnings of your countrymen and consume them in the attempted gratification of your insatiable greed and luxury; ye men whom preachers preach to and teachers teach to and lawyers plead for and orators flatter and journalists glorify; ye men who have purchased the organized powers of society, and who use them as the dumb pawns of the gambler's board, who think you can buy the world and convert it one-half into a slave-market and the other half into a park; ye men who own all the railways and all the bonds and all the sugar and all the petroleum and most of the cotton and all the whiskey (heaven save us!) of the United States; ye men whose intolerable pride overtops that of the feudal lords, and whose unmitigated selfishness devours the lives of others as the Roman gluttons devoured humming birds and snails; ye men who fear neither the proclamation of truth nor the appeal of innocence in torment; ye millionaires and multi-millionaires and billionaires about-to-be, whose spoliation of the human race goes on unchecked, and whose arrogance already grins defiance out of the iron-bound windows of your arsenals, — STOP! Stop now! The time has come for you to pause and listen! The low murmur which you hear in the distance, so sad and far, is the cry of the poor. They who cry are your fellow beings. They are as good as you are. They have as much right to the blessedness of life as you have. They have brothers and sister and children — as you have a few. They have hearts — as some of you have. They are patient and true — as you are not! They are not arrogant and envious; they are humble and sincere. If there be a God, they are his loved ones. And now by the goodness of heaven, you SHALL hear their cry!

We serve upon you a modest and generous notice to hear that cry. You shall do it. The nation will make you do it. You are not the lords of the world. You are not the proprietors of Nature. You are simply men, as are the rest your brothers. Your brothers will do you no harm; but you shall hear their cry. You shall not be liars and say that there are no poor. You shall not be casuists and say that it was always so and always will be; for civilization will either abolish poverty or be abolished by it! You shall not be hypocrites and say that God will take care of those whom you have robbed of their labor and their hope — as though he were *your* confederate! Hear ye, hear ye, the cry of the poor, and answer that cry with justice and compassion! Otherwise the future will come down on you like night, and your children's children, visited with a fate worse than that which you now inflict on the children of the poor, will damn you for your sin and folly.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

A Knotty Problem.

THE hard thing about evolution is that it must account for everything. If the good has been evolved, why, then, so has been the bad. Whatever is must come under the one common law. *All* of the aspects of nature and of life must be explained and justified as well as *some;* but to attempt to justify all revolts us. It would seem that our ethical nature is satisfied to accept evolutionary results and the law by which they come so long as they harmonize with our moral sense. But if any of the results do not harmonize, if they jar and offend, we reject them and seek some other law. For this reason we divide all things natural and spiritual into two classes, following the one and spurning the other. We note with pleasure the unfolding of the beautiful parts of nature and of life, but shrink from the unfolding of the ugly and the unclean.

This discriminating sense which we bear in virtue of our nature must itself be a result of evolution — or else there is no evolution at all. That is, one evolutionary result turns upon another result of the same law and cries out in deadly antagonism against it. Acting under the force within we try to amend conditions without, accepting some and rejecting others. The ethical result of evolution *in* man makes war on the moral results of the evolution *outside* of him. Aye more; the war goes on within as well as without. One half of the man-house rises against the other half, and the rebellion is often successful to the extent of putting down the government.

How can these things be? Why should there be such contradiction and battle in the soul and substance of things? Why should one half of nature and of life be in insurrection against the other half? If one law be over all, why should the results of it be heterogenous and irreconcilable? It is impossible for us to agree that everything is good. It is absurd to aver that everything is beautiful and true. What,

therefore, can evolution signify in the production of the abhorrent and the vile — at the same time producing in us a sense to be revolted with evil and uncleanness? There must be some meaning or none to this deep-down paradox of the universe.

We cannot believe that there is no meaning at all in nature and in life. If it were clearly seen that the evolution of the good goes on more easily, more naturally, more successfully than does the evolution of the evil, we might conclude that the bad is simply subservient to the good until what time it may be extinguished. But it does actually appear that the law is rather the other way. It seems to be the order of the universe that good has to be promoted, while evil takes care of itself. The good must be barricaded with all manner of militant care, and stimulated with every fertilizing expedient in order that it may grow or even survive. But the bad flourishes without barricade or care, and even against the enmity and skill of the better parts of intelligent nature.

That philosopher who can tell us why the American Beauty requires to be produced with so much artifice and culture, while the burdock flourishes in sardonic triumph and sheer spite of the elements would be a philosopher indeed. He who can tell why rags and tatters and dirt and misery and crime prevail without assistance, while flowers — both natural and artificial — and beauty and cleanness and art and perfection of life have to be promoted with the immeasurable expenditure of physical power and nerve virtue, would be the Socrates of the century; and we are not sure that his fame would not outlast the fame of the other. And we are not sure that, should he come, society would not have the hemlock ready; for the teaching of truth and the distillation of the hemlock still go together as in the ancient days. It may be that the bowl and the decoction and the hand of Crito are not so plainly seen, but the potion is just as fatal as that which was drunk by the son of Sophroniscus, sitting on the edge of his couch.

It may be that the explanation of the universal paradox is that nature is not a moral fact. Man is a moral fact, but not the natural world. The spiritual evolution has thus brought

forth a sense in man that runs counter to the material machine. This is a possible thing. On the whole we must allow that the principle of morality does not exist, or at least does not display itself, in the material world, but only in the the soul of man. Ethics is in *us*, and nowhere else. Our view of nature, therefore, discovers a fact which is seemingly the product of the swirl and swish of fate — a fact that is neither moral or immoral, but merely neutral and indifferent. This fact offends the inner sense, and war breaks out the moment that man peers forth and discovers what is around him. This implies that evolution has not gone on *pari passu* in the material and in the spiritual world. The rectifying advantage of evil is still necessary in nature, but no longer necessary in the soul. Thus the spirit of man, observing the vicissitudes of the brutal battle going on in material nature, complains that it is immoral, and seeks to rectify a condition that can only rectify itself by warring and wasting and devouring until the unfit parts are consumed and obliterated. But it is a knotty question.

A Case of Prevision.

One of my friends, Professor L———, is a man of science. He has both the nature and the attainments of a true scientific man. He has in his specialty a reputation that is more than national. His literary fame, also, is climbing to the fore. The remarkable case of prevision which I shall here record, my friend gave me in a personal narrative when we were alone this summer at the Warsaw Lakes. Since then, in order to make assurance doubly sure, I have asked him to write out for me with the care of a man of science, the exact facts in the case narrated. The following communication is his response. The case I conceive to be one of the most remarkable, as it is clearly one of the most authentic, instances of prevision on record.

N———, July 26, 1897.

My dear Dr. Ridpath:

In accordance with your request, I submit herewith an authentic account of the case of prevision related to you during our

outing at Eagle Lake. You will remember that the paper of the French astronomer, Camille Flammarion, on "Prevision of the Future," published in the March ARENA was the occasion of our conversation and of the following statement.

Thursday, October 10, 1895. When I reached home Mrs. L——— informed me that our son, eleven years of age, had said to her, on his return from school, "Professor F——— [our school principal] came into our room this afternoon and told the children that a lady had lost a gold locket in N——— [our village], and that if any of us should find it, we should bring it to him. He said that we should tell our parents that the locket was a square gold locket set with diamonds."

On returning from business the *next* afternoon, Mrs. L——— informed me that walking along H——— Avenue she had found the locket that the lady had lost, and that it was exactly as Mr. F——— had described it. It was a square gold locket set with a row of diamonds across the face, a valuable jewel. "Seal it in an envelope and send it to-morrow to Mr. F——— by the child," I said, and dismissed the subject.

On my return the *next* afternoon, Mrs. L——— informed me that the boy had brought the locket home again, with the following statement: "I carried the envelope to Mr. F——— and told him that Mamma had found the locket. He looked at me and said, 'What locket?' 'The locket the lady lost, and which you told us children about day before yesterday.'" "My boy," said Mr. F———, "I know nothing about any lost locket." "But, Mr. F———, you came into our room and told us children that a lady had lost a gold locket in the village, and that if any of us found it, we should bring it to you." "No; this is the first I have heard of any lost locket; take it home," was the reply of the principal.

Troubled very much, the boy insisted [to his mother] that Mr. F——— had come into the room, spoken to the children, described the locket as a square gold locket set with diamonds, and asked that it be brought to him in case any of the children or their parents should find it. But neither the children in the school, the teacher, nor the principal had heard anything about the occurrence! To the present day, however, the boy is firm in his impressions that Mr. F——— came to the room and told about the locket.

Somewhat perplexed I advertised in the *T*——— *S*———

of C———, that a piece of jewelry had been found by us, and the very *next* day the lady who had dropped it [a friend of a neighbor of ours] called and described the lost locket. It was a jewel much valued in her family.

Now comes the strangest part of the record: the locket had been lost by the lady *only half an hour previous to its discovery by Mrs. L*———. It was both lost and found about twenty-four hours *after* the child had described the locket to his mother who found it!

The case seemed so extraordinary that I recorded the facts as now given. I told a few friends about the occurrence, but for reasons that need not be discussed have given the matter, until now, no further publicity.

J. U. L.

Concerning Eternity.

I have noticed of late a peculiar repugnance to eternity. The sentiment shows itself in a half-expressed wish that eternity should not exist. Not a few are disposed to say that eternity is *too long* — that the thought of it may well make us shudder. And this is said, I believe, with little respect to the prospective immortality of the soul; albeit, one can not logically object to eternity if the abstract notion of it be considered apart from our personal concern therein. For if *we* are not to live forever, why should we trouble ourselves that *something else* shall still continue forever without us?

As a matter of fact, eternity exists, and it can neither be abolished nor obviated; it can neither be modified nor abridged. Eternity is the only fact which, if abrogated, would continue as before! Here is an infinite paradox: If God should destroy eternity it would be there still! If He himself should perish out of the universe, eternity would remain unchanged and unchangeable; all this for the reason that only *things* can be abolished, and eternity is not a thing. Even if God should be *not*, eternity would still *be!* We may admit that the thought is appalling.

But why should anyone dread eternity? It would appear that the human mind is changing its point of observation. To some it is beginning to seem undesirable that *anything* should continue forever. Many minds waver: sometimes eternal

duration seems desirable; at other times it seems undesirable. Very difficult it is for the human spirit to free itself from the trammels of environment and to look at such a question undisturbed by the torments of time and sense.

Looked at historically, eternity has seemed most desirable to mankind. It has been so because eternity has appeared to our hopes as the continent of immortality. The idea that the Universal Thing shall end as a light that is extinguished has, therefore, revolted the human race as much as any other concept. Literature is flecked all the way from the *Vedas* to the "Principles of Biology" with broken expressions of hope that at least something may continue forever. Very rarely in the literary excursion over the fields of the past do we find even a hint of a desire that all things should cease, and be not.

It is the turning from this mood to another mood, in which eternal duration is considered as a doubtful boon, or as something to be dreaded rather than desired, that marks the thought of the present age with the peculiar accent favoring the universal extinction of whatever is, as the final and perfect good. It is, no doubt, a symptom of the oncoming old age of the Western races. It is a hint of that Oriental Nirvana which the Buddhists find as the final rest of souls.

This change of mood in our age seems to me to be the result of a social state that has supervened in the world, and not to be a primary and normal evolution of thought. It would appear that the overstrain of humanity has produced an overestimate of the blessedness of surcease and sleep. Civilization has taken its living component parts and subjected them to so much torture that they have come to shudder at the thought that it may continue forever. Therefore, saith the sufferer, it were better that consciousness be ended, and if *that* should be obliterated, then why should *anything* continue afterwards? Even eternity without inhabitants would be a mere inane and hollow gulf — an infinite cave of vacuous silence.

What, therefore, is suicide but the logical conclusion of a syllogism, the major premise of which is the intolerable rigor of the civilized life, and the minor premise of which is the

torment of the individual soul. The trouble with the suicide is his failure to reflect how horribly he is defeating himself by trying to employ death as a stopper! He foolishly imagines that he can trammel up eternity by abolishing himself. It is as though a man should try to prevent the return of the vernal equinox by burning down his cabin.

But I was only intending to note the fact that in our age there is a certain shudder in many minds at the thought of eternal duration. Several times I have heard noted men, not overdone with calamity, but rather in flourishing estate, express the wish that neither eternity nor the thought of it had any existence, but rather that cessation and nonentity might supervene at last as the happiest finale to the chaos which we call nature and the meteor which we call life.

A. L.

Our man of destiny was greater than
  The princely warrior Beowulf, who smote
  The scaly Grendel in the breast and throat,
Or the brave Siegfried, champion of man,
Who slew the Sea-hag — as a hero can —
  Or Godfrey battling in his iron coat
  With Infidels at Salem's bloody moat,
Or Karl, or Cæsar, or small Corsican!

O Lincoln! son of poverty and doubt,
  Born in one age of blindness, come again
    With patriot soul and patient martyrdom!
Be our protagonist and lead us out
  From sordid gold-lust and the noisome fen
    Of apathy to freedom's highlands — come!

BOOK REVIEWS.

[*In this Department of* THE ARENA *no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.*]

Some Prehistoric History.[1]

THE formal reports issued by bodies learned and unlearned rarely rise to the level of literature. The greater part of such works are barren of interest. They are a sort of intellectual museums in which facts are labelled and classified, but out of which no living entity of thought arises. They are in the intellectual world what Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones was to the seer until what time the spirit breathed upon them; then they became alive — at least in the prophet's trance.

Sometimes, however, a report transcends the dead-line, and issues as a living thing into the world. This is true in the case of the "Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," made by the Honorable Director, J. W. Powell, to Professor S. P. Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. In fact, many of the reports which have come from this source have been worthy of the highest praise not only as repositories of fact, but also as interpretations of dead fact into living literature.

The Bureau of Ethnology, as a department of investigation and culture connected with the Smithsonian Institution, exists under an act of Congress, authorizing the prosecution of ethnological researches among the American Indians, and under this general authorization two kinds of publications are issued, namely, annual reports and occasional bulletins. In January of 1895 an act was passed to print and distribute as public documents such manuscripts of the Bureau as might be thought to merit the distinction. In 1877 the "Contributions to North American Ethnology" began to be issued, and this series has extended already to Volume IX.

The Fifteenth annual report from the Bureau has just been distributed to libraries and other proper correspondents. The work is an illustrated volume of 366 pages, including table of contents, indexes, etc. Prefixed to the body of the work is an administrative report of 121 pages by Director Powell. The par-

[1] "Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," made to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1893-94. By J. W. Powell, Director. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897. One volume, illustrated, imperial 8vo, pp. 366.

ticular subject investigated in the volume is the character and distribution of stone implements in the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater Province, the investigation being the work of William Henry Holmes.

It is to this body of the report that I wish to call attention. Mr. Holmes has performed his work in a manner to merit great praise. His production should find its way not only into libraries and other literary preserves of public character, but also into the private libraries of all such people as have risen to the level of understanding the importance of the prehistoric conditions of our continent.

The region of country explored by Mr. Holmes he calls "The Province of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater." His map, facing page 14 of the report, presents a well-drawn sketch of the region referred to. The outside border line, or western boundary, of the province included in Mr. Holmes's investigations begins at New York City and extends in a southwesterly direction to Trenton, New Jersey; thence to Philadelphia and Wilmington; thence to Port Deposit, on the Susquehanna; thence to Baltimore and Washington; thence in the same general direction to Fredericksburg; thence almost due south to Richmond and Petersburg; and thence to Weldon, on the Roanoke River. The water-divides in this region are marked by Mr. Holmes in his map with dotted lines, which enable the reader to trace the several sections of the region investigated.

In a general way, the purpose of the author in entering upon his investigations was to find out the social, domestic, economic, and political history of the Paleolithic Man as he was in archæological times. In prosecuting this work, Mr. Holmes has described the results of his operations for a full twelvemonth in the region referred to. His work covers exploration proper, archæological events, descriptive ethnologies, sociological facts, pictograph and sign language, linguistics, mythology, psychology, bibliography, etc. In the details of the investigation we find described the character of the implements of the Old Stone age. Very little Neolithic work is presented, though there is some, as shown in the plates facing pages 84, 86, 89, 91, 94, 114, and perhaps a few others.

The process of quarrying and manufacturing implements in the Old Stone age is described and illustrated with much patience and ability. The location of many quarries has been discovered, and the features of the manufactories accurately traced out. The

implement shops of the old Potomac region are, in particular, full of interest and curiosity. It appears that the sites of the shops were determined by the Paleolithic man with considerable skill; they were depots of supply and distribution. Copious sections of the work are devoted to the characteristics and manufacture of flaked-stone implements. These Mr. Holmes finds to have been of quartz, quartzite, rhyolite, flint, jasper, argillite, etc. Sometimes the investigation is conducted by the comparative method; as, for example, where the making of blades is compared in manner with the manufacture of celts and pecked implements. Much interest I note in the case of incised, or cut-stone, utensils. The materials here employed were, for the most part, mica and steatite.

Man has been defined very well as the "tool-using animal." It is true that the real point of differential departure of the Paleolithic man from his savage progenitors or congeners was in the adaptation or conversion of the club into an implement. The anthropopithecoids have considerable skill in clubbing. They take a stick and with it beat down cocoanuts. They are capable of throwing one thing at another thing; but none have ever been observed to adapt an implement to any end or use not visible at the time of preparation. This the Paleolithic man did. He had sense enough to adapt an implement to a use which was not yet present to any of his faculties — except his imagination.

The prehistoric races of the Potomac-Chesapeake region had this capacity. There are evidences in some of the quarries of higher development than in others. In some places we find beginnings of pottery. Traces of such art are discoverable in the quarries of the Patuxent Valley, and in general in those regions where the clay formation seemed to provoke the genius of the primitive man. The investigation covers the distribution of materials and the relation of the natural supply to the implements produced. In a few places the evolution extended as far as the transportation of the materials of manufacture from one place to another.

Besides the explorations of Mr. Holmes and the account which he gives of them, we have in this volume brochures of great value on the Siouan Indians by W. J. McGee and James Owen Dorsey, the first of whom considers the Siouan stock as to its extent, nomenclature, language, mythology, habitat, tribal history, etc.; while the latter discusses the general features of Siouan organization, making his study from the Dakota nations

and the Assiniboins. An interesting paper is also added by Jesse Walter Fewkes on the "Tusayan Katcinas," in which he treats of the ceremonials of this branch of our prehistoric races, giving particular attention to the Katcina dances in Cibola. To this is added a special treatise by Cosmos Mindeleff on the "Repair of Casa Grande Ruin, in Arizona." The ruins are well described as they appeared in 1891. Plans for the repairs are suggested, with specifications for the preservation of as much as remains of one of the most interesting relics of prehistoric American civilization.

In illustration of this really important volume no fewer than one hundred and twenty-five plates are inserted, the greater part of which are from photographs and original drawings. They cover the whole prehistoric life of the Potomac-Chesapeake country, and in the afterparts of the volume, the life of the Siouan races. There are also forty-eight smaller engravings and views illustrative of the subject-matter of the text. The beautiful coloration in which the Paleolithic man and our aborigines were so skillful is happily illustrated in a few fine plates prepared especially for this volume. I refer in particular to plate CIV, showing "Shield with Star Symbol," "Shield with Unknown Symbol," and "Symbolic Sun Shield"; also to plate CVII, showing a "Doll of Calako Mana"; also to plate CVIII, a "Katcina Mask with Squash Blossom Appendage and Rain Cloud Symbolism"; also to plate CIX, a "Doll of Calako Taka"; also to plates CX and CXI, showing "Head dress of Alosaka" and "The Powamu Mask." All these illustrations are done in the original colors, are carefully artistic, and highly interesting.

The work now doing in our American Bureau of Ethnology is worthy of praise from the scientific point of view, and much of it is gladly welcomed as permanent contribution to our literature. Of this kind we cordially endorse the Fifteenth Annual Report as a conspicuous example.

THE ARENA FOR OCTOBER.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND PATRONS:

We appeal to all who are concerned in the people's cause to aid in its promotion. Friends of reform and freedom, you see THE ARENA battling for you: give us your assistance. It requires money as well as time and labor to carry forward the good work. You who are concerned in promoting the people's interest should aid in circulating this champion of truth and right. If you are earnest in your desires for our success, assist us by subscribing and by getting your friends to subscribe for THE ARENA.

We suffer at the hands of those who afflict you. They withhold their support and mock at the words reform and progress. They support those only that battle for special privilege and for the substitution of a plutocracy for the free Republic. We contend for honest government and for justice to all. Should we fail to prosecute this work, should we cease to cry out in defence of the under man, you would say that we also have yielded to the powers of concentrated wealth. Should failure come, let it come from the enemies of mankind, from the foes of progress and freedom, but not from the indifference of those who are at heart in sympathy with the oppressed, but whose only fault is apathy.

Strengthen us, and thereby strengthen yourselves, by doing all that is in your power to increase the circulation of THE ARENA among the people. By this means we shall promote their education and hasten the coming of the better day —

"When man to man the world o'er
Shall brithers be and a' that."

The Arena and the American Institute of Civics.

The purchase by THE ARENA of the *American Magazine of Civics* and the transfer to this office of the subscription lists and other assets of that magazine, seemed to promise well for all concerned. We have endeavored to fulfil our part of the agreement made with the President of the American Institute of Civics, and expect to complete our obligations to the subscribers of the Magazine which was the organ of that body. THE ARENA is not and has not been the organ of the American Institute, and no such thing has been contemplated. But we have attempted to furnish the Institute with a suitable vehicle for the transmission of its intelligence to its membership. It was, therefore, a matter of surprise to receive from the President of the American Institute, under date of July 12th, 1897, the following communication:

THE ARENA CO.
Copley Square, Boston, Mass.

Dear Sirs: It is evident that any arrangements for the future of a mutually helpful character, such as those proposed between the American Institute of Civics and THE ARENA magazine, are out of the question.

The Institute, while seeking to promote a thorough study of controversial questions, is not partisan. THE ARENA is looked upon as an advocate of special economic and social theories. This may explain matters. For example, while the Institute has sought to promote an intelligent understanding of both sides of the free-silver question, it has espoused neither side, while THE ARENA is regarded as a special advocate of free silver. The same is true of other questions. It would seem that very few of the Institute members, who have been receiving the *Magazine of Civics*, are in sympathy with THE ARENA in its leaning toward free silver and its attitude upon some other questions.

Under the circumstances you will doubtless agree with us that it is not wise to make any further attempt to establish coöperative relations between the Institute and THE ARENA. We are convinced that any such attempt on our part will be useless, and we therefore release you from the agreement to publish a special

page devoted to the Institute's announcements, and ask that you will discontinue the publication of that page. We will forward to you, in a few days, the names of Institute members who have expressed a desire to receive THE ARENA, with check to cover amounts payable on their account.

It was our expectation, perhaps unwarranted, that THE ARENA under its new ownership would treat controversial questions in the same impartial manner in which they were treated in the *Magazine of Civics* and are treated in the *North American Review* and *Forum*. If you are of the opinion that your interests will be best served by not doing this, we cannot say that you are mistaken, nor are we disposed to find fault with your decision. We have simply to accept the result, whatever our regrets.

On behalf of the Institute,

Very truly yours,

H. R. WAITE, *President*.

To this communication the Editor replied as follows:

DEAR DOCTOR WAITE:

THE ARENA for August has gone to press carrying your article under the head of "The Civic Outlook." I think you will be pleased with it, though it does not include quite all of the material which we have in hand from you.

Your communication addressed to the Company has been sent to the proprietor, and you will, no doubt, hear from him in good time.

How anyone who is in favor of good government through good citizenship can reasonably object to THE ARENA is a thing which I am at a loss to understand. Good government through good citizenship is precisely what we are driving at; and the strange thing about it is that we mean what we say. If there be any class of people, or any combinations or organizations of men that pretend to be in favor of good government through good citizenship, and do not mean it, why then, to be sure, THE ARENA has nothing in common with them — and never will have until the present Editor be thrown by some unsuspected catapult over the moon.

The fact is, my dear Doctor, that we have come to the parting of the ways. They who believe in the preservation of free institutions; they who believe in the rights of man; they who believe in democratic government and in the preservation of that government for the people forever; they who believe in the people as a fact, but do *not* believe in plutocratic domination, with the consequent destruction of all that has been most dear to us in this Republic, — must go one way; and they who believe that the Government of the United States, the great Republic, with our seventy millions of people, are no more than the tools and instruments of a money despotism, more tyrannical and desperate than any political power now prevalent in Europe, — must go the other way.

We have come to the division of the road; but it is rather sad that they who *ought* to be engaged in a common cause are divided on a question of such vital importance as the preservation of the Republic from the intolerable greed and anti-democratic powers that now control it, and have controlled it for the last fifteen years. I assure you, Doctor Waite, that the grip of these powers on the throat of this Republic is going to be broken; and if THE ARENA can help to break it, why then, here we are.

Yours truly,

JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

BOSTON, July 16, 1897.

In addition to the above correspondence, the Editor of THE ARENA referred the matter at issue to the proprietor, and had from him the following answer:

DR. RIDPATH:

I bought from Henry Randall Waite, President of the American Institute of Civics, the *American Magazine of Civics* (the official organ of said Institute), to save it from getting into the hands of those who might have perverted the work and purpose its title implies. The agreement of sale specifies that I shall devote space in THE ARENA to the "Civic Outlook" and announcements. President Waite's letter will explain itself to THE ARENA readers. Your reply should convince President Waite that THE ARENA is with the citizen for good government.

JOHN MCINTYRE.

The above correspondence and explanation are offered to the members of the American Institute of Civics and the general public as the reason for the discontinuance of relations with that body, not by our own act, but by that of the President of the American Institute.

Hon. Charles A. Towne.

Our readers will be delighted with the perusal of another powerful article, to

appear in the number for October, from the pen of the fearless and talented free-silver Republican leader, Hon. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota. He handles his theme with the mastery of style and cogency of reason for which he is justly considered one of the ablest, as he is one of the most popular of our statesmen.

Concentration of Wealth, by Taubeneck.

In THE ARENA for October, Herman E. Taubeneck will complete his great argument on the Concentration of Wealth, the first section of which appears in the current number.

Judge Walter Clark.

Justice Walter Clark is known as one of the foremost champions of the people's cause. His arguments and policies are always based on a true political philosophy. His article on "The Rights of the Public over Quasi-Public Services" in the October number will be welcomed as one of his finest contributions.

Mary Parmelee on Jefferson.

In THE ARENA for October will appear a very able and instructive article by Mary Platt Parmelee on "Thomas Jefferson and his Political Philosophy." The contribution is timely, for it brings forcibly to mind the true Jeffersonian theory of Society and State.

Article by the Editor, on Prosperity.

In the number for October, the Editor of THE ARENA will present his views on "Prosperity, Real and Fictitious." In it he will show that the vociferation of the money power, crying prosperity, prosperity, when there is none, does not and cannot make prosperity, for the reason that prosperity begins in the capillaries of society, that is, among the producing industries.

A Symposium on Labor.

Three articles by working men, discussing the labor question from the workingman's point of view, will appear as a symposium in the number for October. "How the Workingman Feels" will be the theme of Herbert M. Ramp, of Springfield, Missouri; "Up or Down" is the title of the contribution by W. Edwards of Cleveland, Ohio; and "The Farm Hand: an Unknown Quantity," will be discussed by W. E. Kearns of Topeka, Kansas.

Mr. Flower's Contribution.

The article by Mr. B. O. Flower in the number for October will be "The Latest Social Vision." It is one of the distinguished reformer's very best. Whatever Mr. Flower writes will be received by the members of THE ARENA family with the greatest favor and respect. His messages are always welcome.

The Dead Hand in the Church.

Under this caption a powerful article will appear in THE ARENA for October. The author is the Reverend Clarence Lathbury, of Elmwood, Mass.

Suicide: Is it Worth While?

Under this suggestive query, Charles B. Newcomb of Boston will present our readers in the October number of THE ARENA with a discussion which if not wholly new is wholly appropriate to the mood and method of this age.

Besides the above sterling and well-selected array of articles befitting the spirit of the times, THE ARENA for October will contain the "Plaza of the Poets," with contributions by Ironquill of Kansas, Junius L. Hempstead, Clinton Scollard, Rubie Carpenter, Helena Maynard Richardson; also "The Editor's Evening," with a full quota of interesting brevities; also Book Reviews, announcements, etc. Our friends may look forward to the number for October with confidence that the ARENA banner will be still full high advanced.

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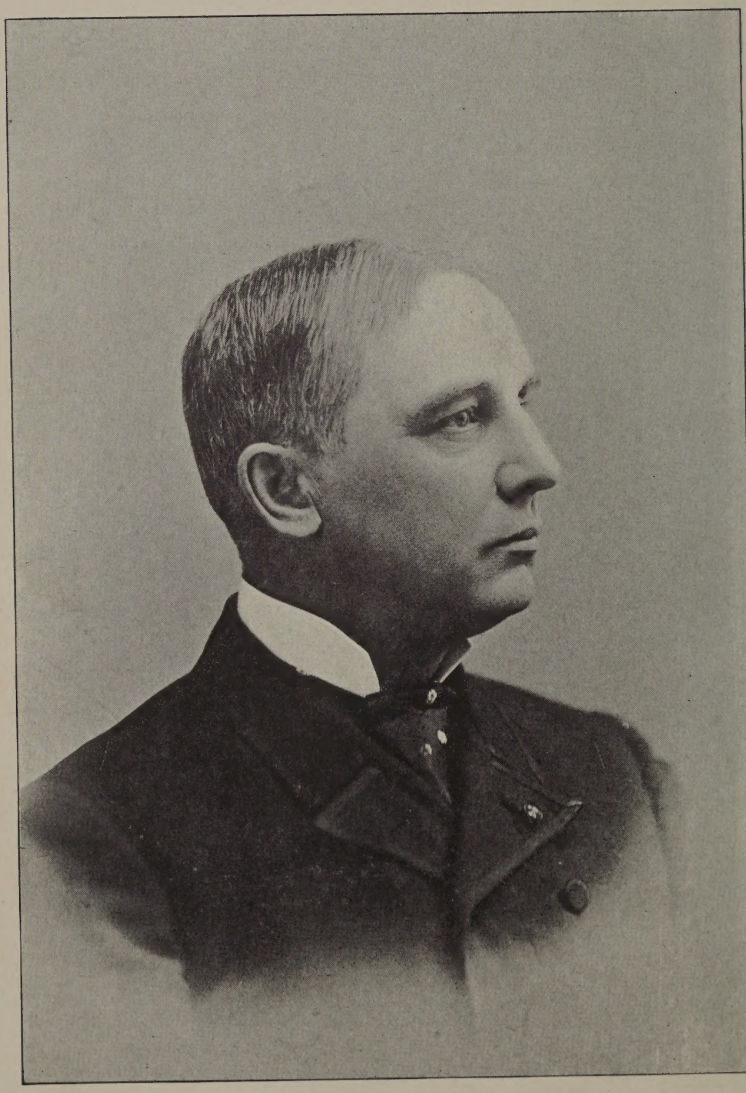

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS,

EX-PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

(See the article on "The New Ostracism" by Hon. Charles A. Towne, pp. 440–451.)

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THE ARENA.

VOL. XVIII. OCTOBER, 1897. No. 95.

THE NEW OSTRACISM.

BY HON. CHARLES A. TOWNE.

> This is true liberty: when freeborn men,
> Having to advise the public, may speak free;
> * * * * * *
> What can be juster in a state than this? — *Euripides.*

THESE lines, better known from Milton's use of them as a motto to "Areopagitica" than from their original employment by the great Greek dramatist, may well serve as an introduction to an article designed to call attention to some particulars wherein liberty of speech, which includes liberty of instruction, and is the surest pledge, as it was the culminating achievement, of free institutions, is shown to have been partially lost already and, unless present tendencies are withstood, to be doomed to early extinction in the United States. Not, indeed, that thus far the laws have specifically limited the right to the expression of opinion, although lately the courts have in some instances used the writ of injunction as a substitute for unobtainable repressive legislation; nor that in the realms of religious, philosophical, and even political discussion, so long as the latter deals with pure abstractions, a man may not still "speak free" his honest thoughts, either by word of mouth, if he can find listeners, or in print, if he can find readers; — but that, in the domain of economic inquiry, as to questions of a nature to be submitted to political determination, especially if of present or imminent pendency, the expression of opinion is no longer free in fact.

Custom and usage are stronger than statutes and guarantees. Conditions may nullify law. A legislature, for exam-

ple, may undertake to assure absolute freedom of contract to every citizen, but circumstances may nevertheless compel millions to subscribe to terms dictated by scores. So also may the theory of a state and the letter of its laws guarantee absolute liberty of action to every voter in the casting of his ballot, yet all the while the control of that high function of his supposed sovereignty be as completely distinct from his own will as though he had signed it away by power of attorney. Thus it is wholly possible that a people should preserve all the outward forms and verbal warranties of liberty while drifting under the worst abuses of practical despotism. These come through usages instigated by powerful and selfish interests in the community and deriving their sanction from a permissive public opinion. In the United States to-day we need to be every whit as watchful respecting the growth of customs (with their accompanying justifying sentiments) whereof the natural operation is to limit the freedom appropriate to our institutions, as in regard to attempts at fundamental changes in our organic and statutory laws. The latter can rarely be accomplished in secret, and may be usually left to the fortunes of inevitable examination and debate. But the former, mysterious in origin, silent in action, and subtle in effect, elude common observation, are not easily exposed, and may long defy reformation. It can be regarded as nothing short of a marvellously happy circumstance if, when some especially dangerous and insidious purpose is afoot, there shall occur so startling and flagrant an example of what is aimed at as to shock the patriotic conscience of the country and, before "damnèd custom" has quite deadened it, arouse it to activity.

Two such occurrences have recently drawn the attention of the people of the United States to the danger that menaces their liberties through the control of the great educational forces of the country by influences distinctly hostile to the general good: the dismissal of Prof. Edward W. Bemis, from the faculty of the University of Chicago, about two years ago; and the recent enforced resignation of Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews from the Presidency of Brown University. The former circumstance caused much comment at the

time, but lacked somewhat the conclusive and exemplary character of the latter, because the dismissing powers undertook some kind of explanation in the Bemis case that left the real occasion of their action slightly and formally in issue; while in the Andrews case the motive is avowed with perfect and astounding candor.

Everybody is familiar with the history of the University of Chicago. Though depending practically upon the liberality of one man, no other institution of learning has ever been so prodigally endowed. Its founder and chief patron, evidently determined that his memory should "outlive his life" more than "half a year," was not content to depend alone on Hamlet's recipe and "build churches," although he had already acted upon it quite extensively. He seems to have feared that, if he relied on churches only, his posthumous reputation for benevolence might possibly suffer somewhat from his connection with the organization and development of the most gigantic, unrighteous, and oppressive monopoly in all the modern enginery of predatory commercialism. The taint of Standard Oil might prove stronger than the odor of sanctity exhaled from a few modest and unassertive churches. His case required something more than the ordinary tribute with which contemptuous wickedness, when it lies down to die, tries to mitigate the severity of the common judgment which it has all its life despised and outraged. What so apposite to his need as a great university, lavishly supplied with buildings, appliances, faculties, libraries, money; aggressive, demonstrative, devoted to his ideas, and eternally redolent of himself? The very thing!

Only a few millions of dollars were required, and these were easily to be procured. A fraction of a cent per gallon added to the price of illuminating oil would soon make good the expense. Talk of the philosopher's stone: it would have been but a sorry device compared to this new alchemy which converts necessity into gold, robbery into charity, and objurgation into eulogy. To levy unwilling subsidy from whole commonwealths and sanctify the action by devoting a portion of the avails to chapel-building; to seize by mingled force and fraud a vast range of iron-hills and appurtenant railways,

with the usufruct of tributary cities, and stifle the resentment of humanity by taking the humanities into partnership in the business: these are conceptions beyond the audacity of all preceding centuries and whose realization would have rendered infamous any age but ours.

In the University of Chicago Prof. Edward W. Bemis held a position as an instructor or associate professor in the department of sociology. His duties comprised both class work inside the university proper, and, under the auspices of the institution, lectures in University Extension courses outside. He is a man of exceptional acquirements in his specialty, as may be seen from the following statement by the well-known authority Prof. John B. Clark:

> Doctor Bemis has unusual qualifications for giving instructions in sociology in an institution where this branch of science is to be taught in a scientific way. His range of learning is very extensive and his training in economics has been very thorough. He has clear insight and sound judgment. His views are conservatively progressive, and he seems to be a safe guide for students.

He was a careful investigator of the problems of municipal government, and had largely studied such subjects as street-railways, gas manufacture, police management, etc., and had written much and with authority thereon. In the somewhat broader field also of monopolies in general, and labor questions, including strikes, boycotts, and lock-outs, he was a painstaking and indefatigable inquirer. On all these matters his deliverances were characterized by perfect candor and moderation, though it was plain that he was free from the common fault of bias in favor of the powerful interests of society, and that he possessed a sincere sympathy with those whose condition places them at a disadvantage in many of the struggles of life, though not blind to their shortcomings. He construed his liberty as a teacher in a broad spirit, and did not hesitate to state a fact he learned or an opinion he entertained. If, for example, he found that gas could be profitably made and furnished at a fraction of what the citizens of Chicago were paying for it, he had no reluctance to say so. If he ascertained that the municipal ownership and operation of gas-works had been successfully undertaken in

some cities, and thought that the experiment justified its extension to other places, he so stated. If, in passing, he felt called upon to characterize the conduct of persons engaged in any of the enterprises under his investigation, he did not fail to employ language clearly expressing his sentiments. If, when examining the history of a railroad strike, he found what seemed to him to be signs of dereliction on the part of the company, or anything in respect to which he thought some concession due to the men or their claims, he was in the habit, contrary to the prevalent custom in such cases, of making plain mention of the fact.

It is, therefore, not strange that dissatisfaction soon made itself evident upon the part of those who, either personally or as a class, constituted the main financial reliance of the University. Men could not, of course, be expected to contribute liberally to the furnishment and support of an institution whose spokesmen were permitted to cast suspicion upon the motives, or to question the righteousness of the acts, of those whose money paid their salaries. It was, accordingly, the most natural thing in the world that, in 1893, the president of the Chicago Gas Trust refused a desired financial favor to the University because Mr. Bemis was on its faculty.

Another illustrative instance is afforded by the effect produced by certain of Mr. Bemis's utterances wherein he betrayed a suspicion that there are sometimes two sides to a labor dispute. On Sunday, July 15, 1894, he delivered in the First Presbyterian Church in Chicago an address on "Some Lessons of the Strike," referring to the great railroad strike of that year. He condemned the strikers for their excesses and, among other things, said:

> Unless, however, we who are not wage-earners in the narrower sense, purify our modes of nominating or electing or appointing officials and legislative bodies, and unless we stimulate among the general public a sympathetic and intelligent interest in the elevation of the masses, we must not wonder at the use by unscrupulous minorities of wage-workers of any weapons within their reach.
>
> If the railroads would expect their men to be law-abiding, they must set the example. Let their open violation of the Inter-State Commerce law, and their relations to corrupt legislatures and assessors testify as to their part in this regard. I do not attempt to justify the strikers in their boycott of the railroads; but the railroads themselves not long ago

placed an offending road under the ban and refused to honor its tickets. Such boycotts on the part of the railroads are no more to be justified than is a boycott of the railroads by the strikers. Let there be some equality in the treatment of these things.

Upon the conclusion of the address, the president of one of the great railway systems of the Northwest, with much excitement and passion, took the speaker to task for his strictures on the railroads, declaring: "It is an outrage. That a man *in your position* should *dare* to come here and imply that the railroads cannot come into court with clean hands, is infamous." (The italics are mine. The words emphasized seem to indicate an appreciation on the part of this railway president of a limitation on Mr. Bemis's right of criticism due to his position on the faculty of an institution peculiarly circumstanced.)

This gentleman went further, and made a complaint to certain of the trustees and to the president of the University. The latter thereupon addressed a letter to Prof. Bemis, in which he said (again the italics are mine, the reason for their employment being, I trust, sufficiently obvious):

Your speech at the First Presbyterian Church has caused me a great deal of annoyance. *It is hardly safe for me to venture into any of the Chicago clubs.* I am pounced upon from all sides. I propose that during the remainder of your *connection with the University* you exercise great care in public utterances about *questions that are agitating the minds of the people.*

When, some months afterward, Prof. Bemis's name was dropped from the list of instructors and the fact began to elicit comment, it was given out by certain members of the faculty and the president of the University, that he had been dismissed because of incompetency. It is not my purpose to decide nicely the dispute that followed on this head; but it is not difficult to understand that the holding of views different from those accepted and orthodox in the institution might readily pass with the regulars as a clear proof of incompetency. Certainly Prof. Bemis has much the preponderance of evidence in support of his contention that his services were dispensed with mainly because his opinions, and his expression of them, upon "questions that were agitating the minds of the people," to quote again from the president, made him

persona non grata to the powerful financial patrons of the University. This conclusion is further supported by the following statements of the president, none of which, so far as I am able to learn, has been denied. In a letter dated January 15, 1894:

> I hoped that, as time passed, there would be opportunity for your doing a larger amount of work in the University proper. . . . Instead of the opportunity becoming better for work on your part in the University proper, the doors seem to be closing. . . . I am persuaded that in the long run you can do in another institution, *because of the peculiar circumstances here*, a better and more satisfactory work to yourself than you can do here. I am personally very much attached to you. You are, however, man of the world enough to know that, unless one is in the best environments, he cannot work to the best advantage. *You are so well known and your ability so widely recognized*, that there will surely be no difficulty in securing for you a good position, one in which you will be monarch, and *one in which you will be*, above all things else, *independent*.

In a conversation with Prof. Bemis March 7, 1895:

> It is not a question of competency; simply the general situation is against you here.

In a conversation March 13, 1895, referring to the work Prof. Bemis had been doing in the Civic Federation and elsewhere on labor problems and municipal and monopoly questions, and replying to the suggestion by him that the University ought to be in close touch with such matters:

> Yes, it is valuable work, and you are a good man to do it, but this may not be, — *this is not the institution where such work can be done.*

In the following signed statement of a very worthy and reputable gentleman, which I believe is now printed for the first time, reference is made to most significant alleged utterances of the president which Prof. Bemis has frequently cited, with offers to substantiate his proof of them in the manner therein indicated. It cannot fail to be considered remarkable, if the reported expressions were never used, that these challenges have not been tested. The double testimony of Prof. Bemis and Mr. Holbrook to the fact of the report of the president's words by men of the high character which both agree in ascribing to them, assuredly entitles the former to demand that the statement be believed if the investigation be refused.

CHICAGO, ILLS., March 5th, 1896.

When Prof. Bemis was dismissed from the University of Chicago, President Harper, in a printed statement, endorsed as a true explanation, the words of Prof. Small: "Instead of erring by teaching views, the head and front of his offending was that he did not seem to present any distinct views whatever."

On the other hand, it was claimed by Mr. Bemis that the dismissal was clearly due to commercial considerations, and in support of this view he published the letters of President Harper and offered to produce, before any disinterested umpire the President might name, the testimony of two very prominent gentlemen, but the offer was ignored.

In order, therefore, to justify to the readers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* my action in asking Prof. Bemis to become editor in sociology, I sought out the two men to whom reference was made. One of these, who has a world-wide reputation for ability and scholarship, tells me that he was informed by President Harper a few months before Mr. Bemis was dropped: "I am on the capitalists' side every time, — there is where I get my money." This gentleman further says that during the same conversation President Harper expressed his displeasure over the fact that Mr. Bemis had irritated some wealthy men, and declared few donors desired the teaching of liberal views.

The other gentleman, known to thousands of scholarly people as an unusually successful lecturer, and as a man of undoubted veracity, tells me that President Harper, in conversation with him about four months before Prof. Bemis was dropped, criticised with warmth an address of the latter, wherein he condemned most strikes and all violence, but stated that the railroads also violated law. The President said to my informant: "It is all very well to sympathize with the workingmen, but we get our money from those on the other side, and we cannot afford to offend them."

The testimony of these two men would carry conviction to any jury of President Harper's peers, and left in my mind no shadow of doubt that, in his enthusiasm over Mr. Rockefeller's gifts, President Harper had forgotten the real condition of mind that he was in previous to the dismissal of Mr. Bemis and the real reasons that actually did influence him in dropping from the University so able and scholarly a gentleman.

(Signed) Z. SWIFT HOLBROOK,
Editor Bibliotheca Sacra.

In view of these various considerations it would seem as though that were not less prophecy than purpose which was said to Prof. Bemis by the head of a great gas monopoly, in 1893, viz.: "If we can't convert you, we are going to down you. We can't stand your writing. It means millions to us."

Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews has for some years been President of Brown University at Providence, R. I. A man of impressive personal character and great executive ability, he

has been conspicuous among the leading college presidents of the country, and under his guidance the institution has made unprecedented progress. Of unusual native abilities, informed and disciplined by wide acquirements and broad culture, a writer of established authority in history and economics, he has reflected lustre upon his office and credit upon his country. For many years he has been a profound student of the history and science of money. He has published from time to time articles and books on those subjects, and was one of the delegates of the United States to the International Monetary Conference which met at Brussels in 1892. In common with the vast majority of scholars and economists of the world he is a believer in bimetallism. Until recently he has held to the opinion that the reëstablishment of that system ought to be attempted only by a concert of the leading commercial nations; but about a year ago he took the position, in effect, that the evils of gold monometallism are too awful to be permitted to continue, and that this great nation can and should take initiative action in the restoration of silver coinage. These views he has not forced on anybody's attention. He has not taught them in the college curriculum, since the chair he holds, in addition to the presidency, is that of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy; nor is it charged that he has taken any pains to inculcate them privately among the pupils of the institution. His advocacy of his principles has been dignified and consistent. When he has been asked to state them, he has not hesitated to do so by speech and by pen, fully, forcefully, and felicitously.

But even this could not be endured by the advocates of the gold standard. Few parallels exist to the bigotry and intolerance of those partisans. That their opponents present arguments, adduce facts, and draw inferences that are at least professedly based on logical principles, is with them no good ground for conceding the right of discussion. They will not discuss. They will merely denounce and vilify. They deny that there is an issue. They foreclose debate by refusing out of hand to admit that the other side has either brains or morals, or a cause. One of the most violent representatives of this school of compulsory opinion is a certain

distinguished Member of Congress from Massachusetts, chairman of one of the financial committees in the House of Representatives. Of many amiable qualities of private character, he is yet a typical champion of the iron folly of the gold standard. He is honestly convinced of his own infallibility, and firmly believes that his judgment on a matter ought to be, in itself, a final cause of belief to other men. To differ from him is to be *ipso facto* convicted of mental imbecility, and, in extreme cases, of moral depravity. Challenged on the floor of the House for the basis of a conclusion announced by him in debate, I have heard him declare, drawing himself to his full height and glowing with the very sublimity of confidence: "It is so *because I* say so." He it was who, on the 17th of June last, brought before the corporation of Brown University the matter of President Andrews's position on the coinage of silver, and the relation of that fact to the welfare of the institution financially considered. As a consequence a committee was appointed to confer with the president. The avowed object of the conference, the true ground of the corporation's action, and the result thus far, are exhibited in the following correspondence:

To the Rev. E. Benjamin Andrews, D. D., President of Brown University:

In compliance with your request, the undersigned, members of a committee appointed at the last meeting of the corporation of Brown University, make the following statement:

The committee was appointed under the following resolution, to wit:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of the Chancellor, Judge Durfee, and Prof. Wayland, be appointed to confer with the President in regard to the interests of the university.

The resolution was passed after remarks from several members of the corporation, showing more specifically the reason for it. The makers of these remarks expressed the highest appreciation of the services rendered by the President in increasing and diversifying the educational facilities and efficiency of the university and in multiplying the number of the students resorting to it, and at the same time professed for him personally the warmest admiration and regard.

They signified a wish for change in only one particular, having reference to his views upon a question which constituted the leading issue in the recent Presidential election, and which is still predominant in national politics, namely, that of the free coinage of silver as legal tender at a ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold.

They considered that the views of the President, as made public by him from time to time, favored a resumption of such coinage, and expressed the belief that these views were so contrary to the views gener-

ally held by the friends of the university that the university had already lost gifts and legacies which otherwise would have come or have been assured to it, and that without change it would, in the future, fail to receive the pecuniary support which is requisite to enable it to prosecute with success the grand work on which it has entered.

The change hoped for by them, they proceeded to explain, is not a renunciation of these views, as honestly entertained by him, but a forbearance, out of regard for the interests of the university, to promulgate them, especially when to promulgate them will appeal most strongly to the passions and prejudices of the public.

The subscribers understand that it was in pursuance of this hope that the resolution appointing them a committee to confer with the President was passed, and passed, too, it may be added, without a single dissenting voice or vote.

[Signed] WILLIAM GODDARD,
THOMAS DURFEE,
July 16, 1897. FRANCIS WAYLAND.

To the Advisory and Executive Committee of the corporation of Brown University:

Gentlemen:— Believing that, however much I might desire to do so, I should find myself unable to meet the wishes of the corporation as explained by the special committee appointed to confer with me on the interests of the university, without surrendering that reasonable liberty of utterance which my predecessors, my faculty colleagues, and myself have hitherto enjoyed, and in the absence of which the most ample endowment for an educational institution would have but little worth, I respectfully resign the Presidency of the university, and also my professorship therein, to take effect not later than the first day of the approaching September.

I regret the brevity of the intervening time, but am acting at the earliest possible moment, after securing an interview with the committee.

Thanking you, gentlemen, and all the other members of the corporation, for the goodwill toward me personally which has been expressed in so many ways, and cherishing the best wishes for the prosperity of the university, I am yours, with sincere esteem,

[Signed] E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS.

Providence, R. I., July 17, 1897.

It will be observed that the position of the disciplinerers of Dr. Andrews is stated with perfect frankness.

1. They object to his position in favor of "the free coinage of silver as legal tender at a ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold," which they describe as "the leading issue" at the last election and as "still predominant in national politics."

2. They demand of him "a forbearance . . . to promulgate" his views on this question.

3. They base this demand on,

a. "The interests of the University," which (1) have been sacrificed by the loss already of "gifts and legacies" which but for his views "would have come or been assured to" the University; and (2) are imperilled by the certainty of loss of "financial support" in the future; and

b. On the added consideration of the impolicy of promulgating his views "when to promulgate them will appeal most strongly to the passions and prejudices of the public."

This document is one of the most humiliating to our national spirit in all American history. In it confession is made of the bald and naked fact that, if its theory is correct and to be acted on, dollars are finally in absolute dominion in our affairs; because when the sequestered halls of learning become places to hawk and huckster in, with the very jewel of the mind, its liberty, the subject of the traffic, there can be no profanation in holding everything for sale.

But if this letter of the committee contains the full thesis of the claim that the money power must be permitted to control academic opinion, the answer of President Andrews is as compendious a statement of the opposite contention. He resigns because he will not surrender, and he refuses to surrender because:

1. To do so would be to renounce "that reasonable liberty of utterance" which his predecessors, his colleagues, and himself had theretofore enjoyed; and

2. Without this "reasonable liberty of utterance . . . the most ample endowment for an educational institution would have but little worth."

The publication of this correspondence awakened intense interest and was followed by widespread discussion. As a rule, the gold-standard and monopoly press sustained vigorously the action of the corporation and attacked viciously the attitude of the president and the cause of bimetallism. Some of this comment will be hereafter noticed. It is agreeable to know that, in general, the great profession of teaching, and especially those engaged in the work of higher education, have been quick to see the ruinous influence which the common acceptance and practice of the corporation's the-

ory would exert, not only upon their profession, but upon liberty of thought and speech in its broadest sense, and have rushed to the defence of independence in opinion almost without distinction as to economic and political belief.

Of this sentiment no more forceful or lofty expression has been given than in the "*Open Letter*" addressed to the corporation on July 31st by twenty-four of the leading members of the faculty of Brown University itself. The letter begins with a reference to the gravity of the situation:

> If we are not mistaken, more is involved than the exigencies of a single institution or the fortunes of a single educator.

The action of the corporation, it declares,

> is open to the gravest objections and rests upon a theory which, if extensively acted upon, would eat the heart out of our educational institutions, — the theory that the material growth of a University is of more importance than independence of thought and expression on the part of its professors, and that boards of trustees have, as such, the right to suggest limitations upon such independence.

The body of the letter is concerned with showing, first, that the action of the corporation

> cannot be justified on the lower ground of pecuniary necessity and advantage; and, secondly, that it lacks all justification when considered from that higher point of view from which the educational institutions of a great country ought always to be regarded.

In support of the first proposition it is stated that in not having received lavish contributions of money Brown University has not differed from most educational institutions in that section; that such benefactions have been generally fewer among New-England colleges of late years even than formerly; that under the administration of President Andrews there has been "an unprecedented increase" in the number of students and a consequent growth in income, the latter rising from $67,064 in 1889 to $159,828 in 1897, so that, even "if income be a fit criterion, he is entitled to be regarded as, in a pecuniary sense, the greatest benefactor Brown University has ever had."

Against the theory advanced by a great newspaper that

> in these very practical days of the closing years of the nineteenth century the final test of a college president is his ability to draw funds toward the treasury of the institution over which he presides,

the letter eloquently contends that

the final test is, at the end of the century, what it was at the beginning of the century, what it has been in all preceding centuries — the existence or the non-existence of that personal power which, with money or without money, can take hold of an institution and lift it from a lower to a higher plane, which can seize upon the imagination and the moral natures of young men and transform them into something more scholarly, and manly, and noble.

On the second proposition the point is made that the president's position is sustained by the general argument for freedom of speech which has been conceded in Rhode Island for two hundred and sixty years; and, in the way of precedent and estoppel, a centre shot is scored as follows:

It is even conceded that, in the general case, college professors may with propriety give public utterance to their political opinions. Your honorable body have affirmed in the most striking manner the propriety of their doing so, by granting a member of the faculty leave of absence during seven weeks of the last autumn term in order that he might make Republican political speeches in the West.

With great cogency the protesting instructors argue that the only condition under which truth can be developed and known is under the free play of open contest with error.

"Even though the doctrines of 'free silver,'" say they, "be the blackest and most foolish of heresies, we do the commonwealth no service if we attempt, by official pressure, to close up their channels of expression."

They hold that the president of an institution of learning is under no obligation to conform his public expressions to the views of its trustees or the community; that

it is not the proper function of a university to "represent" or to advocate any favored set of political, any more than of religious, doctrines, but rather to inspire young men with the love of truth and knowledge, and, with freedom and openness of mind, to teach how these are to be obtained. It is to give a liberal, not a dogmatic education.

With conclusive force it is shown that it is not for the good of Brown University itself that its president should be officially restrained:

On the one hand we have the problematic or imaginary addition of a certain number of dollars. On the other hand we have, throughout the whole intellectual life of the University, the deadening influence of known or suspected repression. Our students will know or suspect that on certain subjects the silence of their president has been purchased or imposed. If the resignation of Dr. Andrews is accepted, the burden and

the stigma fall on his successor. We conceive that it will be hard to persuade a man of such independence as characterized Wayland, and Sears, and Robinson, and Andrews, to accept the difficult task under these new conditions. If our young men suspect what we have intimated concerning his public utterances, they will suspect it of his class-room instructions. If they suspect it of the president, they will suspect it of the professors. Confidence in the instruction of the University is fatally impaired.

In conclusion, this remarkable letter, after disavowing any sympathy with Dr. Andrews's financial views on the part of nearly all the writers, and stating that it is not dictated by either personal regard for him or admiration for his services to the University, declares:

Interested in the most obvious manner in the material prosperity of the institution, . . . we nevertheless would not see its prosperity advanced,— and we do not believe that its real prosperity *can* be advanced, — by private suppression and politic compliance: *for we are convinced that the life-blood of a University is not money, but freedom.*

It then calls on the corporation to refuse to accept President Andrews's resignation at its meeting September 15th. The event cannot be known before this article goes to press.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the question raised by this case of President Andrews. It is the first prominent instance where the allied forces of the gold standard have openly asserted their right to control a great institution of learning. Is it to be taken as an indication that a policy is being definitely shaped for the education of the people into a condition where they will not only lack the spirit to oppose the money and monopoly systems that must by and by enslave them, but will glibly reason out and justify by argument the righteousness, or at least the inexorableness, of their oppression? For, be it observed, the defence of the action taken by the corporation of Brown University is not based on a denial of the great general principles whereon freedom of speech rests, but proceeds by a kind of confession and avoidance, admitting the necessity of that freedom, but claiming that the case made does not come within its sanction. It is at this point that danger threatens. It is here that the purpose of tyranny unmistakably appears. For it is clear that they who would shackle opposite opinions have no sure faith in their own. By pro-

posing to appeal from right to might, they show a dread of the issue of a fair combat and a plain intention to forestall it. The great struggle of the centuries is on us. If we can but keep open the avenues of access to the minds and hearts of men, we shall yet be able to build therein secure and inexpugnable fortresses against the organized selfishness of the world. In the eloquent words of Milton:

> The temple of Janus, with his two controversal faces, might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. . . . For who knows not that truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious; *those are the shifts and defences that error uses against her power.*

We who believe in the principles of bimetallism, and who, opposing the gold standard and all the cognate and collusive evils that are harnessed with it, are ready in the name of the Lord to go up against the mighty, have chosen Truth for our champion. "Let her and falsehood grapple."

The New York *World*, voicing the disposition of those who refuse to Dr. Andrews the right to invoke the recognized prerogatives of free speech, says:

> Dr. Andrews has grossly discredited his own intelligence, and when a college president does that it is not only the right but the duty of its trustees to ask for his resignation. It is their principal function to see to it that the men they employ as instructors of youth shall be men of logical mind and sound intelligence. . . . The state of that [his] mind is as unfit for purposes of teaching as if it had lost faith in the multiplication table.

The New York *Sun*, another champion of this view, thus bluntly states it:

> If he is right, there is no use for colleges. A professor of ethics who should deliver a series of lectures on the advantages of grand and petit larceny would be no more out of place than a college president who devotes himself to preaching free silver. *The question of the freedom of opinion and the free expression of opinion is not involved.*

Congressman Walker, of Massachusetts, the accepted instigator of the corporation's action, has deemed it necessary, in his *ex post facto* vindication of his course, to avoid the premises of the free-speech principle by insisting upon the essential immorality of the doctrine of free coinage.

Again, the Boston *Journal* says: "The free-silver question is both a moral and a political one."

Here then is the plan: All the traditions and guarantees of freedom of opinion and of its expression are to be respected and maintained: only, they are simply not to apply to the opinion and speech of those who advocate the free coinage of both gold and silver! These are to be put beyond the pale of tolerance because they are imbecile and wicked. Undoubtedly, also, it is in contemplation to enlarge this category soon so as to embrace all advocacy of doctrines that may be deemed pernicious or fallacious by these self-made censors. Then, when this has been accomplished, discussion will be perfectly free; you shall find then no more loud proclaimer of the liberty of speech than your gold-standard-monopoly-trust champion. The reign of greed will have been established definitively, and genius and learning will be "free" to prove that its kingship is of "divine right." Rapacity will be uncontrolled and uncontrollable, for it will prove itself to be both inevitable and just. The people will suffer, to be sure, but they must needs make shift to be reasonable and patient. To question the wisdom of the arrangement would be idiotic; to wish it otherwise would be impious. Thus, in strict logic and morality, evil will be good, and slavery will be liberty; "for," as Shakespeare makes Hamlet say, "There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so." All this, as a matter of definitions!

I am far from claiming absolute license for either opinion or speech on behalf of men at the head of educational institutions. Extreme cases may readily be supposed. If, for example, the president of a college were known to be in favor of the abrogation of all criminal laws and the assumption of capital punishment into the hands of private persons who should be absolute judges when they should inflict it; or if he were in the habit of giving public utterance by speech and pen to the proposition that every man should be free to determine for himself what statutes, if any, he would obey, or whose property he would appropriate; in such a case there would be, unquestionably, a general agreement that he should be deposed, and nobody would complain that any safeguard of

liberty had been impugned. But it is into the same category with such ultra examples as these that the critics of Dr. Andrews place the advocacy of the free coinage of silver.

Now the supporters of bimetallism maintain that accepted doctrines of political economy as old as the science itself are the foundation of their argument; and they point to the fact, taking the world together (and the money question affects the whole world), that an overwhelming majority of the teachers of that science are advocates of their faith. They also instance that one of the basic contentions of their school is that the very justice and morality which the opposition prates of demand the overthrow of the existing monetary system, known as the gold standard, and are ready with countless attested examples to prove its inequitable and oppressive operation. These are subjects of statistics, and, as a matter of fact, the most of them are not even denied by the majority of the champions of the gold standard. With this support the bimetallists defy their opponents to meet them in argument, and even challenge prejudice and ignorance to subject themselves to the natural and unforced influence of a full investigation. To avoid this issue by an attempted excommunication of its proponents from a cult self-created for the very purpose of escaping the impossible task of defence, is preposterous and ridiculous. The attempt to do so needs, I believe, only to be brought sharply to the notice of the common sense and patriotism of the American people to be repudiated with scorn and laughter.

It will not do to say that these observations are beside the point because the claim they are aimed at is directed, not against bimetallism as such, but against the proposed attempt to attain it by the independent action of the United States; for the reasons, first, that all kinds of bimetallism rest upon identical charges against gold monometallism; that, moreover, the affirmative argument for independent action is precisely of the same nature as that for concerted action, involving the operations of the same principles, the same causes, and contemplating the same result. The whole difference between them is one of degree only, and is to be determined by the individual judgment to which the considerations

are addressed. That six and a-half millions of American citizens deliberately voted for the proposition last year, rescues it from the presumptuous intellectual contempt and the affected moral reprobation of both those who directly profit by the infamies of the gold standard and those who are in any manner suborned to its defence.

"If," says Bluntschli, "opinions are erroneous, they call out truth, and thus error serves, though against its will, the same end as truth. The external coercion of a government, violence, is never the right means to obtain the victory of truth over error; for truth, which is spirit, can only ground and maintain itself upon its own spiritual power."

And error, let us hope and believe, though she invoke subtle social forces in the place of outworn violence, attempting to wear the spiritual panoply of truth to cover up her own deformity, must by and by stand unmasked in the presence of the righteous resentment of the nation.

THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH, ITS CAUSES AND RESULTS.

BY HERMAN E. TAUBENECK.

PART II.

THE NATIONAL BANKING ACT.

IN 1863 Congress passed the National Banking act, which enabled the bondholder to deposit his bonds with the Secretary of the Treasury and receive ninety per cent of their face value in banknotes, with which to start a bank.

To illustrate our National-Bank system, we will suppose that in the city of St. Louis are five persons who own $20,000 each of United States bonds. These five persons can organize a National Bank as follows:

First. They will deposit their bonds with the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington, D. C., as security for the banknotes to be issued.

Second. The Secretary of the Treasury will then issue to them $90,000 in banknotes, and charge them a tax of one per cent per annum to pay for printing and engraving.

Third. These five persons can then take these banknotes, return to St. Louis, open their bank, and loan the notes to the people.

This is the way National Banks are created. They are only creatures of the law, and derive all their rights and privileges from Congress. (*a*) These five persons will have $100,000 in bonds deposited at Washington, drawing interest from the government. (*b*) They will have $90,000 in banknotes loaned to the people at home, upon which they receive interest. Thus, with an original capital of $100,000 in bonds to start with, this law has increased their capital to $190,000, or, in other words, it enables them to receive *two interests upon one investment.* By law they are permitted to harvest two crops where they plant but one. Thus, every dollar of profit which has been made out of this system since

1863 has been money legislated into the pockets of the bankers and out of the pockets of the people. It is a difficult task to find out the amount of wealth this act has legislated out of the pockets of the people. Mr. N. A. Dunning, in the *National Watchman* for June 22, 1893, says:

No other business can show such enormous profits or has become such a menace to our free institutions. Below are given the figures of the profits of one bank, the First National Bank of New York City. These figures are from a speech of Senator Vest's in 1888. It will be of interest to read them carefully. The statement begins with 1873. The capital stock was $500,000. The surplus, dividends, and annual profits are given below:

	DIVIDENDS.	SURPLUS.	PROFITS.
1873	$75,000		
1874	70,000		
1875	60,000		
1876	60,000		
1877	60,000	$736,700	
1878	60,000	1,142,700	$466,000
1879	600,000	1,767,700	1,225,000
1880	150,000	2,441,800	824,100
1881	200,000	3,010,500	798,700
1882	200,000	3,477,700	667,200
1883	200,000	3,437,700	160,000
1884	200,000	3,718,100	550,400
1885	200,000	4,322,800	734,700
1886	200,000	5,095,500	972,700
1887	200,000	534,800	489,300

Let every reader of this article consider well the importance of this table, — $6,668,100 profit on $500,000 in ten years. . . . All this vast amount has been contributed by labor in production for the use of a tool of exchange that the government should furnish. This is the tribute paid to a single bank. From it can be estimated what 3,700 banks have received.

Every banknote which goes into circulation costs the people double interest: First, the government issues bonds and pays interest on them; second, the bankers deposit these bonds and receive ninety per cent in banknotes, for which the people, to get them into circulation, must also pay interest. Thus, under the National-Bank system it costs the people from ten to fifteen per cent annually for every dollar of banknotes put into circulation. Suppose the government should issue this money directly to the people, and pay it out for debts and the expenses of running the government? This

would pay off the bonds, stop the interest, reduce taxation, and put the money into circulation without paying any interest whatever.

Class Legislation.

Think of the class legislation which surrounds our National-Bank system? Has Congress ever enabled the farmer to reap two crops of corn or cotton where he planted but one? No. Has Congress ever enabled the laborer to receive pay for two days' work when he has worked but one? No. Has our government ever permitted the farmer, merchant, manufacturer, or any other citizen, *except the bondholder*, to deposit his property with the Secretary of the Treasury, and receive as a loan ninety per cent of its value from the government? No. Why then should Congress grant this privilege to the bondholder and exclude all others? Is it any wonder that under such a banking system, which permits one class to reap twice where they plant but once, the wealth of our country has become concentrated within the last thirty years?

Suppose Congress should by law provide ways and means by which the farmer could reap two crops where he plants but one? Would not he also prosper and accumulate wealth as easily as the National Banks have done? The financial policy of our government for more than thirty years has been an exceedingly paternal one for the bankers and bondholders, but an exceedingly infernal one for the farmer and the laborer. These are harsh words, but not harsh enough by a thousandfold to express the honest indignation for any law which will permit one class to reap twice where they have planted but once, at the expense of every other class.

Democracy of Jefferson.

Think of Grover Cleveland and many other leaders of the Democratic party calling themselves followers of Jefferson and Jackson! When Jefferson said, "A privileged class is a dangerous class." In a letter to Mr. Taylor dated May 28, 1816, he said:

The system of banking we have both equally and ever reprobated. I

contemplate it as a blot left in all of our constitutions, which, if not converted, will end in their destruction, which is already hit by the gamblers in corruption and is sweeping away in its progress the fortunes and morals of our citizens. . . .

And I sincerely believe, with you, that banking institutions are more dangerous than standing armies, and that the principle of spending money, to be paid by posterity, under the name of funding, is but swindling futurity on a large scale.

In 1803 he wrote to Mr. Gallatin:

This institution [National Bank] is one of the most deadly hostilities existing against the principles and form of our government. . . . Ought we then to give further growth to an institution so powerful, so hostile? . . . . Now, while we are strong, it is the greatest duty we owe to the safety of our constitution to bring this powerful enemy to a perfect subordination under its authorities. The first measure would be to reduce them to an equal footing with other banks, as to the favors of the government.

On September 11, 1813, he wrote to Mr. Eppes:

Bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation, to which it belongs. . . .

Treasury bills, bottomed on taxes, bearing or not bearing interest as may be found necessary, thrown into circulation, will take the place of so much gold or silver, which last, when coined, will find an afflux into other countries, and thus keep up the quantum of medium at its salutary level.

Andrew Jackson said:

If Congress has the right, under the Constitution, to issue paper money, it was given them to be used by themselves and not to be delegated to individuals or corporations.

This is Jeffersonian Democracy, and is indorsed by all Democracy's great leaders, as Calhoun, Benton, and hundreds of others.

The Contraction Act.

In 1866 Congress passed the Contraction act, which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to receive United States currency and greenbacks and exchange them for interest-bearing bonds. The purport of this act was that any person holding United States currency or greenbacks could take them to the Secretary of the Treasury, have them destroyed, and receive bonds in exchange.

This act, from 1866 to 1873, destroyed more than one-half of the money of the United States. The following

table, for which I am indebted to Congressman Davis, of Kansas, gives the volume of money for each year from 1866 to 1873, as published by the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* in 1878:

YEAR.	CURRENCY.	POPULATION.	PER CAPITA.
1866	$1,803,702,726	35,537,148	$50.76
1867	1,330,414,677	36,269,502	36.68
1868	817,199,773	37,016,949	22.08
1869	750,025,989	37,779,800	19.85
1870	740,039,179	38,568,371	19.19
1871	734,244,774	39,750,073	18.47
1872	736,340,912	40,978,606	17.97
1873	733,291,749	42,245,110	17.48

This table informs us that our money volume was contracted from $1,803,702,726 in 1866 to $733,291,749 in 1873, or from a per-capita circulation of $50.76 to one of $17.48. Within seven years this act destroyed more than one-half of the volume of money and decreased the price of all property in a corresponding ratio, so that in 1873 one dollar would buy as much products and property as did two in 1866. All writers on political economy agree "that the price of property increases or decreases in the same proportion as the volume of money is increased or decreased." This is an immutable law of finance which no government can annul. The late Professor Walker said:

> That prices will fall or rise as the volume of money is increased or diminished, is a law that is as immutable as any law of nature.

The United States Monetary Commission Report says:

> While the volume of money is decreasing, although very slowly, the value of each unit of money is increasing in a corresponding ratio and property is falling in price.

Suppose the value of all the property in the United States is $65,000,000,000, and the volume of money, as published by the Secretary of Treasury, September 1, 1896, is $1,539,169,643. We then have $42.23 worth of property for every dollar of money. Therefore, every time we destroy one dollar of money we reduce the value of our property $42.23. A reduction of one-half of our money volume would carry with it a destruction of $32,500,000,000 in the value of our property, and a corresponding increase in the value of all credits.

Suppose (other things being equal) we destroy one-half the freight cars in the United States. What would be the result? Then one car would have to do as much work as two are now doing. The demand for cars would be twice as great as their supply. This would double their value.

Again, suppose (other things being equal) we destroy one-half the corn in the United States; what would be the result? Then our demand for corn would be as great as it now is, but the supply only one-half. This would double the value or price of corn. This is the law of supply and demand. The value of every article which enters the channels of trade and commerce is subject to this inexorable law. Whenever the supply is increased beyond the demand, prices will go down; but when restricted and cut off, they will go up.

Again, suppose (other things being equal) our government destroys one-half the volume of money in circulation, as the Contraction act of 1866 did, what would be the result? Then one dollar would have to do as much work as two are now doing. The demand for money would be doubled; this would also double its value, its purchasing power, so that one dollar would buy as much property as two dollars will buy to-day. What effect would this have on the industries of our country?

First. It would reduce the value of property one-half; it would reduce wages and the price of farm products one-half; it would destroy the ability of the debtor class to pay by one-half; so that two bushels of corn or two days of work would pay no more debts than one will pay to-day.

Second. It would double the value of all credits, as bonds, notes, mortgages, and other securities. It would double the value of the rate of interest. It would double the value of the salaries of all public officials. Why? Because the purchasing power of the money would be doubled, so that the creditor and the fixed-income classes could buy as much labor with fifty dollars as they now can with one hundred, and it would be just as hard for a debtor to pay a debt of fifty dollars as it is now to pay one hundred.

Thus the supply and demand of money is as great to determine the price for which labor and property shall be sold,

as the supply and demand of products and property combined; just as a decrease in the supply of any one commodity, say corn or cotton, affects its price only, so a decrease in the volume of money will affect the price of all commodities alike. Suppose the supply of each article which enters the channels of commerce and trade should be cornered by a few speculators, that is, a special corner for each article produced? Think of the power of these corners to fix prices which the people would have to pay! Again, suppose on the opposite side of these corners we should have one more corner, a corner on money. The power of this one corner on money would be as great to fix the price of products and property as all the other corners combined.

Suppose you loan your neighbor one hundred dollars, for which he agrees to deliver you one hundred bushels of wheat next fourth of July? Again, suppose that between now and next fourth of July Congress should pass an act declaring that a bushel of wheat shall consist of 120 pounds instead of 60 pounds, and compel your neighbor to measure his wheat by this new bushel? What would be the result? Why, you would be getting two bushels of wheat for one, and your neighbor would have to cultivate twice the number of acres, do twice the amount of work next year, to pay that debt, that he would have to do this year, when he borrowed the money. By law the value of your note would be doubled, and the ability of your neighbor to pay destroyed one-half. An act of this kind would be looked upon as a crime, and could never be enforced. No statesman or party dares to go before the people advocating such a law; but the Contraction act of 1866, which destroyed one-half of our money volume, accomplished this identical thing, with this difference only, that the Contraction act doubled the purchasing power of money and left the size of the bushel measure as it now is; while this other law would double the size of the bushel measure and leave the purchasing power of money as it was in 1866. The one would reduce the price of wheat one-half, while the other would double the number of pounds constituting a bushel. The one robs just as effectively as the

other; either way, the creditor receives twice as much as is justly due him.

What difference is it to the creditor class whether Congress passes an act doubling the size of the bushel measure, yard stick, pound weight, or number of hours constituting a day's work, and leaves the purchasing power of money as it is, or leaves the weights and measures as they are, but destroys one-half of the volume of money, doubling its purchasing power, so that the creditor class can buy as much for one dollar as they formerly could for two? The only difference between the two acts is, that one would be putting more wheat and corn into the bushel, more cloth in a yard, more cotton, beef, and pork into a pound, and more hours of labor in a day's work, while the other act would be "squeezing" more wheat, more corn, cloth, cotton, beef, pork, or hours of labor into a dollar. An honest dollar is not one which contains one hundred cents' worth of material, but one with a purchasing power neither larger nor smaller when a debt is to be paid than when the debt was made. Between debtor and creditor, every other kind of dollar is a dishonest dollar. It is as honest to have an arbitrary and ever-changing bushel measure, yard stick, or pound weight as it is to have a dollar with an ever-changing purchasing power.

If debts should decrease in the same ratio as the price of products and property decreases, then there would be no loss; but this is not the case. It matters not how much wages and the price of products fall, a debt will not decrease a dollar unless you pay one.

Suppose a farmer borrows $500 when wheat is worth one dollar per bushel and gives a mortgage on his farm, due in five years from date? Again, suppose that before the mortgage is due, Congress destroys more than one-half of the money volume (as the Contraction act of 1866 has done), and the price of wheat is reduced down to fifty cents per bushel; then the farmer will have to raise two bushels of wheat, do twice the amount of work, when the debt becomes due than when he borrowed the money. By legislation the price of his wheat would be destroyed fifty per cent, and the value of the mortgage would be doubled. The farmer and

his mortgage-holder would travel in opposite directions, and the more the money volume is contracted, the farther apart they are driven, until the sheriff makes final settlement.

The United States Monetary Commission of 1876 said:

A decreasing volume of money and falling prices have been, and are, more fruitful of human misery than war, famine, or pestilence. They have wrought more injustice than all the bad laws ever enacted. . . . The true and only cause of stagnation of industries and commerce, now everywhere felt, is the fact that falling of prices is caused by the shrinking volume of our money. That is the great cause. All others are collateral, cumulative, or really the effect of that one cause.

Senator Ferry, of Michigan, said:

It is easy to see why moneyed men want contraction. The shrinkage then, which others must suffer, would be compensation in their expanded purses. It would be robbing Peter (the people) to pay Paul (the millionaire).

Abraham Lincoln, as published by Mrs. Todd in "Pizarro and John Sherman," page 119, says:

If a government contracted a debt with a certain amount of money in circulation, and then contracted the money volume before the debt was paid, it is the most heinous crime a government could commit against the people.

It is doubtful if Congress ever passed another act which committed such wholesale plundering of the industrial classes as the Contraction act of 1866. Every dollar the creditor and fixed-income classes made, on account of the increased purchasing power of money and the decreased price of property, was money legislated into their pockets and out of the pockets of the people. By legislation, the value of the property of the creditor class was doubled, the rate of interest was doubled, the value of the salaries of all public officials was doubled; while, on the other hand, the value of the property of the industrial classes was reduced one-half, wages and the price of farm products were reduced one-half, and the ability of the debtor class to pay was reduced one-half.

No person is able to tell how many millions, yes, billions of dollars' worth of property, this law transferred from the debtor to the creditor class. The panic of 1873, with its train of evils, was the legitimate offspring of the Contrac-

tion act of 1866. This panic was created by law, it was legislated upon the people for the benefit of the class who live upon the interest of bonds, notes, and mortgages. It robbed ninty-nine wealth-producers for the benefit of one wealth-absorber.

The Credit-Strengthening Act.

In 1869 Congress passed the Credit-Strengthening act, which changed the contract between the government and the bondholders. When the bonds were issued the bondholders bought them with greenbacks, and they were also payable in the same kind of money, but the act of 1869 changed this contract and made them payable in coin.

First. Congress depreciated the greenbacks by placing two exception clauses on the back of each note.

Second. Then the bondholders bought the bonds with this depreciated currency, worth, on an average, about sixty cents on the dollar.

Third. Then Congress changed the contract and made the bonds payable in coin, thereby legislating forty cents on every dollar's worth of bonds into the pockets of the bondholders and out of the pockets of the people.

Congressman Plumb, of Illinois, in a speech made in the House of Representatives, March 5, 1880, estimated the amount this act of legislation took out of the pockets of the people and put into those of the bondholders, at $900,000,000. He said:

> When the act to strengthen the public credit was passed, there was outstanding, as stated by the then Senator Hendricks, of bonds, the interest of which was payable in coin, and the principal in greenbacks, a total of $1,600,000,000. The interest on this entire debt, with the exception of $215,000,000, was at six per cent. At the time of which I am speaking, both bonds and greenbacks were greatly below the par of gold, a discount which, as stated by Senator Davis, amounted in the aggregate to $900,000,000; that is, if these bonds could be brought up to a par with gold, it would put this vast sum into the pockets of those who held the bonds.

Hon. Thaddeus Stephens said:

> We were foolish enough to grant them gold interest, and now they unblushingly demand further advantages; the truth is, we can never satisfy their appetite for money.

Hon. Ben Wade, of Ohio, said:

I am for the laboring portion of our people; the rich will take care of themselves. . . . We never agreed to pay the five-twenties in gold; no man can find it in the bond, and I will never consent to have one payment for the bondholder and another for the people. It would sink any party, and it ought to.

Even John Sherman, in a letter dated February 20, 1868, said:

Your idea that we propose to violate or repudiate a promise when we offer to redeem the principal in legal tenders, is erroneous. . . . I think the bondholder violates *his* promise when he refuses to take the same kind of money he paid for the bonds. . . . The bondholder can demand only the kind of money he paid, and he is a repudiator and extortioner to demand money more valuable than he gave.

Land Grants.

From 1850 to 1872 Congress donated over 155,000,000 acres of public lands to railway corporations, and, in addition, millions of dollars to assist in their construction in the way of donations by States, counties, cities, and towns.

Mrs. Marion Todd, in "Railways of Europe and America," in which she quoted from the House Miscellaneous Documents of the Public Domain, Vol. 19, pp. 268, 753, says:

If all railroads had complied with the original contracts it would have required 215,000,000 acres of the public domain to satisfy the requirements of the various laws. In 1880 the estimate at the General Land Office was, that it would require 155,514,994 acres; very nearly 60,000,000 had relapsed or been forfeited to the government. The State of Ohio contains 25,576,960 acres; this makes the territory of our public lands granted to railroads, six times as great as the State of Ohio — almost an empire itself. November 1st, 1880, the Auditor of Railway Accounts estimated the value of public lands granted railroads at $391,804,610.

Every dollar these corporations realized out of the sale of these lands, and every dollar donated by States, counties, cities, and towns, was money legislated into their pockets and out of the pockets of the people. There is where the Stanfords, Huntingtons, and hundreds of other millionaires came from. They accumulated millions because the public domain was taken from the people and given to them.

Demonetization of Silver.

In 1873 Congress demonetized silver, and it is doubtful if any other act was ever passed by a legislative body so sur-

reptitiously as this one. That act destroyed one-half of our metal money, and increased the demand for gold to double its former amount. This act placed the American farmer at a disadvantage in the markets of the world with the farmers of every free-coinage nation.

Had it not been for the demonetization of silver in the United States it would have been impossible for India to open her wheat market and her cotton fields in competition with us. Think of the disadvantage at which it placed the American wheat- and cotton-grower. The price of a bushel of wheat in the Liverpool market for more than a generation has been one ounce of silver. The values of the two have remained in touch for more than a quarter of a century. Just as the price of silver went up or down, wheat followed. If we single out any one year, say 1892, and find what the demonetization of silver has cost our wheat-growers, we can then make an estimate of what it has cost since 1873. The average London price for silver in 1892 was 87.1 cents per ounce. In that year an Indian farmer could ship a bushel of wheat to Liverpool, receive an ounce of silver for it, take this silver home to the mints in India, have it coined into rupees at the ratio of 15 to 1, worth $1.37 legal-tender money in India. An American farmer could also ship one bushel of wheat to Liverpool, receive an ounce of silver for it, bring this silver home to the United States, and sell it for whatever he could get, which averaged about 86 cents per ounce. Thus, the Indian farmer realized $1.37 for his bushel of wheat delivered at Liverpool, while the American farmer got but eighty-six cents, a difference to the disadvantage of the American farmer of fifty-one cents per bushel. But suppose we should have had free coinage of silver in the United States in 1892, at the ratio of 16 to 1, what then would have been the price of wheat in that year? Then an American wheat-grower could have taken a bushel of wheat to Liverpool, received his ounce of silver for it, brought this silver home, taken it to the mint, and have had it coined into standard dollars worth $1.29 per ounce.

Thus with free coinage of silver, as advocated by the People's Party, the American farmer would have received $1.29

per bushel for his wheat delivered at Liverpool, where he only received eighty-six cents, a difference of forty-three cents per bushel. The same is true of cotton or any other of our exports which comes in competition with the products of free-coinage nations.

Sir Moreton Frewen, in his remarks before the silver convention held in Washington, D. C., 1892, said:

> The price of wheat in this country is its price in London or Liverpool, less the cost of carriage from here there; and the London price of wheat is, under ordinary conditions, one ounce of silver per bushel of wheat. Your farmers will always have to sell a bushel of wheat, say in Chicago, for an ounce of silver, less freight charges to London. If, then, silver is worth $1.29 per ounce, the London price of American wheat is $1.29; while if silver is worth ninety cents, then your wheat will realize only ninety cents. This is a statement that will bear close examination, and it is the sum of the importance of the silver question to your nation.
>
> When in Punjaub, three years ago, I went very closely into the cost of producing wheat there. In that one Indian province the area devoted to wheat-growing is twice that of the wheat area of Great Britain.

Let us stop and think, for a moment, what the crime of 1873 has cost the American farmer. The loss sustained by the cotton-planter and wheat-grower for seventeen years from 1873 to 1889, as given by Senator Jones, of Nevada, in a speech delivered May 12th and 13th, 1890, was as follows:

> According to the figures given by the Bureau of Statistics the average price received each year of the seventeen was 13.1 cents per pound. 2,500,000,000 pounds, at 13.1 cents per pound, equal $327,000,000, showing a difference of $83,000,000; that being the average for each separate year for seventeen years, or a total for the entire period of $1,411,000,000, which represents the loss in debt- and tax-paying power suffered by the cotton-planters by reason of the demonetization of silver. . . . A like computation with regard to wheat will show a loss in debt-paying and tax-paying power of not less than $100,000,000 a year to the farmers of the North and West by reason of the demonetization of silver — a total of $1,700,000,000 in the article of wheat alone in seventeen years. . . . Thus a loss, wholly unnecessary, of more than $3,000,000,000 in debt-paying and tax-paying power is shown to have been inflicted on the farmers and cotton-planters of this country.

Again, in his speech delivered during the extra session of Congress in 1893, Senator Jones further stated that the loss sustained by the wheat- and cotton-growers of this country for the eight years preceding 1893, averaged, for wheat, $200,000,000 and, for cotton, $100,000,000 per year, making

a total loss of $1,200,000,000 for the four years following 1889. If we add to this amount the $3,000,000,000 loss sustained for the seventeen years previous to 1889, we have the enormous sum of $4,200,000,000 which the demonetization of silver has cost the American farmer on wheat and cotton only. Our Congress has for twenty years used the silver taken out of the American mines as a club to drive the American wheat and cotton out of the market of the world. It seems almost impossible that the American farmers, intelligent and enterprising as they are, would go to the polls for twenty years and vote for men and parties who have annually legislated over $250,000,000 out of their pockets. Suppose Congress should pass an act declaring that all the wheat grown in the United States should be sold for forty cents less per bushel in the Liverpool market than the wheat grown in India? Does anyone believe that a law of that sort could be enforced? No. It could not stand thirty days. But this is exactly what Congress has done by closing the mints of the United States against the white metal.

These are some of the laws that have created the two extremes in our society, "the tramp and the millionaire." Our country has a territory large enough to furnish homes for five times our present population, with mines rich enough to furnish the useful metals for the inhabitants of the globe, and with productive capacity and inventive genius beyond any other nation on earth. Yet, in spite of all these wonderful resources, a majority of our population are homeless, and one per cent of the families own more property than the other ninety-nine per cent.

This concentration of wealth, which has been going on for thirty-five years, can be directly traced to legislation. The immense fortunes that have been accumulated are the result of a system of class laws. Four times out of five, when you see or read of a millionaire, you are safe in saying, "There is a man who has accumulated wealth because Congress has legislated it into his pockets;" and four times out of five, when you see a mortgaged farm, a tenant farmer who once owned the soil he cultivates, and a homeless laborer, you are

safe in saying, "There is a man who has met with adversity because Congress has legislated the wealth he created out of his pockets for the benefit of the millionaire." Our government, like a huge threshing machine, has turned out the grain to the few, and the chaff and straw to the many. Class law is the reason why honest hands wither and honest hearts break as the gaunt spectre of starvation hovers over the hovels of the poor. Unjust legislation is responsible for the condition of many of those who produce and yet go hungry, of many of those who make clothes but go ragged, and of many of those who build palaces but are homeless.

William Barry, in the *Forum* for April, 1889, in speaking of European conditions, used the following language:

> The agrarian difficulties of Russia, France, Italy, Ireland, and wealthy England show that ere long the urban and rural populations will be standing in the same camp. They will be demanding the abolition of the great and scandalous paradox whereby, though the power of production has increased three or four times as much as the mouths it should fill, those mouths are empty; the backs it should clothe are naked; the heads it should shelter are homeless; the brains it should feed, dull or criminal; and the souls it should help to save, brutish. Surely it is time that science, morality, and religion should speak out. A great change is coming. It is even now at your doors. Ought not men of good will consider how they shall receive it, so that its coming may be peaceable?

Noah Webster, more than a century ago, said: "An equal distribution of property is the foundation of the Republic." Daniel Webster, upon this point, remarked: "Liberty cannot long endure in a country where the tendency is to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few."

The Cincinatti *Enquirer*, during the campaign of 1896, published the following quotation from Chauncey M. Depew, and commented on the same as follows:

> Mr. Depew, of New York, has a national reputation as a scholar, an orator, and Republican politician. He never speaks without knowing or believing what he says to be true. In a recent interview by the *Inter-Ocean*, he said: "There are fifty men in New York who can in twenty-four hours stop every wheel on all railroads, close every door of all our manufactories, lock every switch on every telegraph line, and shut down every coal and iron mine in the United States. They can do so because they control the money which this country produces."
>
> If this is true, and we have no evidence that the statement is false, how lamentable and deplorable is the condition of 70,000,000 people! There can be no doubt that whoever controls a country's money controls its

industries and commerce, whether the number be fifty or as many millions. What a travesty on the declaration that this is a government of the people, by the people, for the people, when fifty men in the nation's metropolis can make beggars and slaves of 70,000,000 of people in twenty-four hours! It is no marvel that the patriot Lincoln, in anticipation of the possibility of such a final result, should have had greater anxiety for the safety of his country than during the darkest hour of the civil war. The *Enquirer* asks, with earnestness and sincerity, if it is not time that the people were more interested in the supreme issue of the hour? . . .

We have no roster of the names of the fifty New Yorkers who hold in their hands the destiny of the millions, but we can state with much assurance that there is not a silver-money man in the list. This single fact ought to arouse every voter.

Every friend of a people's government ought to realize that the question to be decided at the polls in November is not whether a Republican or Democratic President and Congress shall enact and administer laws. The perpetuity of the government is in peril. Are the masses of the people capable of self-government? The control of the money, Depew truthfully says, clothes its possessors with absolute power over a country's industries. . . . There is something radically wrong in the administration of any government when fifty men are permitted to exercise control over the industries and commerce of 70,000,000 of people. The common voter is not anxious to consult the wishes or ask the consent of any foreign power before determining the financial status of his own country.

The demonetization of silver, one-half of the constitutional money of the United States, was accomplished by a conspiracy composed of foreign syndicates and our national bankers. The conspiracy has been sufficiently successful to clothe fifty men with absolute power over the industries. . . . The scheme of the conspirators embraces the entire subjugation of the masses to the money power. . . . Never in the history of the world has there been an example of such rapid creation of wealth, and such wonderful absorption in the hands of the few.

The sad experience of other nations as to the baneful effects of the concentration of wealth is before us. Will the American people heed the warning ere it is too late, or will history repeat itself in the twentieth century and in this fair land, as it has done in other ages and nations? The same cause which produced the French Revolution and the downfall of Rome and other nations of antiquity is also undermining our society and institutions to-day. We shall reap what we sow, as they did. We cannot shift the responsibility or escape the consequences by ignoring the impending danger.

Who Is Responsible?

At last we come to the question, "Who is responsible for these conditions?" To this question there is but one an-

swer: The voters are responsible for all. Our laws depend upon how we vote, just as the shadow on the wall depends upon the object standing before the light. *Voting is like farming. We reap exactly what we sow*, and to-day we are reaping the follies and mistakes sown ten, fifteen, and twenty years ago. If we have bad laws and dishonest officeholders, who is to blame? Our politicians? Partly, yes; but the most blame must fall upon the voters, who are clothed with almost supreme power to protect their interests at the ballot-box. If they do not use this power to their own advantage, they have no one but themselves to blame. Before we can have good and just laws, we must have good and honest law-makers; and before we can have good and honest lawmakers, we must have wise and patriotic voters. We shall never have a change in our laws until we make a change in our voting. That must come first; and if the people cannot do this, they ought not to complain or expect relief. At the ballot-box they voted this system of class laws upon themselves, and there also is the only place they can vote it off. Through legislation we received the laws which oppress; and through legislation alone can they be repealed in a peaceable way. And I, for one, will say that, so long as we have a free ballot, no one has the right to think of settling this question in any other way or at any other place than the ballot-box. Because, if a good citizen violates a bad law, it always encourages a bad citizen to violate a good law; and it is a thousand times, nay, a million times better to prevent a crime than to punish one.

Just as self-preservation is the first law of nature, so the protection of our interests, our welfare, at the ballot-box is the first duty of the voter. It is not enough that we think right or talk right; we must act right and vote right. One vote will do more toward shaping the laws of our country than a hundred resolutions or a thousand petitions.

The Knights of Labor and Trade Unions have for twenty years petitioned Congress and State legislatures to abolish the convict-labor system, and what have they accomplished? Nothing but to see their own free labor reduced nearer to the convict system every year. Had they despoited their

petitions in the ballot-box in the form of a ballot, this system would have vanished long ago. It is high time that the wealth-producers awake to the situation which surrounds them, and cease to be the tools of others' profit and the creatures of others' pleasure.

If the majority of the voters in our country are not interested enough in their own welfare to throw their party prejudices aside for a common cause, then it is only a question of time until our republic will be lost. If the farmer, the miner, the artisan, and all wealth-producing classes cannot stand united and banded together at the ballot-box for their own good, then we shall prove to the world that we, as a people, are no more capable of preserving our liberties and institutions with the ballot than the people of the older nations were without the ballot. But I believe that, when this conflict between organized capital and the wealth-creators comes squarely before the people to be decided at the polls, as come it must; when the storms now low down on the horizon meet, and our political sky is overcast with clouds, then I believe that the people will rise in their majesty, as they have risen in the past, and be wise enough to know their rights, heroic enough to conquer them, and generous enough to extend them to others.

THE RIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC OVER QUASI-PUBLIC SERVICES.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK,
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.

THE right of the public to regulate the charges of common carriers and of all others discharging public or quasi-public duties is one of transcendent importance, yet the subject is one upon which many practising lawyers even are sometimes not as well informed as they might be, because in its present proportions it is of comparatively recent development, and cases involving it have been rarely tried as yet at the bar of the courts of some of the States, though the subject is on trial at the greater bar of public opinion. It is a matter, too, upon which every citizen, be he lawyer or layman, should be thoroughly informed as to his rights and the rights of the public. The decisions on the subject by the Supreme Court of the Union have been quite uniform, and have so thoroughly illuminated and settled the whole matter that it can be discussed with small reference to the decisions of other tribunals.

The right of the public to regulate the charges of common carriers, even in times when the public granted no franchises and conferred no right of eminent domain, is far older than the common law, older even than the civil law, and was recognized by both as a necessary and an unquestioned rule. Twenty-one years ago, in 1876, the Supreme Court of the United States was first called upon pointedly to review and reaffirm the recognized law of the ages, that the sovereign possessed the right to regulate the charges for services rendered in a public employment or for the use of property affected with a public interest. The particular instance was the constitutionality of an act of the General Assembly of Illinois regulating the charges of warehouses for the storage of grain. It was contended that, unlike railroads and telegraph companies, the public had conferred no franchise by

an act of incorporation, and had not used the right of eminent domain to take private property for their use, and hence that the right to regulate warehouse rates was not to be placed on the same footing as the unquestioned public right to regulate the charges of common carriers. The underlying principle, however, was held to be broad enough to embrace the public right to fix and control the charges of grain warehouses. Though the pressure of immense interests was brought to bear to swerve the court from the well-beaten track by the aid of the ablest and most skilful members of the bar, it firmly held to the principles which have always been law among Anglo-Saxon people. The court laid down the following principles, to which, with one slight deviation, it has ever since adhered:

1. Under the powers inherent in every sovereignty, a government may regulate the conduct of its citizens towards each other, and, when necessary for the public good, the manner in which each shall use his own property.

2. It has, in the exercise of these powers, been customary in England from time immemorial, and in this country from the first colonization, to regulate ferries, common carriers, hackmen, bakers, millers, wharfingers, auctioneers, innkeepers, and many other matters of like quality, and in so doing to fix a maximum charge to be made for services rendered, accommodations furnished, and articles sold.

3. The 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution does not in anywise amend the law in this particular.

4. When the owner of property devotes it to a use in which the public has an interest, he in effect grants to the public an interest in such use, and must to the extent of that interest submit to be controlled by the public.

5. The limitation by legislative enactment of the rate of charges for services rendered in an employment of a public nature, or for the use of property in which the public has an interest, establishes no new principle in the law, but only gives a new effect to an old one.

The opinion was rendered by Chief Justice Waite, and is a very able and elaborate one. Only two Judges out of the nine upon that court (United States Supreme Court) dissented from any part of the opinion. It is doubtful if a more important one has been delivered by that court in recent years than this negative which it then and there put upon the attempt to reverse the immemorial law that the public have the right to regulate charges in all matters affected with a public use. The court pointed out that the celebrated Chief

Justice Sir Matthew Hale, centuries ago, had laid it down in his treatise, "De Jure Maris," that the sovereign could regulate the conduct and tolls of public ferries; and in his treatise "De Portibus Maris," had laid down the same as the rule of the common law as to wharves and wharfingers and as to all other property and vocations "affected by a public interest"; and also cited many English and American decisions recognizing this to be a true statement of the well-settled "law of the land." The court in that case well said that in all such matters,

> The controlling fact is the power to regulate at all. If that exists, the right to establish the maximum of charge as one of the means of regulation, is implied. In fact the common-law rule, which requires the charge to be reasonable, is itself a regulation as to price. Without it the owner could make his rates at will, and compel the public to yield to his terms or forego the use. . . . To limit the rate of charges of services rendered in a public employment, or for the use of property in which the public has an interest, is only changing a regulation which existed before.

Therefore the court declared that it is not "a taking of property without due process of law." The court then further said:

> We know that this is a power which may be abused, but that is no argument against its existence. For protection against abuses by legislatures, the people must resort to the polls, not to the courts.

This is a very plain and straightforward declaration of the immemorial law; and if that court, under tremendous pressure, has since intimated that the courts might supervise legislative action if the rates should ever be such as to destroy the value of property, it has never infringed upon its declaration, that the people, through its representatives in the law-making body, could prescribe rates; and the court in fact has never ventured to set aside the legislative rates as unreasonable in a single case ever brought before it, nor has it fixed the precise line at which it would assume to intervene.

By all the decisions the right to fix rates being not a judicial but a legislative power, to be exercised by the legislature itself or through a commission created by it, it logically follows that, as the court said in this case, and reaffirmed in Budd *vs.* New York, 143 U. S. 516, the remedy for a harsh exercise of the power (if it should ever happen) is a recourse to the people at the ballot box, not to the courts. For an

unwise or oppressive use of its powers, the legislature is not subject to the supervision of the judiciary, which is merely a coördinate branch of the government. It is only when the legislature does an act — whether wisely or unwisely — which is not within the scope of its powers, that the courts can declare it unconstitutional.

In this same case (Munn *vs.* Illinois) the court further held that the provision in the 14th Amendment, that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," has no application, for "certainly," it says, "it cannot be claimed that this prevents the State from regulating the fares of hackmen or the charges of draymen in Chicago unless it does the same thing in every other place in its jurisdiction." This rule has since been reiterated in Dow *vs.* Beidelman, 125 U. S. 680.

Some time has been given to the consideration of Munn *vs.* Illinois, as it is the leading case, in which the force of great combinations of capital was brought to bear to remove the ancient landmarks which protected the people from excessive and unreasonable charges. No case has been more often cited since and approved. If at common law the public had a right to regulate the charges of stage lines, grist mills, bakers, chimney-sweeps, innkeepers, and the like, as to whom the public conferred no franchises, for an overwhelming reason it must possess that right as to the modern carriers by rail, whose companies receive their existence from the public will and have the breath of life breathed into them by legislative act. Beyond that, railroad corporations are vested with the power of eminent domain, since power is given to them to take possession of the lands of others, against their will, in order to build their tracks. This could only be done if these corporations are created for the public benefit, since the Constitution forbids private property to be taken "except for public uses."

In the very next case to Munn *vs.* Illinois, the Supreme Court of the United States held (Chicago R. R. *vs.* Iowa, 94 U. S. 155) that railroads, being common carriers for hire, are "subject to legislative control as to their rates of fare and freight," and that the State not having exercised

the right for a long series of years made no difference, for a government could lose none of its powers by non-user; and, further, that it did not "affect the case that before the legislature had fixed the maximum rate the company had pledged its income as security for debt and had leased its road to a tenant who paid a higher rent because the rates had not been reduced by legislative enactment, since the company held its franchise subject to the legislative power to regulate rates, and it could not convey either to its mortgagee or its lessee greater rights than it had itself." The opinion in this case also was written by the Chief Justice. The same decision (cited and approved since in Ruggles *vs.* R. Co. 108 U. S. 526, and R. Co. *vs.* Illinois, 108 U. S. 541, and in other cases) sustained the power of the legislature to classify railroads according to the amount of business done, and to prescribe "a maximum of rates for each of the classes," the court saying that a uniform rate for all railroads in the State might possibly operate unjustly, and that at any rate it was in the discretion of the general assembly to classify the roads and fix different rates. In fact, in the latest case, Covington *vs.* Sanford, 164 U. S. 578, it was held that it was in the legislative power to prescribe a different rate for each road.

In Peik *vs.* Chicago, 94 U. S. 164, the court held, the Chief Justice again delivering the opinion, that where a railroad was chartered by two or more States, each State had nevertheless the right to fix the rates between any two points in its own territory; and further said, quoting Munn *vs.* Illinois, that the legislature and not the courts must say what are reasonable rates, for the legislative rate "binds the courts as well as the people. If it has been improperly fixed, the legislature, not the courts, must be appealed to for the change." And on the next page, Chicago *vs.* Ackley, 94 U. S. 179, the court again held that the maximum fixed by the legislature is binding, and that the railroad company will not be permitted to collect more by showing in the courts that the prescribed rate is unreasonably low.

This has since been reaffirmed in Budd *vs.* New York, 143 U. S. 516, at pp. 546, 547. This question, however, cannot arise as to rates which shall be fixed by the legislature or the

railroad commission in those States in which the legislature in its liberality has provided that, if any common carrier shall deem the rates prescribed too low, the company may appeal to the courts. In the courts a jury of twelve men can pass upon and settle the fact in dispute, whether the rate is reasonable or not. Nothing can be fairer than to submit the question to the same tribunal which settles all disputed issues of fact, when the life, liberty, rights, and property of any citizen are at stake.

The right of the public to regulate rates is not restricted to those services which are essentially monopolies, as railroads and the like, but it applies to all matters which are affected by a public use. This was carefully considered by the Court of Appeals of New York, in People *vs.* Budd, 117 N. Y. 1, in which it was declared that the right of regulation by the public is not restricted to cases in which the owner has a legal monopoly or some special governmental privilege or protection, but extends to all public employments and property. In that case a statute fixing a maximum charge for *grain elevators* was sustained. This decision upon writ of error was affirmed by the Supreme Court of U. S., Budd *vs.* N. Y. 143, U. S. 517 ; and to the same effect is Brass *vs.* North Dakota, 153 U. S. 391.

The right of regulation applies also to *water companies*, Spring Valley *vs.* Schottler, 110 U. S. 347; and in a recent Texas case the right to regulate the charges of *cotton compresses* is recognized. There are also cases recognizing the right to regulate charges of *tobacco warehouses* and of *warehouses for* storing and weighing *cotton*, and to regulate services and charges of *general warehousemen*, Delaware *vs.* Stock Yard, 45 N. J. Eq. 50.

The same right of public regulation of rates applies to *street railways*, Buffalo R. Co. *vs.* Buffalo, 111 N. Y. 132; Sternberg *vs.* State, 36 Neb. 307 ; Parker *vs.* Railroad, 109 Mass. 506 ; to *canals*, Perrine *vs.* Canal Co., 9 Howard, U. S., 172; to *ferries*, Stephens *vs.* Powell, 1 Ore. 283 ; State *vs.* Hudson Co., 23 N. J. L. 206 ; Parker *vs.* Railroad, 109 Mass. 506 ; to *toll roads and bridges*, Covington *vs.* Sanford, 14 Ky. 689; *Ibid*, 164 U. S. 578; California *vs.* R. Co.,

127 U. S. 1; to *wharf charges*, Onachita *vs.* Aiken, 121 U. S. 444; to *telegraph rates*, Mayo *vs.* Tel. Co., 112 N. C. 343; R. R. Commission *vs.* Tel. Co., 113 N. C. 213; Leavell *vs.* R. Co., 116 N. C. 211; People *vs.* Budd, 117 N. Y. 1; State *vs.* Edwards, 86 Me. 105; and to *telephone charges*, although the telephone is covered by a United States patent, Hockett *vs.* State, 105 Ind. 250; Telephone Co. *vs.* Bradbury, 106 Ind. 1; Johnson *vs.* State, 113 Ind. 143; Telephone Co. *vs.* State, 118 Ind. 194 and 598; Telephone Co. *vs* B. & O. Telegraph Co., 66 Md. 399.

As to *gas companies* the right of the state to regulate rates either itself or through power conferred upon municipal corporations is beyond controversy, Toledo *vs.* Gas Co., 5 Ohio St. 557; State *vs.* Gas Light Co., 34 Ohio St. 572; Zanesville *vs.* Gas Light Co., 47 Ohio St. 1; New Memphis *vs.* Memphis, 72 Fed. Rep. 952; Capital City *vs.* Des Moines, *Ibid*, 829; Gas Light Co. *vs.* Cleveland, 71 Fed. Rep. 610; State *vs.* Laclede, 102 Mo. 472; Foster *vs.* Findlay, 5 Ohio C. C. 455; Manhattan *vs.* Trust Co., 16 U. S. App. 588; State *vs.* Cincinnati, 18 Ohio St. 262. The power to regulate *water rates* has already been cited as decided in Spring Valley *vs.* Schottler, 110 U. S. 347; and the right to authorize municipal bodies to regulate the price, weight, and quality of *bread* is declared upon the precedents to be settled law, Mobile *vs.* Yuille, 3 Ala. 137; Munn *vs.* People, 69 Ill. 80.

The power to regulate the tolls of *public mills* is declared, citing many precedents, in State *vs.* Edwards, 86 Me. 102; West *vs.* Rawson, 40 W. Va. 480; also the power to fix the rates for the *salvage of logs*, West Branch *vs.* Fisher, 150 Pa. 475; Père Marquette *vs.* Adams, 44 Mich. 403; Underwood *vs.* Pelican Boom Co., 76 Wis. 76.

The above are but a few of the cases recognizing the inherent public right to regulate those matters, and there are still many other matters recognized as subject to public regulation.

It must not be forgotten that there is a broad distinction in the law, running through all the ages, between the above and similar vocations "affected with a public interest," as to

which the sovereign or the public has the right to regulate and fix rates, and purely private matters, as farming, selling merchandise, manufacturing, and similar matters, which are purely private in their nature, and as to which the public has never claimed or exercised the right of regulation. It is by ignorance or an affected ignorance of this broad distinction in the law, and which is based on the essential difference in the nature of things, that denial has been sometimes attempted (by those not lawyers) of the right of public regulation in matters as to which the public have always possessed that right.

From the beginning of these States as Colonies, our statute books have borne provisions regulating the tolls of public mills; and until very recent years the county courts fixed the charges of innkeepers, hotels, and barrooms. The latter regulations have been abandoned of late years, not because the power does not still exist, but because its exercise was no longer required to protect the public, the multiplication of inns and hotels furnishing sufficient protection by reason of competition. The regulation of the tolls of grist mills, ferries, and the like is still exercised.

As to railroads and public carriers, the complete list of decisions uniformly sustaining the public right to fix their charges, both in State and in Federal courts, would fill many pages. Enough have been cited to show that the principle is absolutely settled beyond possibility of question, and anyone can trace up numerous other decisions to that effect if so inclined.

In the great case of People *vs.* Budd, 117 N. Y. 22, the highest court of New York, speaking through Judge Andrews, one of its ablest and purest judges, said:

> Society could not safely surrender the power to regulate by law the business of common carriers. Its value has been infinitely increased by the conditions of modern commerce, under which the carrying trade of the country is to a great extent absorbed by corporations; and as a check upon the greed of these consolidated interests the legislative power of regulation is demanded by imperative public interest. The same principle upon which the control of common carriers rests has enabled the state to regulate in the public interest the charges of telephone and telegraph companies, and to make the telephone and telegraph, those important agencies of commerce, subservient to the wants and necessities

of society. These regulations in no way interfere with a rational liberty — liberty regulated by law.

This decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Delegation of power. The authority of the legislature to empower a railroad commission to prescribe reasonable rates for common carriers is held constitutional in numerous cases, among them R. R. Commission cases, 110 U. S. 307; Reagan *vs.* Trust Co., 154 U. S. 362, 393; State *vs.* Chicago, 38 Minn. 281; Chicago *vs.* Dey, 35 Fed. Rep. 866; Tilley *vs.* Savannah, 4 Woods, 449; Clyde *vs.* Railroad, 57 Fed. Rep. 436; Chicago *vs.* Jones, 149 Ill. 361; Stone *vs.* Railroad, 62 Miss. 602; Stern *vs.* Natchez, 62 Miss. 646; McWhorter *vs.* R. Co. 24 Fla. 417; Storrs *vs.* Railroad, 29 Fla. 617; State *vs.* Fremont, 22 Neb. 313; and in our own State, Express Co. *vs.* Railroad, 111 N. C. 463; and the legislature may prescribe that such rates shall be deemed *prima-facie* reasonable, State *vs.* Fremont, *supra;* Chicago *vs.* Dey, *supra.*

Judicial Interference. The right of the courts to interfere with the rates fixed by the lawmaking power was denied in Munn *vs.* Ill., and several other cases in 94 U. S., and in Budd *vs.* N. Y., above cited; but in Reagan *vs.* Trust Co., 104 U. S. 362 and 413, and St. Louis *vs.* Gill, 156 U. S. 649, it has been since declared that the fixing and enforcement of unreasonable and unjust rates for railroads is unconstitutional. But just what rates will be considered unreasonable and unjust has not yet been stated by the United States Supreme Court.

The discussion in the cases just cited, as well as in others, plainly shows a disposition to interfere and condemn legislative rates only when it is clear that their enforcement amounts to a destruction of the value of the property. In Munn *vs.* People, 69 Ill. 80, and Chicago *vs.* Dey, 35 Fed. Rep. 866, it was held that rates fixed by legislative authority that will give some compensation, however small, to the owners of railroad property, cannot be held insufficient by the courts. "This rule leaves large power to the legislature, and would sanction statutes which would cut down railroad dividends to a mere pittance. Yet it is hard to see how any other rule

can be adopted which will not in effect deny the right of the legislature to make regulation of such rates, or else leave little more than the shadow of such power in the legislature, while the real power is assumed by the courts." The effect of the reduced rates on the entire line of road is the correct test, and not that they are unremunerative on a certain part of the line, St. Louis *vs.* Gill, 156 U. S. 649; Missouri *vs.* Smith, 60 Ark. 221.

In Dow *vs.* Beidelman, 125 U. S. 680, it was held that rates which would pay only one and one-half per cent on the original cost of the road were not illegal when the road is held by a reorganized company or its trustees after foreclosure. In Missouri *vs.* Smith, *supra*, it was held that rates sufficient to defray current expenses and repairs, and some profit on the reasonable cost of building the road, could not be interfered with though they were not high enough to pay interest on all its debts, since these might have been incurred through extravagance or mismanagement.

In Chicago *vs.* Wellman, 143 U. S. 339, the act of the legislature of Wisconsin fixing railroad fares at two cents per mile was sustained, the court saying that, "before the court would declare such an act unconstitutional because the rates prevented stockholders receiving any dividend or bondholders any interest, the court must be fully advised as to what was done with the earnings, otherwise by exorbitant or unreasonable salaries or in some other improper way the company might tax the public with unreasonable charges. Unless such things are negatived by proof of reasonable salaries and expenses, or if the record is silent, the legislative rate will be sustained." This is a valuable and noteworthy decision, and no judge dissented from so just a ruling. The same principle is reaffirmed in Reagan *vs.* Trust Co., 154 U. S. 412.

In the most recent case, Livingston *vs.* Sanford, 164 U. S. 578 (decided December, 1896), the court, while maintaining that ordinarily the rates must not be such as to leave the owners no profit at all, says:

> We could not say that the act was unconstitutional because the company (as is alleged and admitted) could not earn more than four per cent

on its capital stock. It cannot be said that a corporation is entitled as of right and without reference to the interest of the public to realize any given per cent on its capital stock. When the question arises whether the legislature has exceeded its constitutional power in prescribing the rates to be charged by a corporation controlling a public highway, stockholders are not the only persons whose rights or interests are to be considered. The rights of the public are not to be ignored.

The court further says that the inquiry as to whether rates are reasonable and just includes whether they are reasonable and just to the public, and adds:

The public cannot properly be subjected to unreasonable rates in order simply that stockholders may earn dividends. . . . If a corporation cannot maintain such a highway and earn dividends for stockholders, it is a misfortune for it and them which the constitution does not require to be remedied by imposing unjust burdens upon the public.

Charter Exemptions. In Stone *vs.* Farmers' Co., 116 U. S. 307 (reversing the Supreme Court of Mississippi), and also in Stone *vs.* Ill., 116 U. S. 349, it was held that a provision in a railroad charter, that "the company may from time to time fix, regulate, and receive the tolls and charges to be received," did not constitute a contract restricting the State from fixing or reducing charges within the limits of its general power to declare what shall be deemed reasonable rates. So a charter provision giving a railroad company "power to charge such sums for transportation of persons and property as shall seem desirable," or "it shall deem reasonable," does not preclude the legislature from prescribing a maximum of charges which it may make, Peik *vs.* Chicago, 94 U. S. 164; Chicago *vs.* Ackley, *ibid;* Stone *vs.* Wis. 94 U. S. 181; Chicago *vs.* Minn., 134 U. S. 418; Ruggles *vs.* Railroad, 108 U. S. 526; Laurel Fork *vs.* West Va. Co., 25 West Va. 324. And this is true though the charter expressly gives the corporation power "to fix its own rates," since this is impliedly subject to legislative power to require them to be reasonable, Railroad *vs.* Miller, 132 U. S. 75; Ruggles *vs.* People, 91 Ill. 256; Railroad *vs.* People, 95 Ill. 313; Wells *vs.* Oregon, 8 Sawy. 600; and the same has been repeatedly held as to gas companies and water companies. A charter giving a railroad a right to fix its rates, if not beyond a rate stated in the charter, is held not a contract, but subject to the legisla-

tive power to fix other reasonable rates as a maximum from time to time as money changes in value or operating costs diminish, Georgia *vs.* Smith, 70 Ga. 694; Winchester *vs.* Croxton, 97 Ky. (1896).

The statutory regulation of the rate to be paid for the use of money is another striking instance of legislative authority to regulate rates. And who would contend that the courts have power to intervene and say the legislative rate is too low?

The Supreme Court of the United States has tersely put the true status of railroads thus: "They are chartered and built for public benefit. The pecuniary profit of their owners is purely incidental." Many railroad owners and managers would reverse this if they could; and as far as they are permitted they act upon the maxim, "Railroads are operated for the benefit of their controllers and managers. The public benefit is purely incidental."

The great hindrance to achieving the public benefit, which is the legal object for which these corporations are created, is the reluctance of their managers to concede reasonable and just rates. Some of them act as if they believed that the occupation of common carriers was a private business, and that they have the right to lay upon the public any rates they think fit to raise money enough to pay whatever salaries they think proper to allow themselves and whatever expenditures they care to make, and interest on three or four times the stock and bonds the property really cost. Yet nothing is farther from the law.

Railroad, telegraph, telephone, and express companies are quasi-public corporations, the charges are in the nature of public taxation, and the public have the right to look into the nature of their expenditures and to fix the rates at a reasonable net profit above economical and necessary disbursements. The public right in this regard is fully shown by the uniform and numerous decisions of the courts above cited. With the enhanced value of money, and the corresponding fall in the prices of farm produce and of labor, there should be a corresponding fall in passenger and freight rates. This would conduce to the public benefit and con-

venience, and would at the same time redound to the benefit of the corporations, which, instead of carrying a few cars half full of passengers or freight, would find it to their benefit as well as to that of the public to reduce their rates and carry two or three times the number of cars with full loads. The present charges in many of the States are an embargo on travel and traffic alike.

This has been amply shown by experience in those States where the public has succeeded in reducing the rates, and by the experience of a line in North Carolina whose receipts nearly doubled during its reduction of rates. Another striking instance is the reduction of postage rates, which has always been followed by enormously increased receipts. Indeed the two-cents-per-mile passenger rate already prescribed in so many States, and which North Carolina is demanding, is admitted by the corporations in that State to be just, since their reports show that their receipts average only $2\frac{1}{5}$ cents per mile to each passenger. The enormous addition which makes the charge of $3\frac{1}{4}$ cents to the public is caused by the immense number of free passes issued to officeholders, large shippers, and other influential people or favorites — the very people who need them least. But the corporations need their influence to keep the public quiet under exorbitant exactions. Thus, in effect, roughly speaking every three passengers who pay $3\frac{1}{4}$ cents per mile for their own travelling are paying also for the free riding of another, for the railroads carry the deadheads at the expense of the general public.

Governor Pingree of Michigan, who has, I believe, won his fight for three-cent street-car fares and two-cents-per-mile railroad fares, and lower freight rates, in a recent speech in Boston, truthfully said: "Railroad operators are the only men in the country who do not understand that the remedy for short receipts is to lower prices. Yet manufacturers, merchants, and everybody else understand this." Railroad men could understand this too, but that they rely on having a monopoly. In 1874, when the legislature of Wisconsin opened the fight for two-cent fares and lower freight rates, their action was sustained by the Supreme Court of that State, Chief Justice Ryan delivering a remarkably able opin-

ion, in the course of which he said (Atty. Genl. *vs.* Railroad, 35 Wis. 583):

> It may well be that the high rates charged by the railroads have lessened their own receipts by crippling the public interests. The affidavits of experts have been read to the contrary, but they are only opinions, founded indeed on past statistics. Such opinions, founded on such statistics, would have defeated cheap postage, and are helping to-day to defeat a moderate tariff. Experience often contradicts such theories. The interest of the public in this regard seems to be identical with that of the railroad. We think that there must be a point where the public interest in railroads and the private interest of the corporators meet, where the service of the public at the lowest practicable rate will produce the largest legitimate income to the railroad. It seems to us an utter delusion that the highest tolls will produce the largest income. The companies have hitherto absolutely controlled their own rates. The legislature now limits them. The companies say the limit is too low. But there is no occasion for heat or passion on either side. The people and the legislature understand well the necessity of railroads to the State and the necessity of dealing fairly and justly and even liberally with the companies.

And the same can be said of the people of all the States. They are a just and sensible people. They understand the necessity and the benefit of railroads. There is no hostility to railroads as such. We want more of them. There is no disposition among any of our people to deal other than liberally with these corporations. There is no desire to fix rates unreasonably low, but we know that in most of the States, if not in all, rates are unreasonably high.

The people of the South and West know that the controlling management of the great railroad systems of those sections has been grasped by non-resident multimillionaires living in London and New York, and that these railroads, which in the eye of the law "were chartered and built for the public benefit, the pecuniary profit of the owners being incidental only," are now run at "the highest the traffic will bear" for the enrichment of non-residents, and with precious little regard to the advantage of the public. We know the enormous salaries paid to its higher officials, who are also provided with sumptuous private palace cars and staffs of servants, private secretaries, lawyers, and newspapers at the public expense. We know that all these expenses come out of the toiling masses, from whom they are collected by the station agents as surely and more rigidly than the taxes are collected

by the sheriffs and collectors for the State and Federal governments. And we know too that the public have full power through their representatives to fix every charge made by every railroad in the Union.

The Supreme Court of the United States has decided in the cases already quoted that the public, in fixing rates, have the right to know the amount of the salaries of railroad officials and the nature of all their disbursements, so that it may be seen how high it is necessary to fix rates. If the expenditures are extravagant, as for high salaries, or illegal, as for lobby expenses or running newspapers, those items may be disregarded. The public have the same right to be informed as to all these matters as in regard to the salaries and expenses of its State government, for it pays them both equally. The railroad managers need to learn that this is no impertinent curiosity, but a matter of legal right, and that railway management and rates are of vital interest to the public, who pay every expenditure and foot every bill the corporations make.

Yet no inquiry has been more jealously resisted by these corporations than examination into the salaries of their higher officials. They know that the investigation would be damning, and they dare not let the people know how much they are taxed for such salaries and for illegal expenses. In North Carolina the salaries on one tolerably short railroad are double those paid by the entire State to the Governor and all the other executive officers of the State government; and the salaries and emoluments of more than one official of corporations operating in that State amount to more than a dozen times what the State pays its Governor; and yet both are paid by the people and come out of their earnings. The same enormous salaries for the chief managers doubtless prevail generally. In 1894, when the pay of railroad employees was reduced and many employees were discharged, the pay of the higher officials was increased to themselves over $3,000,000.

The public are entitled to regulate the charges of common carriers, as an immemorial right of a free people in all times, and we should accept no petty abatement as a favor. The decisions quoted conclusively show that the public not only

have a right to fix rates, but that in doing so they should justly allow nothing for exorbitant salaries, extravagant expenses, illegal disbursements, nor, after discarding these, anything above the expenses of economical management and a moderate interest on the real value of the property; for the law is just, and does not tolerate dividends on watered stock and bonds.

It could easily be shown that in many of the States the sum illegally wrung from the people above the legal requirements above stated is annually more than the entire amount of taxes levied for the State government. If the men of 1776 are to be commemorated for all time for their resistance to a little illegal tax upon tea, the men who shall hereafter step forward and succeed in rescuing the people from the enormous taxation thus exacted from them, and under which they are staggering without always knowing the reason, will deserve to be remembered "far, far on, in summers that we shall not see.'

PROSPERITY: THE SHAM AND THE REALITY.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

FOR four long years a great organized force in America has been engaged in the effort to *make* prosperity. This organized force cares nothing whatever for prosperity as a fact, but it knows that the prosperity of the nation is one of the conditions upon which its own success and security depend. For this reason it has cried prosperity, prosperity, through all the figures and forms of speech. Since the month of August, 1893, it has turned the combined energies of the greatest power in the world to the one work of creating or forcing into existence what does not exist and cannot be *made* to exist, but what *must* exist if the spoliation of the American people is to continue as heretofore.

The money power, in this undertaking against all natural and healthful conditions to force prosperity where none is, has been wise and cautious. It has had prudence and forethought and cunning; for experience has shown that only the prosperous nation is content to be robbed. He who is already plethoric with plenty will, like a full beef in a reverie, suffer his flank to be picked and flayed without rising from the blue grass to pursue the tormenting thief and toss him hornwise over the fence. But he who is hungry, he who is on his way to the bread-shop with his last hard-earned quarter, will, if the quarter be taken from him, fight the robber, arrest him — if he can, or kill him — if he must. This is the prime reason why prosperity is a necessity in a country where the robbery of the people has become a fine art.

We may be sure that if prosperity could have been *made*, it would have been made ere now. When the money power undertakes anything and does not succeed, we may know that the impediment is great. If that power be baffled in any scheme, we may assume that nothing short of the immutable laws of nature have stood in the way of its fulfilment. If it be only the trifling laws of God and humanity that stand in

the way they can be altered, amended, or annulled in the interest of "national honor." We may know, therefore, that the money power, baffled for four years in its effort to *make* prosperity where no prosperity is, has been encountered by some law or laws which it has been unable to defy — some principle or force in the nature of things which not even Wall Street, reinforced by the Bank of England, has been powerful enough to overcome. Let us for a moment study the course of that power in its frantic efforts, since the panic fell in the summer of the Columbian year, to restore prosperity by ukase and fulmination.

First, note the fact that the money power is itself the very malevolent agency that struck the economic and industrial life of the United States with fatal paralysis four years ago. The manœuvres of that power in tampering with our currency, in altering the law of debt payment, in changing every contract, from the purchase of an intercontinental railway down to the purchase of a pin, so that the debt-maker should be forced into bondage under the compulsion of paying with a long dollar worth two for one, — have been the whole and sole cause of the catastrophe. The money upas spread out its baleful branches, and prosperity was mildewed in the shadow. The poisonous dews of that deadly tree distilled upon American enterprise, and it withered and died.

Know all men that prosperity did not fail through any fault of the *people*. The people were not less industrious than before; they were not less frugal; they were not less honest; they were not less friendly to those forms of capital upon which, according to the present conditions of civilization, they are dependent for profitable exertion. The farmers, the mechanics, the miners, the laboring classes in general, the merchants, and all the rank and file of industry, were perfectly blameless as it respects the destruction of prosperity. They had no part or lot in the nefarious business. The American people were just the same in the summer of 1893 that they had been in the summer of 1889. The prostration of their industries, the destruction of their business, the sudden paralysis of their enterprises, the wasting of their small accumulations, the bitter industrial death that came upon them, —

all these were the direct results of the iniquities and devilish schemes that had been contrived by the money power and its abettors to force upon the American people a violated contract, a false economy, a fraudulent financial scheme, and in particular, a long dollar worth more than two for one.

The money power succeeded in the scheme. It contracted the currency. It abolished silver. It got possession of the gold, and then declared that gold was the only honest money — gold and our banknotes, redeemable in greenbacks! Prices ran down to nothing; industry ceased; debt-paying became impossible; for the dollar was cornered. The mortgage of Shylock on about fourteen million voters was foreclosed; the blinds were shut, and the mourners went about the streets. It will prove instructive to note what the money power, with its adjunct missionary organizations, its syndicates, its pools, its trusts, its stock exchanges, its telegraph and railway combinations, its subsidized press, and its extinct systems of political economy has said in explanation and apology for its destruction of prosperity.

In the first place it pleaded *non est factum.* It denied that there had been any failure of prosperity. Every force in the vast working machine of public falsehood was set to work to prove that the people were more prosperous than ever. Whoever said the contrary was a howler of calamity. This was kept up with vile reiteration for a full year; then the tune was changed, and the organs of the International Gold League declared that the lamentable failure of prosperity was due to the producers themselves. The producers were discontented for nothing. They were better paid and had more of the good of life than ever before. They were lazy, boorish hayseeds; if they would go to work and cease talking they would be more prosperous than any people in the world.

Thus began the era of traduction and ridicule. The farmers, the mechanics, the laboring men in general, the miners, the small merchants began to be systematically disparaged. They were caricatured; they were slandered; they were cartooned; they were impersonated by mountebanks on the stage. Every issue of the metropolitan press teemed with aspersions and contumelious jokes cast at the working

classes. Every effort of the producers to lift themselves a little to a higher plane, on which they might share somewhat in the increase and blessedness which honest labor confers on the world, was ridiculed and scorned. Every attempt at coöperation was attacked and misrepresented. Every concrete action of the working men was assailed with covert hatred and open falsehood. Trades-unions were denounced as the inventions of discontent and communism. The capitalistic journals were filled with arguments to show that all combinations of the working people and all expressions of dissatisfaction with their condition were only so many signs of onfalling anarchy, so many impediments to the happiness of the masses. How greatly in those days the metropolitan press was concerned to secure the happiness of the masses by persuading them to be content with the hard but providential lot which had overtaken them!

Another change came over the spirit of the money power's dream. A new form of falsehood was discovered and sent forth. This was "the loss of confidence." Confidence had been destroyed! Capital had lost confidence; perhaps it had lost its own confidence! The stock exchange and the banks had lost confidence. Prosperity, depending upon the stock exchange and the banks, had perished for want of confidence. Restore confidence, and prosperity will return as a flood.

This was the cry of 1894–95. The appendix vermiformis of this delusion was the little gold worm in the vault. The gold worm thought that confidence could come again only with a reform of the currency. Silver being despatched, the greenbacks must be despatched also. We will have a bankers' convention at Baltimore, and will formulate a plan by which American money shall be reduced to two forms only; one metallic and one paper — the one gold and the other national-bank notes. All other forms of money shall be destroyed. Every kind of people's money shall be cancelled and made impossible by law. Make gold (which we own), said they, the *ultimate* money, and paper (which we own also!) the *circulating* money, and *then* prosperity will come in as a flood; for confidence will be restored — that is, *our* confidence will be restored! As for the people, their

confidence is of no account, and never was. Having a national money of the kind described, owned and controlled by ourselves, we can expand it and control it at our will. The government will thus be taken out of the banking business, and the banks will be established in the governing business forever.

Thus will be produced, said the bankers' convention, "an elastic currency" which we can stretch or contract according to the demands of (our own) business! Do this for us, and the country will prosper as never before.

A third change came over the money power's dream. The failure of prosperity was not, after all, the result of Old Hayseed's discontent. It was not, after all, the menace of silver. It was not, after all, the heterogeneous character of our currency, but it was political and financial agitation. The ignorant people were agitating for their rights. They were considering questions for themselves. They were presuming to touch financial conditions. They were disturbing business and alarming the business world. Behold, therefore, how dangerous the American people are to the interests of business!

Prosperity, continued this canting oligarchy, has been driven out of the country by agitation, by comment, by discussion. If the people would cease to talk and would leave the matter to us, we would restore prosperity in a fortnight. If they would prosper let them adopt the motto of Phil Armour, "Make sausages and stop asking fool questions." But the intermeddling people go on disturbing us; they criticise our methods; they vote against us; they doubt our fidelity to their institutions; they actually say that the money power is an ally of monarchy and centralization. They hold meetings and think themselves patriotic when they consider the interests of the country. They should understand that there are no interests except ours. The producing interests are interests only in name. They are interests only to the extent that they furnish the material for our professional practices. The products of industry do not belong to the producers, but to us; and the fine art of getting these products out of the producers' hands into our own is impudently denounced in

popular meetings and by political parties as the nefarious craft of shysters.

The anarchists call our noble art robbery. They call us gamblers. They talk, and write for newspapers, and have orators whom they call patriots, but whom we call demagogues. It is this agitation that keeps business disturbed, and prevents the return of prosperity. A presidential election is coming on, and the anarchists and repudiationists will have a candidate and a party. They will have a platform. That platform and that party are the enemies of prosperity. *We* are the custodians of prosperity; *we* are the promoters of it in the old world and the new. If the party of the anarchists was only suppressed and overthrown, then prosperity would come. Our newspapers shall tell the people that until sound money be declared and vindicated by our platform, and until our party shall be successful, prosperity can never return. And then they added in a whisper aside, "We will not let it return until these ends shall be accomplished; we will lock up the money in our vault and starve them all into submission."

How well we remember the piping metre of this song during the presidential year! Prosperity was held back, said the goldite propaganda, by the Chicago platform; by Mr. Bryan, the demagogue; by his party, the communists. But *we* have a platform which declares for both bimetallism and gold! It declares for the one or the other according to the preferences of our followers. Our orators and bureaus shall teach it the one way or the other way according to the needs of the neighborhood. The world shall be round or flat to suit the views of the old women of the district!

The silver man can vote *our* platform because it is bimetallic; the gold man can vote it, because it is monometallic. The hybrid can vote it, because it is both. The protectionist can vote it because it is that. The free trader can vote it because it is reciprocal. We have made it so that anybody can vote it, because it is republican. Vote it, therefore, and prosperity will be on the land like the sunshine and the rain. Our candidate is himself the advance agent of prosperity. Follow him, and he will lead you forth.

A majority of the deluded followed him. Prosperity did not return. In the language of Grover Cleveland, "Prosperity still lingered on the threshold." Would she ever cross the threshold and enter? The eloquent and incomparable Bryan has asked this question with humorous sarcasm before hundreds of thousands of our countrymen, and no one has been able to answer. Prosperity did not come with the election of 1896, but continued to hesitate. But no doubt the reason was that the old administration and the old Congress were still in power. Prosperity did not like Cleveland, and refused to cross his threshold! But wait until there shall be a new occupant at the White House; him she will adore; him she will fly to as a fluttering bird to her mate. Wait until the old absurd Congress adjourns, and until the beautiful new Congress comes in; wait until the inauguration, and then prosperity will arrive by the Empire Limited.

But all winter long prosperity stood in the cold outside the lintel. She would not enter until spring. The spring came; the new President was inaugurated and the new Congress assembled; but there was as little prosperity as ever. The incoming of the McKinley administration and the assembling of Congress in extraordinary session had as little effect on the prosperity of the United States as the beating of a tambourine by a Salvationist has on the tides and seasons.

Another proclamation was therefore necessary in order to keep the procession marching and to trammel up the miscarriages of prophecy. The party of prosperity began to be hard pressed for excuses. The dominant faction in that party had declared all along, sometimes with tremendous vociferation and sometimes *sotto voce*, that the failure of prosperity was traceable not to financial, but to economic and commercial reasons. It was the Tariff, and not the Dollar, that had done the mischief. It was the Wilson Bill, and not the abolition of silver money, that had

> Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
> With loss of Eden.

Remove the cause, therefore, and Eden will return. So the statesman Dingley comes forth; and the work is undertaken.

Slowly, but with irresistible momentum, the Great Tariff Thing is engendered. For four months the prophetic birth is in gestation, and then —

Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

The writer, from the gallery of the House of Representatives on the 26th of July, 1897, had the pleasure of looking down upon that awful birth. It was a prodigious event; for it was to bring prosperity to the United States. The revenues were to be made equal to the expenditures. The follies and absurdities of the Wilson Bill were to be removed. Greatness and genius should now shine forth out of darkness. Cosmos should be instituted, and chaos should flee away. Now at last prosperity should linger no longer. Daintily and at a single bound should coy prosperity now skip the threshold and rush into our arms. Blessed dream! Beautiful chimera! Bitter disappointment!

This article is written on the seventeenth day of August, 1897. What have been the results of the Dingley Bill in the way of restoring prosperity in the United States? Here are the facts. Read them, O you American people! Read them, and reflect upon the long chase of delusion and false cry and mockery that this party of prosperity and Mephistophelian intrigue, this party of double dealing and ambiguity, this party of fraud and feculence has led you. For the first fourteen days of August the receipts of the Treasury of the United States were $10,163,163. For the same fourteen days the expenditures were $20,740,000. The deficit is the difference; that is *$10,576,837*. At this rate the Dingley Bill will yield the clever deficit of more than $250,000,000 a year! *That* is the aggregate result of the light that has just failed! *That* is the offspring of the mountain that groaned and travailed! The question is whether the people will still believe in the production of prosperity by the hypodermic of old Doctor Economics at Washington.

The abortive outcome of the Dingley Tariff Bill of 1897 had been for some time foreseen by the goldite oligarchy. Indeed, the issue was foreseen by all intelligent people. At the time of the passage of the bill there were very few who

still hugged the delusion of restoring prosperity by such an idle scheme.

There is a certain measure of patriotic amusement in noting the confusion of the quacks over the production and outcome of their tariff bill. They knew well enough that nothing would come of it; and for this reason they were forced in advance to prepare and proclaim *something else* as a panacea. It was necessary, from a political point of view, to be able to fulminate prosperity coincidently with the passage of the Dingley Bill; else it would appear that the bill was of no avail. For if we administer our drug, though we may know that it is only mucilage and flour, it is still necessary to tell the patient, a few hours afterward, that he is greatly improved!

Knowing, as they did know, that the Dingley Bill would be, from the day of its conception to the day of its delivery and all through life, the economic abortion *par excellence* of the epoch, the management devoted itself in advance to a new method of making prosperity by raising the price of wheat! To do so was a necessity; for otherwise how could the party of prosperity carry the Ohio election? Besides, if the price of wheat could be put *up* coincidently with the collapse of the Dingley Tariff, and if, at the same time, the price of silver could be put *down*, a situation would be prepared, the political value of which no one except a member of the stock exchange could well estimate! For if wheat and silver could be forced apart, *two* great results would be reached, either of which would yield a handsome political return.

In the first place, the argument of the anarchists that wheat and silver go together would be destroyed. If a great gap could be produced, even for a while, in the equation of wheat and silver the Western farmer might be made to stare and wonder at such a fact until he could be induced once more to vote the ticket. If this result could be reached at the precise time when the failure of the tariff legislation should become known and read of all men, then the goldite newspapers and orators could immediately raise a hue and cry in which the high price of wheat and the low price of

silver should be the dominant tone of vociferation, while the collapse of the protection scheme should be the unobserved and omitted note.

In accordance with this programme the makers of prices, with their headquarters in London and Liverpool and New York, began, about the time of the inauguration of McKinley, to mark up wheat and to mark down silver. Steadily they followed this programme. They could do this, for they are the makers of prices. The money lords put themselves between wheat and silver, pushing the first with one hand in one direction, and the second with the other hand in the other direction. Every sensible man knows that the increasing price of wheat during the spring and summer months of 1897 has not been caused by the law of supply and demand, or by any other law known to legitimate political economy. Was there ever a time in the history of the United States when the wheat crop was more abundant? I predict that as many as four States of the Union will show for the season of 1897 an aggregate of more than fifty millions of bushels apiece! In many States such a yield of wheat was never known. From the Missouri river to the Pacific there is a chorus of jubilation over the tremendous crops. I have received private advices from Spokane that the wheat crop throughout Washington is unparalleled — that it will reach from forty to fifty bushels the acre over large stretches of the country.

What, therefore, should be the price of wheat under the law of supply, or any other natural law of the market? What did the goldites themselves tell us about the low price of wheat last year? Oh, *that* was caused by the abundant crops and by the increase of labor-saving machinery. *That* was overproduction. Now the supply is still greater and the labor-saving machinery more abundant. The last year's explanation does not seem to fit the present condition!

The greater the supply, the less the exchangeable value, *is* one of the first laws of political economy. The present bulge in wheat is, therefore, factitious. The increased demand at home and abroad is by no means as great as the enlarged supply. The equation of supply and demand points clearly

to a price *reduced* from the figures of last year. And yet we have this magnificent spurt, which, thanks be to heaven, will for once accrue to the advantage of the farmers!

The goldbugs have been able to make this price. They were obliged to make it; but the laws of nature are fixed, and it has happened that they were obliged to make it at a time when the benefit must accrue to the producers. This is richness! If one could, in these days, analyze the feelings of one of the cocks of the wheat pit, he would find in the heart of him something bitterer than wormwood arising from the reflection that for once the boom in wheat has come at a time when the benefit must be felt in the farmer's pocket rather than in the day-book of the pit. Hitherto the boom has always been when the wheat was in the hands of the Street.[1]

While this result has been reached in wheat, the very same power that has produced it has forced down the price of silver (as measured by gold) to a figure unprecedented in history. This has been effected at the very time when the diminished output of the silver industry would indicate the opposite result. The silver industry has been paralyzed by the adverse legislation of England, the Continental states, and America. The natural effect of such legislation is clearly to diminish the aggregate output of the silver mines of the world and thereby to reduce the supply. The reduced supply will, of course, point to an increase of exchangeable value; that is, to a rise in the price of silver. It is true that the legislation against silver has diminished the *demand* therefor to such an extent as more than to counterbalance the effect of the reduced output. But this downward force acting on the price of silver has not by any means been equal to the fall in the price. The price has fallen more than the diminished demand would indicate.

The recent reductions in the quotations of silver, there-

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[1] Since this was written I have learned that a very considerable proportion of the wheat crop of the country was bought in advance at low figures by the speculators, and that the Street is, as a matter of fact, riding on the billow of its own boom! It is the old story over again. To what extent this element of anticipated profit on the part of those who were obliged to make the high price of wheat for political reasons in the summer of 1897 has prevailed to beat the farmers out of *their* profits, it is impossible to say at the present. But if they are not swindled by the wheat gamblers, it will be the first time that they have ever escaped that fate.

fore, have been *made* independently of the law of supply and demand and for the definite purpose of affecting public opinion at this particular juncture of affairs. It has been *made* by the very same power that has bulled the price of wheat. The money oligarchy has shown itself, during the greater part of 1897, in the double act of bull and bear. The beast has become a monster which we will name, not the Minotaur of the fable, but the *Ursataur*, or Bear-bull. Seeing that something must be done to save itself from overthrow by the just wrath of the American people — kindled at last to the flaming point by the long series of delusions, falsehoods, and frauds that have been practised on them — the Ursataur has been obliged to invent the scheme of rising wheat and falling silver. For this would enable the minions of that power to make another proclamation of prosperity, and to credit it partly to the Dingley Tariff and partly to the general revival which has been promised for more than a quadrennium.

My countrymen! it is a delusion. It is a political snare. True, you are getting the advantage, for your enemy was this time caught in a trap. The Dingley Bill was a July child; the wheat was still in the hands of the producers. The price had to go up *then;* for the elections were coming in November. I pray you, O farmers, to reap the advantage while you may. Make hay while the sun shines. But do not be foolish enough to trust that enemy when he comes — as he will come — this fall to superintend your voting. If you follow him to the election booth and do his bidding, he will throw you again. As soon as you have deposited your ballot he will go away chuckling, and think what an unmitigated fool Old Hayseed is! With his left eye he will perform a wink at your expense that may be seen from the Chicago wheat pit to Lombard Street. Trust him not, farmer, — unless, indeed, you will enjoy the exercise of being trounced once more on your own board!

Such has been, in outline, the history of prosperity by ukase and fulmination. Such have been the conception and the miscarriage of it. Of this kind of prosperity we should think that the American people have now had a sufficiency. It may well be believed that the citizens of the United States

are not all fools. True, all of them have been fooled some of the time, and some of them have been fooled all the time; but it has never yet happened that all of them have been fooled all the time. A period has now arrived in which it may be hoped that only a few of them can be fooled any of the time. The writer chances to know something of the sterling good sense of the producers of this country. He has spent the greater part of his life among them, and he has yet to be convinced that they will permit the money power to drag them around through thicket and bramble and quagmire forever. It is time that a throne of judgment should be set in this nation, and that the offenders against the dignity of the nation should be haled to the tribunal. — But I will use the remainder of my space in offering a brief exposition of what real prosperity is, and when it will arrive.

The real prosperity of a nation is the healthful and natural condition of the economic body. It implies a healthful production, a healthful exchange, a healthful distribution, and a healthful consumption of those values which are created by human labor. There must be, we say, a healthful condition throughout the economic body before real prosperity can exist; for prosperity is simply health, and health is prosperity; that is, prosperity is industrial health.

The industries of a nation are all individual in the ultimate analysis. This signifies that the real industries of a people are in the capillaries of the economic body, and not in its centres. If there be an imperfect or obstructed capillary circulation, there can be no health either in the individual or in the nation. If the circulation in the capillaries has ceased for any reason, and the blood and nerve flux have receded toward the centre, there can be no health, no prosperity. There may be blood enough and nerve flux enough; but if these be in the centres instead of the extremities of the economic body, if they circulate around the centres instead of flowing to the extremities, if they tend more and more to heap up on one or two vital organs, there can be — if the trouble be not speedily removed — but one result; that is, congestion and death. We have had in the United States for nearly a quarter of a century a condition of economic

and industrial congestion. This has been attended with symptoms of the oncoming of an apoplectic, or at least a cataleptic, state of all enterprise. Apoplexy signifies death; catalepsy signifies a convulsion, or, in historical language, a revolution.

The capillaries of the industrial body in a nation are fed and stimulated from just two fountains of supply, namely, *the prices of products* and *the wages of labor*. From these two sources spring all the elements of life and strength. When these two sources are full and strong the whole industrial landscape will flush with green and beauty. When these two sources sink away, like receding springs, then the industrial landscape will inevitably become a desert. The whole question simplifies itself around these indisputable conditions. When the prices of products and the wages of labor are adequate, there will be life and warmth in the extremities, and vitality in every organ of the economic body. When prices are low and wages are reduced to a minimum there will be inevitable weakness, stagnation, and lethargy in every part. In a word, and as an epitome of the whole question, prosperity begins in full prices for the products of industry and in strong wages for the whole labor of the people.

Without these primary conditions it is absurd to talk of prosperity or to proclaim it. It is preposterous to talk of its return. While prices remain at half their normal level, and while one moiety of the labor of the country is unemployed and the other moiety is employed for three-fourths of the time at eighty per cent of full wages, there can be no such thing as industrial prosperity or the revival of business anywhere. All the falsehood and proclamation and subsidized shouting that the gold powers of the world can set up and utter will be impotent to revive the currents of paralyzed production, of stagnant exchange, and of hushed manufacture until the fundamental condition of full prices and high wages shall be restored.

The question of the restoration of adequate prices and full wages goes back to the cause or causes of falling prices and low wages. The effect has respect to the cause. What, then, was the unhealthy condition in our economic body that

produced in the first place the falling off of prices and the reduction of wages, with the consequent loss of employment and cessation of industrial enterprise?

The great prime cause of these fatal facts in our industrial life was the disturbance and withdrawal of that natural stimulus which circulates in the channels of industry and constitutes its blood. The stimulus was commercial blood; that is, *money*. A process was instituted by which the circulating force of our system was reduced in quantity and deteriorated in quality. The money which had adjusted itself to the requirements of our economic life twenty-five years ago began to be purposely reduced in volume and diminished in energy by the malign or ignorant powers that were then prevalent in the nation.

A condition of industrial anæmia ensued, in which the capillaries cried out for their wonted stimulus. At the same time the heart and nerve centres, instead of sharing their store, instead of sending it forth into the outlying, starving industries, insisted on a monopoly of whatever force and impetus still existed in the body. The result was the failure and paralysis of our industrial life. Or, to drop the figure, the industries of America, under the false financial system that was craftily instituted in the later seventies and earlier eighties, were weakened and done to death for the want of the normal stimulus, which was to them as the blood and nerve flux of the body are to man.

A true economic life cannot exist, that is, prosperity cannot abound in a nation, when the extremities of the industrial system are benumbed and paralyzed. Under such conditions prosperity cannot be *made* to exist. Indeed, under such conditions, the more quackery, the more disease. When the sensation of numbness and the premonition of paralysis appear, wisdom would indicate the immediate removal of the cause. Unwisdom would indicate more blood-letting and the administration of narcotics. In our case we had full warning. The sensation of numbness was felt and the premonition of paralysis was seen more than twenty years ago. As early as 1874 there was a great preliminary swirl that ought to have given us pause. In 1878 there was another

swish of the oncoming of the evil day. Ever and anon the premonitory rigors of nerve death appeared in this nation, and ever and anon thinkers and patriots pointed out the inevitable coming of disaster, *unless* the malign causes then at work could be stayed. But the dominant powers said that they who pointed out the evil day were birds of ill omen; they were false prophets. They were croakers and ignorant prognosticators of something that would never come. So we journeyed on through dangerous years of muttering until the storm burst — until the residue of our fortunes was well-nigh swept away.

Then the producing industries of the people, far removed from the financial centres, cried out with suffering and anguish. From these primary industries the wave of distress went backward by reflex towards the economic centres of society. Manufactures and the great work of exchange next felt the pressure. Then *they* tottered and fell. The heart of the financial system continued to beat; it was even plethoric with blood. When the extremities complained of anæmia the heart foolishly replied that there had never been so much blood at any time before. As for itself, it was nearly bursting with blood. By and by the heart had to invent a reservoir like Lake Mœris in the Fayum of ancient Egypt in which to pour its surplus of blood. And the name of the lake was BOND!

In plain narrative, the reduction of our currency from a rational to an irrational basis has been the bane of the industrial life of America. With this began the destruction of prosperity. The currency was contracted because of debt, and with a view to increasing the value of that debt. It was done to double the debt and to cut American industry in twain. It was a moneylending scheme, in which the government of the United States at first became a silent partner, and finally the head of the house!

Time was, during the reign of Hugh McCulloch, when the legal-tender circulation of the country was cancelled and destroyed at the rate of ten millions a month! Strange to relate that Wall Street, suddenly pinched at that juncture, became the greatest inflationist that we have ever known.

A committee from the Street, composed of its most powerful representatives, went to Washington and besought the President and Secretary of the Treasury to stop the contraction and to reissue some of the despised greenbacks in order to save the "business interests" from disaster! Gradually, however, the work of contraction was resumed. One measure after another was adopted always with the end in view of increasing the value of the debt, and at the same time reducing the capacity of the debtor. The two things went together, and the paralysis of industry as the inevitable result ensued.

No enterprise which is conducted in whole or in part on credit can, in the nature of the case, be long prosecuted if the debit and credit of the establishment are constantly manipulated so as to increase the one and reduce the other. No business capacity is sufficient to cope with that situation in which with each night following each day of labor and payment the debit account is tampered with so as to make it greater than it was before. And yet this is precisely what has been done in the United States. Our legal tender or people's money has been reduced to a minimum, and that minimum is openly threatened with extinction. The programme for the obliteration of the last greenback is only suspended until the people quiet down. The coinage of legal-tender silver has been interdicted by law. Not only so, but silver dollars are already disparaged to the extent that in the money centres they have been virtually discarded. In New York City there is not a telegraph operative who, in giving you a silver dollar in exchange, will not apologize for the necessity of doing it! To such an extent has the opinion of the metropolis been corrupted and debased that the silver dollar, the old dollar of the law and the contract for all debts, public and private, in the United States, is not accepted, except under compulsion of legal-tender, by the abettors of the stock exchange, and not handled by the messenger boys without a shudder and an apology. This is true in New York, in Boston, in Philadelphia, in every great city east of the Alleghanies and north of the Potomac.

Moreover, it is intended by the money power to destroy

finally our silver-dollar currency. Let no one imagine that the silver dollar will be spared. As soon as the greenbacks are out of the way, the upholders of "the national credit" will turn upon our silver residue of legal tender with all the energy and genius which they possess. They will first use the silver dollars to repair the bucket-chain and to force the sale of additional bonds. At the same time they will denounce the silver dollars, *because they are convertible into a bucket-chain!* Therefore they ought to be sent to the mint and to the silver shops to be recoined into change or converted into the arts.

To resume the argument: Prosperity withered and perished because of the criminal manipulation of the currency system of the United States. Prosperity and the single gold standard of values do not consist; they cannot consist, and they never will consist. The gold standard may be fixed and riveted on the American people; but I do not think it will be! If it should be done, industrial slavery will be the permanent result. If it should be done, prosperity will linger not only on Cleveland's threshold and on McKinley's threshold, but on the threshold of every President to come. If the gold scheme shall be successful in Europe and America, prosperity need not be expected to return. To teach the people this lesson and to burn it into their memories and hearts is the object of this article.

It makes no difference how much a fictitious prosperity may be fulminated through the land. It makes no difference how much it may be declared by ukase and supported with spurious statistics. It makes no difference how much it may be electrified with grapevine despatches telling of impossible conditions, of revivals that exist only in imagination, and of florid reports that are invented in the offices of the mendacious journals that publish them.

Real prosperity will come again when the equilibrium shall be restored in the economic body of this nation. That will be when the prices of products and the wages of labor shall rise to the level of adequate remuneration. It will come when the circulating medium shall be equivalent to the steady and comparatively unchanging demands of pro-

ductive enterprise and commerce. It will come when the metallic basis of currency shall be broadened and confirmed in both metals, silver and gold, on terms of absolute equality. It will come when silver and gold together, at an established ratio, shall be built into all the abutments of our industrial structure. It will come when the monetary system, thus established and constituted, shall send its reviving streams of energy and fertility into the extremities of the economic body. It will come when the capillary circulation shall be reëstablished with a generous glow and vitality in the small individual industries of the American people. It will come when the money congestion of this nation and of all the world shall be relieved; and when the accumulated and locked-up money hoard shall be forced abroad into legitimate and wholesome enterprises. It will come when the people shall have a people's money in their pockets; when interest-bearing debt as the basis of business shall be abolished; when industry shall again be individualized and independent; when Man shall become the owner of the Dollar; and when the manipulation of the Dollar, which is the Man's counter and the index of value in the transaction of his business, by any power whatsoever, whether bank or syndicate or nation, shall be branded and punished as a crime.

JEFFERSON AND HIS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

BY MARY PLATT PARMELEE.

AS the great world spins down the ringing grooves of change, there are two things which are always and forever happening. Those that are down are trying to get up, and those on top are striving to keep them down. No defeat, however terrible, discourages these tireless forces. Let the explosion be never so violent, soon as the wreckage is cleared away, the forces at the top commence again to smooth and then to crystallize a surface which shall be impenetrable to the forces below.

Just one century ago, the world had a fearful object-lesson in the explosive power of long imprisoned wrong and suffering. For thirty years the seed dropped by Rousseau had been germinating.

Whether the man makes the times, or the times the man, is one of the questions with which the human mind amuses itself. It reminds one of that very wise person who thought it such a singular and fortunate thing that all the great cities *happened* to be on the banks of large rivers.

He who can capture the unuttered thought of his time, give expression to the vague discontent, definite outline to the aspiration, *he* is the man of the hour. People have vaguely felt it, have groped for it; but *he* has grasped and formulated it — and he is *Great!* It was the times which created Rousseau, not Rousseau the times. He encamped on the banks of a great river. The river did not flow past that point because *he* stood there! Something within him vibrated in response to the unuttered longing of his time, and he materialized the spirit of the hour into a creed and a formula — "*Liberty — Equality — Fraternity.*" To the wretched it meant hope — opportunity — fulfilment. To the jaded appetites of the gay and powerful it meant a fascinating abstraction, a charming theme to discuss in elegant boudoirs; and pastoral simplicity became what we should now call a

fad. So, while the one class daintily sipped the exhilarating wine brewed by the Swiss philosopher, and airily discussed its flavor, the other eagerly swallowed it in great, thirsty, copious draughts, which fired the imagination and awoke passionate longings.

Little did Rousseau dream of all that was enfolded within that germ! Nor did the rich and great respect the potential energy existing in the phrase with which they played as with a new toy, and which, thirty years later, became the watchword for the most terrific outburst of human passion the world had ever beheld. And, when all was over — the unbridled force all expended — what was gained? The very word *Liberty* made men shudder! Gladly they huddled under the strong, sheltering arm of Napoleon. He too had a genius for divining the unuttered thought of his time. He had no passionate longing for his race, but none knew better than he when to encamp upon the banks of a great river! "What this people need is to *forget* — to be *amused* — *diverted.*" The blood and ashes — all reminders of the unspeakable horror of the paroxysm, were covered with a glittering mantle of imperialism, which David and others embroidered with their gold and silver threads of art. And the gay French world danced and sang, happy in light-hearted confidence that the lesson had been sufficient. *Liberty — Equality — Fraternity* — these ugly words would be heard nevermore.

And Rousseau — poor Rousseau, whose name is ineffaceably written on the title-page of this tragedy — what had he to do with it? He was like one of those theoretic gardeners, who, having studied the properties of seeds in libraries, proceed to plant them, and are then amazed at the forthcoming growth! Was this the sort of plant Rousseau's prophetic imagination had seen?

I think it was the great Frederick who said that if he had a province to punish, he would give it to philosophers to govern. But it is well for us that at the hour when we took up a separate existence among the peoples of the earth, there were philosophers who moulded the thought and guided the pens which were to secure to us our liberties.

But there are philosophers and philosophers. It is one of those loosely fitting words which will cover a Rousseau and a Voltaire as well as a Franklin and a Jefferson. And while Rousseau and the French philosopher liberated a terrible energy, making no provision for its restraint, the men who presided at the birth of this nation were constructing a system of checks and balances of marvellous perfection, through which the popular will must flow. It was the difference between lightning pursuing its own mad course toward its end, and the same force captured for the beneficent uses of civilization.

A problem entirely new to human experience was before them. Thirteen States, with greatest diversity in size, importance, and characteristics, were to be welded into a nation. A plan of federation must be devised which should give equal opportunity to the smallest with the greatest, and which, while preserving the autonomy of each State, should still bring all into a firmly compacted and indivisible whole.

The story of the war of opinions which raged so fiercely over the cradle of our Republic is simply that of a conflict between two everlasting principles, which, so long as the world stands, will be arrayed against each other — the principles of paternalism and individualism. Thomas Jefferson was an uncompromising champion of *individualism;* the effort of his life was to reduce the powers of the central government to the *minimum*, and to exalt to the maximum the importance of the individual. In a character less nicely balanced, a mind less philosophical, and a heart less simply intent upon the highest good of his country, so strong a tendency might have been dangerous. But Jefferson loved his country more than his theory. He was not a fanatic or an enthusiast, but a man with deep convictions and an unbending purpose.

He commenced life as a loyal subject of Great Britain, but on the very threshold of his career as a lawyer, and while still only a youth, was caught up by the great wave of popular indignation at the wrongs inflicted by the mother country, and from that time was a champion of the rights of America, a leader in her councils, and impressed himself as did no other

man upon the structure of her government and the spirit informing her institutions, which became, if Emerson's definition be true, the "lengthened shadow" of Jefferson.

He had a nature endowed with splendid virtues and a capacious intellect, a mind which was not a storehouse but a laboratory. It assimilated all the facts of human experience and drew from them a political philosophy which was the mainspring of his action, and the endeavor of his life to see embodied in American institutions. His creed was simple. He believed in the *People*. He had an abiding faith in the collective wisdom of *Humanity*. He believed that the ideal government should be framed, not so much to restrain the popular will as to *express* it; not to obstruct, but to *execute* it. The *People* were sovereign; the government was their servant.

Few men have addressed themselves to a task of such magnitude, or brought to it qualities so ample and varied. With a splendid grasp of *principles* he combined a genius for details which rendered him peculiarly fitted to aid in the formative period of the nation.

Matchless as a husband, a father, and a friend, he was besides a scholar, a musician, a writer, an inventor, a man of science, a philosopher; but above and beyond all else he was a *patriot*. And into this great swelling stream of patriotism he poured all other gifts. All that he was and had he gave with unsparing hand. In his mind were the germs of art, science, and philosophy, which with opportunity would have blossomed into a splendid fruitage. But deaf to all these allurements, he devoted fifty years of life to public service with such absolute self-surrender, with private interests so entirely subordinated to public ones, that he saw his own ample fortune waste away from neglect, and died a bankrupt.

Few biographies leave on the mind an impression of nobler character than that of Thomas Jefferson, and yet there has probably never been a man who has excited such antagonisms and been so detested and execrated by good men as he.

I myself was brought up in a family where the traditions were all anti-Jeffersonian. And as I write these eulogistic words I am somewhat in dread lest my honored grandfather

shall arise in indignation and rebuke me. Indeed, until quite recently I believed that *Jefferson* was only another name for incarnate evil; that he was not only guilty of the enormity of having fathered the *Democratic party*, but a man who was blasphemous, vulgar, and in fact quite unfit for the society of self-respecting people. If you will read William Cullen Bryant's vituperative description of him in his first poem, "The Embargo," you will understand the sort of Jeffersonian echoes which are still heard in many households throughout the land. But no Roman was sterner in virtue, no Spartan more severe in ideas of truth and justice. His principles were exalted and *philosophically true*, and his fidelity to them was absolute. In the use of his great gifts, *never* did he seem impelled by small motives or by personal ambitions.

During six terrible years (between 1792 and 1798) he was resident minister at Paris. Poor France was striving to follow in America's footsteps on the path to liberty. To be what we were, think and act as we did, was her aim and ideal.

Fancy Jefferson's amazement and grief when he returned to America after this long absence, and upon taking his place in Washington's cabinet at New York, at finding himself in an atmosphere of openly avowed monarchical sentiment! Republicanism unfashionable! A strong reaction toward aristocratic habits and ideals. An exclusive social surface forming in New York and elsewhere which lacked only titles to render it indistinguishable from a foreign *noblesse*. Do we realize how narrow was the escape made by the young Republic at this time? And do we realize who it was who stood and fought out that battle almost single-handed for the American idea?

Hamilton openly declaring that a limited monarchy was the best form of government, and the one we should without doubt adopt after the present experiment had failed — as it must. John Adams sending forth philosophical diatribes upon the benefits of a landed and privileged aristocracy, and of the hereditary principle. Even Washington investing his office with a sort of regal state, and his person with some of the divinity which doth hedge a king.

Jefferson alone seemed to comprehend American institutions, as experience and time have developed them, and as we behold them to-day. He stands now as the most complete exponent, not of this political party or that, as is claimed, but of *Americanism.*

However he may have gone astray in matters of minor policy, absolute fidelity to one great underlying principle gave consistency and solidity to his whole life and purpose. He believed the source of power in a nation should be the *People;* and everything standing between the popular will and its fulfilment was the object of his determined opposition. Electoral colleges, the election of senators by legislatures, all those breakwaters designed to obstruct or restrain the tide of popular sentiment, he would have swept away, and come as near as possible to the direct expression of the desire of the individuals composing the nation.

If ever man represented an elementary force, that man was Jefferson! He was the intensest expression of that tendency which arrays the unit against the unity which enfolds it; while Hamilton as positively embodied the opposing force.

In the great economy of the universe there is a perpetual balancing of forces. If nature impels an atom to rush madly in a certain direction, there is sure to be near it an opposing tendency whose mission it is to check and deflect, if not to capture it. Near to a Jefferson there is sure to be a Hamilton! Every existing organism, from the suns which circle in their courses, to the smallest flower by the wayside, is in the grasp of these two forces, the one which tends to individualism, and the one which strives to bring the atom into subjection to the whole.

In nature it appears in the guise of the *centripetal* and the *centrifugal.* In government it is *centralism* in conflict with *individualism.* In the early politics of the country it was *Federalism* arrayed against *Republicanism.* In religion it is *ecclesiasticism* at war with *reform;* in society, *conservatism* with *radicalism;* and in individual character it is *straight-stepping respectability* looking with horror at the eccentric beings who despise and defy convention and precedent.

All are manifestations of one and the same thing; and every man and woman who lives is compounded of these

two tendencies in varying proportions. Or if he be an unmixed representation of one or the other, he may be counted as one of the elementary forces, and the chances are that he will be either a very useful or, as is more likely, a very *troublesome* addition to human society or to the body politic.

No one can say that either tendency is absolutely right or wrong. There are times when individualism is needed, and times again when it becomes a destructive force and must be restrained by paternalism; and as this becomes oppressive, as it is sure to do, individualism again asserts itself. So the way of progress seems a swinging of the pendulum back and forth from the one to the other. So long as the world stands there will be one class of men striving to strengthen the defences of enclosing systems, and others just as resolved to break away from the restraints they have outgrown.

Conservatives and radicals are born, not made. Hamilton was by nature an aristocrat. He was an exotic in a republic, brilliant, captivating, of infinite service in organizing our nascent finances and affairs, a born leader of men; but the way he would lead them was always the one way — the way of *centralization*. Everything he said and did or desired had that one object — to increase the power at the centre; but Jefferson just as invariably had for his aim decentralization. The policy of the one was based upon the idea that man is essentially bad, and needs the checks and restraints of a strong government; that of the other, that humanity is to be trusted, that our destinies are safer in the hands of the many than in the hands of the privileged few.

Never has there been such a storm of political passion as that which raged between the adherents of these two men, Federalists and Republicans. Stripped of all its minor issues, it was *au fond* the old duel between the *masses* and the *classes*. To the one party, Hamilton was the aristocrat who would reënslave them in a monarchy; to the other, Jefferson represented a monster who would put unrestricted power into the hands of the rabble, a sympathizer with Marat and Robespierre and the guillotine.

In *England* Hamilton saw law, order, stability, strength, dignity. What better could be desired for this land of

his adoption? Whereas Jefferson was anti-British to the very core of his being.

France, the object of Hamilton's detestation, was dear to Jefferson; its fortunes were an object of solicitude second only to those of his own country. Bound by ties of gratitude, and still more by a great bond of sympathy with her aspirations, he treated her as we treat those we love. He found excuse for her mistakes. In the frightful experiences through which she was passing he saw retribution for centuries of cruel wrong; and amidst all the tempest of fury and passion he believed in her. One must indeed have been a philosopher and an optimist to have done this at such a time, and Hamilton was neither the one nor the other. To him, as to Burke in England, the French Revolution was an unmitigated horror, which filled him with loathing, and which no *past* could excuse, and no *future* compensate for. The attitude of Jefferson and Hamilton toward England and France was temperamental, the logical outcome of what each man was. Fundamentally different in mind and character, how could they ever view things from the same angle? They were both great. Each performed services for the Republic which cannot be measured. We live every hour under institutions which were in conception and realization Hamilton's, but the life which gives them being is from Jefferson! The one created the *form*, the other the spirit which informs it.

It requires a full century to judge impartially men and events of heroic proportions. Whether Federalism or Republicanism was altogether right or wrong, who shall say even now? But this we can and *do* declare: Jefferson's political philosophy was what was needed at that time, and it is possible we might not have been a republic to-day had he not stood like a rock and barred the way to the path leading toward monarchy.

His advocacy of State sovereignty was a part of his general plan to diminish at every point the powers of the central government, and it bore unhappy fruit a half century later. But can anyone doubt upon which side he would have stood in the War of the Rebellion?

Should any be in doubt whether our Republic has developed upon Hamiltonian or Jeffersonian lines, let him imagine — if he can — a man getting up to-day in the halls of Congress and urging the establishment of the hereditary principle, or saying that a limited monarchy is the model form of government to which all republics must return. If this man *dared* to say these things, would he ever dare to return to his constituents after saying them? Whereas, on the other side, are there not to-day, and *every* day, patriotic speeches, there and everywhere, precisely in accord with the principles it was the effort of Jefferson's life to declare? Are these not the warp and woof of the *American idea* as it is enshrined to-day in the hearts of the people he loved and trusted?

What changes since that time! Vast solitudes peopled, the product of our industries supplying the markets of the world, our internal affairs new, strange, complex, beyond the imagination of those men to conceive! New dangers confront us, new diseases have arisen in the body politic, ingenious methods for enslaving the people have been devised. A hydra-headed paternalism threatens our liberties, but it is the paternalism of mediæval times. We have our coal barons, our sugar kings, our electric imperialism — not one tyrant but fifty! and we are apparently powerless. What is to be done? Shall the government take possession of the great national resources, and administer them for the state?

Patriotic men are divided in opinion. The shade of Jefferson is invoked. "Enlarge the powers of the central government? Create a colossal despotism? Never!" On the other hand men say: "If it were a monarchy, a despotism — no! But *we*, the *people*, are the government. Why should we not take possession of our own, wrest our resources from the hands of the *few*, and administer them in the interest of the *many?*"

To which solution would the Jeffersonian lines of policy lead? What would he advise were he here to-day? The *people*, that great consensus of opinion upon which he so fearlessly relied, has not spoken yet, but it will.

There is something impressive in the wrath of a patient animal. The wildcat in a chronic state of irritation, viciously

snapping at everything, the tiger crouching preparatory to springing upon his victim, are in normal condition. But when the apathetic elephant raises his trunk and gives vent to latent energies in a ponderous roar, we are inclined to believe his indignation is just, that he has been imposed upon past endurance, and we have a reassuring confidence that stern justice will be meted out to *somebody* in a way not to be forgotten. Not a trifling matter of an eye scratched out or a leg torn off, but an overturning which will sweep away the foundations of things.

As a nation we are almost ignominiously patient. The ends of justice are defeated, the will of the people is thwarted, disgraceful methods invade business and politics, until it sometimes seems as if the country were in the hands of highwaymen, and democratic institutions are held up to the scorn and jeers of the nations across the sea. "Are *these* the fruits of your boasted system?" they ask. "Your industries and your natural resources in the grasp of a handful of men, who take the wheat, and throw the chaff to the millions? The machinery of your government captured by another handful, who control its workings as the engineer does his locomotive?"

Stung by the taunt we look about us. We had known that things were going somewhat wrong, but intent upon our pursuits, and with an indolent confidence and lazy optimism, we trusted that *somebody* — or the inherent soundness of the whole — would somehow set things right. But this is terrible! We feel as do the people on a train who awaken from pleasant dreams to find themselves in the hands of robbers. We are indeed enmeshed on every side. All the currents of trade setting toward those thirsty maelstroms which are drawing the substance of the land into their bottomless pits; and our boasted government "of the People, for the People, by the People," — what is there left of it when between the will of the people and the end desired there stands an ingenious mechanism for converting it into the will of a few men, who in turn express the will of the *one* Supreme Conspirator? Europe smiles. Republicanism is a failure. Democratic institutions are a flimsy substitute for strong government. Is it true? The faint-hearted lose courage. Then

it was a phantom. This too will go the way of other failures in self-government, unable to stand the test of time and the strain of circumstance!

But I have an abiding faith in the cumulative energies which some overt act will one day set free, which will sweep away in a tremendous outburst, not this hungry monopoly, or that opportunity for stifling the will of the people at the polls, but the whole system and *systems* which make it *possible* to impose such gigantic wrongs upon us. And I believe this because of an unshaken confidence in *democratic institutions*, because of my faith in the *people*, and because of an abiding faith in that charter of our liberties framed with such ingenious wisdom, such marvellous power of adaptability to changing conditions, so inflexible and yet so elastic, that it seems almost the result of inspiration! "A government of the People, for the People, by the People" — the words are few and simple, yet they are, I will not say *the* most, but *among* the most important ever uttered, and are inscribed upon the door which opened toward the emancipation, not of a handful of colonists, but of the entire world! Not a protest against taxation without representation, but the declaration of one of the great principles upon which the universe moves, and which brings the atom into vital and organic relation with the mass. Will it be thought transcendental if I say that, when the divine economy of this great universe is more fully comprehended, we shall find that the democratic principle is deeply rooted in the eternal nature of things, and that the relation of the individual to the whole, and of the whole again to the individual, as conceived by the framers of our Constitution, is ideally true, and that the marvellous development of this republic has been because we were fundamentally in harmony with eternal principles, and keeping step with the universe?

We live in retrospective times. At the close of a century of national life, and of four centuries of continental life, we stop to take observation. Where are we? Whither are we tending? What does it all mean? Has it any meaning at all? Have we been weaving any pattern on the loom of time, or are the lines only fragmentary and disconnected?

Are we drifting at random, the sport of great forces, tossed like a shuttlecock from one to another? If so, then creation is a colossal cheat, and the God of our hope is a phantom!

Was it by chance that long, long ago a path emerged from the darkness of oppression, that it grew into a road, and then a highway, upon whose gates the Anglo-Saxon inscribed *Magna Charta*, another *Habeas Corpus*, and still another *Trial by Jury?* Did it only *happen* that this expanding highway in time reappeared across the sea? Was it a fortuitous thing that men of exceptional purity, and imbued with Anglo-Saxon traditions, planted aspirations toward *Liberty* on a virgin continent? And was it an *accident* that Franklin and Jefferson stood at the threshold of our existence as a republic, and marked out a path for the feet of the nation to tread?

The ways have grown devious and entangling, but let no one so much as *breathe* the word *Failure!* To expect it is to invite it.

This continent has been supremely honored. It is the home of the greatest experiment ever tried by the human race. If Jefferson's political philosophy was right, then we are right. If a government "of the People, for the People, by the People" prove strong enough and at the same time sufficiently elastic to bear the expanding life of a great nation, then the days of political despotism are numbered, and in the ages to come crowns and thrones will be known only as curious relics.

THE LATEST SOCIAL VISION.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE first century of modern times gave birth to "Utopia." It appeared at a moment when thought along all lines of research was in a state of rapid flux, when revolution was written over all doorways from which the human mind looked forth. Feudalistic anarchy was giving place to centralized government. The new learning, no less than the abuses of the Church, made the Reformation inevitable. A new world had been discovered, and the marvellous tales brought home by Spanish mariners eclipsed the wonder stories told by the Portuguese who returned from India. The ships of Magellan had circumnavigated the globe, Gutenberg's press was sowing the world with knowledge, Copernicus was questioning the stars, and Machiavelli, that child of the night, was engaged in a work which should instill poison into the minds of the powerful.

As "The Prince" of Machiavelli typified triumphant animalism, or the victory of the beast over the god in social life, the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More represented the supremacy of altruism over egoism. It fronted the dawn and spoke of the coming day, when humanity should be worthy of the glorious old earth because civilization should rest on justice and be made luminous with wisdom and love. Man was not then ready to spell the great word Fraternity. But a truth once uttered lives forever. The prophet's voice and the hero's deeds never cease to inspire humanity, and the wonderful vision of the English philosopher has proved a veritable pillar of fire during the long night of force and fraud, of strife and struggle that have marked the past four hundred years.

Now, however, we are in the springtime of another period of awakening and advance. Again we find the world's thought in a state of flux. Change is written over all portals. A larger vision of earth and heaven than the brain

of the people was capable of conceiving at any previous period is dawning upon humanity. The anarchy of feudalism gave place to the more orderly rule of centralized government, and on the heels of centralization came representative government, with face set toward true democracy. We have witnessed the age of muscle giving place to the age of brain, and that, in turn, is about to yield to the age of heart. The body has bowed to the mind, and both are about to yield to the spirit. Not that the supremacy of soul or heart means a diminution of brawn or brain — the shrivelling of body or the dwarfing of mind; on the contrary, it means that the expansion of the soul will favor the grandest development of physical and mental powers; a development possible only when man's nature is warmed and enthused by divine love for all, instead of being consumed with thought and love of self.

II.

The activity of thinkers, the spectacle of the printing-press blossoming with pamphlets of protest, the profound discontent of the masses, the restlessness of the world, are all significant signs of a change. But perhaps nothing is so suggestive, and certainly nothing illustrates so clearly the trend of popular thought along social and economic lines, as the character of the really great and popular social visions which have enriched our literature during the past two decades. "Looking Backward," by Edward Bellamy, "News from Nowhere" and "A Dream of John Ball," by William Morris, "The City Beautiful," by Joaquin Miller, "A Traveller from Altruria," by William Dean Howells, and "Equality," by Edward Bellamy, are works which challenge special notice because of the profound impression they are making upon the public mind, no less than the broad grasp of fundamental social problems displayed and the bold and eminently unconventional point of view from which the authors write.

The latest social vision is in many respects the most complete and noteworthy picture of social democracy which has appeared. In "Equality" Mr. Bellamy has elucidated the new political economy of socialism under the guise of fiction

and in a popular yet clear and comprehensive manner. Coming at a time like the present, when the drift of thought is setting so strongly along socialistic lines, this volume will prove far-reaching in its influence upon the people. It contains a message for all earnest men and women, be they in sympathy with socialism or not.

In writing of this volume it will be my purpose to briefly outline the principal ideas advanced, and reflect as well as may be the spirit of the work. Though interwoven throughout the various chapters as woof and warp of a single fabric, the thought of equality logically separates into two divisions, which stand over against each other in bold antithesis. The indictment of our civilization, or the arraignment of private capitalism before the bar of contemporary opinion, forms one of the most thought-compelling contributions to popular modern economic literature; while the elucidation of the socialistic theory in the picture of twentieth-century civilization under the law of equal freedom amid a wider liberty than man has ever known, and with poverty and the fear of the wolf forever vanished, is rich in suggestiveness for all thinking men and women of whatever faith or political belief.

III.

The civilization of the closing years of the nineteenth century, as portrayed by Mr. Bellamy's heroes, is anything but inspiring, and the pity of it is that the gloomy facts and the inevitable and tragic results are so palpably and appallingly true.

The gladness which filled the hearts of Americans in the dawn of the nineteenth century had by its close given place to bitterness of spirit and almost despair on the part of millions of people. The time had been when the United States was in a very real sense a leader of thought among nations. But in those days all were comparatively poor and the only aristocracy was that of heart and brain, or the aristocracy of developed manhood, and the people were then jealous of liberty and justice. Manhood rested on worth. Life had something regal about it, and the glory of the nation was dear to the heart of the people as were honor and faith; for a passion

for freedom, a spirit of humanity, and a deep concern for all her children brought the nation into almost tender relationship with the citizen. Then nature also favored the infant nation. Almost boundless resources were awaiting development, and all had an opportunity to make a livelihood and win the respect and love of others. With time all this changed. Wealth gave ease, and ere long came to command position. Men became money mad. The spirit of greed and avarice fattened in the atmosphere of private capitalism. Invention was made the servant of capital and utilized for the enslavement of man, or at least to render it easy for capital to dictate terms by which the wealth-creators, through incessant toil, might earn a livelihood. The hereditary aristocracy of the Old World had disappeared, but the parvenu aristocracy of wealth in the New World appeared, and soon became greedy, avaricious, reckless of the comfort, the rights, and even the lives of the people. It debauched the press, the pulpit, and the school. It warped public opinion and corrupted legislation. It became a gigantic plutocracy with tentacles stretching around the globe and bloodsucking cups resting on all sources from which men could draw wealth.

Nor must we suppose the oppressors of the masses were peculiar to America. A civilization-wide conflict meets the view, in which it is clear to see that the welfare, comfort, and happiness of the millions are lightly sacrificed, and even health and life are imperilled, in order that the few may enjoy the wealth of the world. But these few could not be called happy, for such is the interdependence of the units in the social organism, such the solidarity of the race, that when the higher law of morals is set at defiance in an attempt to secure one's pleasure at the expense of the rights of others, all the deeper springs of human delight dry up. The pleasures that pall not, but give life its richest fruition, recede as the unworthy seeker approaches them, and what remains gives only pseudo-delight, and ends in satiety, weariness, and ennui even before death takes the barren life from the earth.

The enormous advantages which the few who had acquired large fortunes possessed over the breadwinners by the close of the nineteenth century resulted in relations which

could only be properly described as those of master and slave. In vain did the sleek, well-fed conventional economist declare that wage slavery was not slavery because the "Masters of the Bread" had no power to force the poor to be their slaves, for all thinking men knew, what none knew better than the capitalists, that, with their control of the land, of the mediums of business and trade, and of the means of wealth-creation and wealth-distribution, there was no choice for the millions of their brothers but between starvation and slavery. Hunger and want placed the breadwinners at the mercy of those who held the titles to the sources and means of wealth-creation, without which all must starve. It would be difficult to conceive irony more bitter than that which characterized the servitude of the breadwinners as *voluntary service*. It was true that they could leave their employer and starve, or run the risk of securing a like employment under another master, but the fact remained that a few owned, and, with the power of government, were at all times prepared to preserve their ownership of, the industrial opportunities of the day, which placed the millions of toilers in slavery to the few as surely as if the lash of the slave-driver, instead of deprivation of opportunity to create wealth and pressure of hunger, forced from them their service so long as they were of use to their masters.

It is true that there were some differences between wage slavery and chattel slavery. It is true that the nineteenth-century "Masters of the Bread" did not have to care for their slaves, or have the expense of nursing or keeping them when they were sick or disabled, as did the masters of chattel slaves. The wage slave was left to starve when sickness or misfortune overtook him. Then, again, the moment he became old or unable to do his full quota of work he was cast off to perish miserably or to more miserably eke out a living from the scanty food of his fellow slaves. But it was said that the moral aspect of chattel slavery was incomparably worse in relation to the debauchery of womanhood than wage slavery. The awful revelations disclosed in the "Maiden tribute to the Modern Babylon," and other revelations made during the closing years of the century, should have made

the apologists for wage slavery pass over this frightful phase of both kinds of bondage without apology or defence.

All kinds of slavery are degrading, debauching, and dehumanizing. It is true that, had the millions who created the wealth of the few realized the extent of their slavery and the fact that a darker future inevitably awaited their children under private capitalism, they would have arisen as one man and thrown off the infamous and cruel bondage, so that their children at least might front heaven free men and women, with brain lit up with hope, and heart filled with love and joy. Hence all manner of devices which wealth could employ were ingeniously used to blind the people, to prevent them from thinking independently, and to make them contented with their daily darkening lot. At times the slaves, ground down to starvation point, housed in wretched cabins or huddled in reeking tenements, revolted. They said, We are starving at our work; we must have a few more pennies or we shall choose to die of quick starvation rather than drag out our miserable existence for a few more months that our masters may be further enriched. The masters, in their lordly palaces, or on their palatial yachts, or travelling in foreign lands, protested that they were not making enough to permit more than starvation wages. Nevertheless they continued to grow richer while the slaves in revolt received small sympathy from the government.

Americans in former days had laughed scornfully at the bayonet-propped monarchies of Europe, saying rightly that a government which needed to be defended by force from its own people was a self-confessed failure. To this pass, however, the industrial system of the United States was fast coming — it was becoming a government by bayonets.

As conditions advanced to their logical climax, and the despotism of a plutocracy rose on the ashes of a free government, not only did the men and women who were strong of limb and able to do much work beg for the privilege to become slaves to the "Masters of the Bread," but men of learning offered to prostitute their splendid gifts for gold. The lawyer and the editor, the priest and the preacher, the executive and legislative officers, and the soldier became servants of the Lords of Land, the Lords of Money, and the Lords of the Mart. Then was beheld that startling picture

which Victor Hugo portrayed as representing the state of a society in which the ideal was eclipsed: "The venal judge, the simoniacal priest, the hireling soldier, turpitude at the summit of all professions, and the sinking of man to the level of the human beast."

If the outlook was gloomy from the standpoint of the breadwinner, it was scarcely less inspiring from the vantage-ground of the moralist. The nineteenth century witnessed the greatest inventions in labor-saving machines the world had ever seen. By their means the work of fifteen or twenty persons was frequently performed by a single individual, while other inventions distributed the wealth productions everywhere at comparatively small expense. These inventions, under a rule of human brotherhood such as Jesus demanded of all who would be His disciples, would have transformed the face of the civilized world, given leisure for the growth and development of brain, time for enjoyment of life to man, woman, and child; but under the essentially barbarous conditions of the competitive system and the rule of self these potential blessings served to greatly increase the sufferings of the millions by glutting the wage market and cheapening labor and life.

Again, the waste of human life due to this system formed the most tragic page of history. Neither the wars between nations nor the pestilences which at intervals swept over them were nearly so destructive to life as the ceaseless economic warfare of the competitive system. It became quite popular in the closing years of the nineteenth century to demand that there should be no more war between nations. The holders of stocks, bonds, and vested interests, which war would imperil, suddenly appeared to become marvellously humane, and waxed eloquent in depicting the horrors of war between nations, the carnage of the battlefield, and the sacrifice of life. This extreme solicitude for peace in the interests of their wealth was so pronounced that great peoples like the Armenian Christians were slaughtered in the most horrible manner by the Turks, and Greece was crushed by the Ottoman amid frightful slaughter while all Europe looked complacently on at the carnage. The fair island of

Cuba was swept by fire and sword, men perished, maidens were ravished, and American citizens were insulted, imprisoned, and slain while the Republic of the United States supinely witnessed the heroic battle for freedom and the insult to the stars and stripes with barely a weak protest, for the lords of Wall Street so willed it. Though a healthy peace sentiment was greatly to be encouraged, and peace with honor and the vindication of justice and humanity's rights was always to be worked for, yet how pitifully insignificant in nature and extent was the waste of life and limb or the cost of happiness involved in the war between nations compared with the frightful war that was ceaselessly going on throughout the civilized world, and which was known as the "economic struggle." "More lives were sacrificed in this great battle in one month than in all the international wars in a generation."

The horrors of the perpetual economic war beggar description. There were no braying of trumpets, no banners floating, no glorious cause to stimulate the combatants. Nor was the struggle confined to the strong men. The women, the aged, the maidens, the little children, the sick, and the crippled battled, suffered, and were not infrequently slain in the conflict, which ceased not either day or night. In every city, in the towns, and in the country the cries of the victims and the curses of the dying were heard. They fell under the wheel on every hand, and their places were quickly filled by other gaunt figures who entered the gap and faced the same fate for a little food to silence nature's cravings, and some rags to clothe the nakedness of the body. Their lightest moments were canopied with fear of hunger, eviction, sickness, and the potter's field. The recklessness in the sacrifice of human life, when that life belonged to a wage slave, was seen by the records, which showed that at least two hundred thousand men, women, and children were every year maimed or killed "in performance of their industrial duties." The victims of the railroad system of the United States under private capital reached almost forty thousand maimed or killed a year. So careless was capital of the lives of the wage slaves and so pitifully were they

often remunerated that a saying was current that nothing was so cheap as human life.

Upon woman the pressure was very terrible. It had often been urged that there was nothing about chattel slavery more revolting than the subjugation of woman to the lust of the masters. But under the rule of the "Masters of the Bread" and the pressure of want armies of women in all great cities were compelled by poverty to make a business of submitting their bodies to those who were able to furnish them means to buy bread. Nor did the wrong stop here. One of the most tragic pages of the closing years of the nineteenth century was the story of child slavery. In attic, in cellar, in factories, pale, gaunt, and pinched little children toiled early and late, knowing little of schooling, less of the beauties of earth, and practically nothing of the comforts of home.

Looked at from whatever point of view, the moral aspect of social life in the closing years of the nineteenth century was notable chiefly for its conspicuous lack of sound or far-reaching morality. The work done in the name of charity was a pitiful palliative, false in character, as it carefully avoided striking at the root of the evil and securing justice for all, but rather sought to perpetuate the system which was eclipsing war and pestilence in the number of its victims; a system which denied the earth to God's children and held the means of livelihood from men unless they accepted what was practically slavery; a system which looked complacently on the spectacle of millions of men asking for work and receiving none, while a few hundred millionaires and multi-millionaires chained up resources which would have afforded productive labor for all, and while the government refused to take control of public utilities in the name of humanity as well as economy.

This brings us to the notice of the economic side of the question. Through the profit system there arose a gap between the producer and consumer which operated according to law in such a manner as to make production greater than consumption, while the consumption was far less than the requirements of the people called for. But the people, having to pay much more for what they consumed than they received

for what they made or produced, were unable to secure what they needed. The difference between the price and the cost was the amount which the capitalist charged for profit. This profit, which frequently made men very rich, was levied on the producer and consumer by a non-wealth-producing class. Thus, take for example a pair of shoes, which we will say cost the capitalist for making and labor before they were completed forty cents; he sold them to the middleman for seventy-five cents, the middleman sold them to the retailer for a dollar, and the retailer sold them to the consumer for a dollar and a half. The shoes originally cost forty cents, but before the consumer got them he paid a dollar and ten cents above the first cost for the support of men who, in the absence of proper methods for distribution, were enabled to levy almost three times the original cost of the article from the consumer. *These were not wealth-creators.* The effect of this was to create a deadly gap between the producing and consuming power of those engaged in producing the things on which profits were charged.

The ability to purchase necessaries on the part of the wealth-producers was limited by the comparatively small price they received for what they created and the enormous relative price they had to pay owing to the tariff levied by the profit-takers. Producers, or wage-earners, constituted at least nine-tenths of the entire population. The profit-takers were insignificant in number, but their rule was, Tax the tariff all it will bear. Its rule was, Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest.

Hence the time came all too soon when the profit-takers found the markets glutted with goods for which there was little demand, because the producers received so little for their productions that they could not buy what they needed, while the small body of profit-takers were able to consume comparatively little. *The result was the astonishing spectacle of a glut in the markets, with the wealth-creators suffering for the very things with which the market was overstocked.* The conventional economists called this *overproduction.* With this so-called overproduction came a check on manufacture, or production. Thousands of men were thrown out of employment, and other thousands made so little that they were compelled to borrow money or live on starvation rations. A glut of men followed the glut of the markets, and these

men, with starvation staring them in the face, began competing for an opportunity to produce by offering to undersell each other if thereby they might be saved from starvation.

Through interest, rents, and profits, as well as special privileges of various kinds, an insignificant body of men grew immensely rich, while the millions eagerly sought work to save them from dire want. These very rich soon controlled the means of support of life and by their positions were able to grow richer, while the misery of the multitude grew apace. The rich indulged in all kinds of luxuries, while the poor starved. But because they required the services of the poor to minister to their wanton luxury, their apologists pointed to them as philanthropists giving food to the starving. A two-hundred-and-fifty-thousand-dollar ball was heralded over the land as an act of humanity because it afforded a little work for a few of the nation's starving millions. That men and women were so eager to seize on any work that might give them a few pence illustrates the actual working of the profit system in the closing years of its long and wicked debauch. Even the conventional economists of that time admitted the hopelessness of the outlook under the profit system, while refusing to recognize the practicability of any other system. They frankly admitted that the profit system must inevitably result at an early date in an arrest of industrial progress and a stationary condition of production. They could not fail to see, what all thoughtful men who thought on the subject knew, that rents, interest, and profits continued to accumulate wealth in the hands of the capitalistic class, "while the consuming power of the masses did not increase," but either decreased or remained practically stationary. "This stationary condition was setting in in the last years of the nineteenth century," but the needs of the wealth-creators were not met. Here was an economic system whose apostles confessed that it was at the end of its resources "in the midst of a naked and starving race." From an economic point of view the profit system could only be fairly described as suicidal. From the standpoints of manhood, of morality, and of economics the competitive system stands convicted of inhumanity, immorality, and imbecility.

I have merely touched upon three of the cardinal points in the terrible indictment made in this volume against a system which is also arraigned for its offences against liberty of thought and expression, against the health of the body and the growth of the soul, against art and progress, against Christianity — being not merely un-Christian but anti-Christian, antagonizing and setting at naught as it did the Golden Rule, the ethics, and the very life of the Founder of Christianity — against liberty, justice, and the larger life for woman to which she was entitled, and last but not least its offence against childhood. For millions of little ones this system meant something worse than death, making them old almost before they had bidden farewell to infancy, and rendering them sodden and brutal before the dew of youth was off their brow. The civilization of the last decade of the nineteenth century had been vividly described in prophetic lines by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in his description of the vision given by the genius to King Arthur, picturing the age known as "the Elysium of the Mart:"

Slow fades the pageant, and the phantom stage
As slowly filled with squalid, ghastly forms;
Here, over fireless hearths, cowered shivering Age
And blew with feeble breath dead embers; storms
Hung in the icy welkin, and the bare
Earth lay forlorn in Winter's charnel air.

No careless childhood laughed disportingly,
But dwarfed, pale mandrakes, with a century's gloom
On infant brows, beneath a poison tree,
With skeleton fingers plied a ghastly loom;
Mocking in cynic jests life's gravest things,
They wove gay king-robes, muttering, "What are kings?"

And thro' that dreary Hades to and fro,
Stalked, all unheeded, the Tartarean guests:
Grim Discontent, that loathes the Gods, and Woe,
Clasping dead infants to her milkless breasts;
And maddening Hate, and Force, with iron heel,
And voiceless Vengeance, sharpening secret steel.

"Can such things be below and God above?"
Faltered the king. Replied the genius, "Nay,
This is the state that sages most approve;
This is man civilized, the perfect sway
Of merchant kings, the ripeness of the art
Which cheapens men — the Elysium of the Mart."

IV.

Out of the dark background of nineteenth-century social and economic chaos rose the splendid vision of a free people, a true democracy, a sane government. The dynasty of wealth, which subverted the republic and destroyed democratic government, gave way before the onward sweep of an aroused and outraged intelligence. From the wreck of the old rose the first truly free government, based on justice, and carrying with it love and the spirit of fraternity. So artificial had society grown prior to this great revolution that, like the old civilization of Greece and Rome, it had almost lost the power to recognize its own artificiality. So completely was the public mind debauched that men posing as statesmen and economists argued that the Golden Rule could never be carried out in government or in business, and that Jesus was an impractical dreamer. But while they so spoke and taught, millions of men were groping toward the light. Palliative remedies had been brought forward, favorite prescriptions had been urged, but as the oppression continued and the slavery became more and more terrible, extending to thought and expression as well as to bodily service, a great light dawned on men. They saw that in coöperation and the spirit of fraternity lay the hope of the ages. They knew that they were creating wealth enough to secure in comfort and happiness every man, woman, and child in the nation, even though the able-bodied toiled only half a day. A duty so solemn, so tremendous in its import, and so glorious in its promise confronted men that it made life august and death for the cause sublime. Not alone for their own happiness and that of the loved ones in their homes did justice, liberty, and manhood urge men to action, but for the millions upon millions who were battling with despair in country and city. Not simply for the millions of their day, but for generations yet unborn, were the oppressed led to assert their manhood and make a second and greater Declaration of Independence. The clock of the ages had sounded another advance for the race. The glory that had long lighted the brow of the prophet lit up the faces of the people. With a passion for freedom, for a larger life, for a fraternal government, a

coöperative commonwealth, men rent the chains of the despotism of wealth and established the new order.

They had learned much during their bondage in Egypt. Not the least was the importance of guarding the freedom of each in order to secure the liberty of all. They had also learned that democracy could only be preserved upon the earth by the people making the laws. Without provisions such as the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Imperial Mandate the perpetuity of any really popular government would be in jeopardy. Hence these were at once guaranteed to the nation forever. Freedom, fraternity, equality, and justice were made the corner-stone of the new social structure.

So splendid were the results which flowed from the reign of the brain illuminated by altruism that all former upward steps paled before the newborn civilization. With the co-operative commonwealth life took on new meaning. That vicious partial paternalism which had so long cursed the thousands while it permitted the tens to grow so rich as to enslave their fellow men, and which ultimately destroyed all vestige of free government save its name, its shell, and its dishonored flag, disappeared before a fraternalism which embraced all the citizens of the republic as children of one father, the interest of one being the concern of all. No longer were the majority of people compelled to work eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, and sixteen hours in twenty-four. No one was required to labor more than half a day, and all had long vacations at stated intervals. Thus everyone had ample opportunity to enjoy the pure delights of life to the uttermost and to increase his store of knowledge; or, in the quaint phrase of Colet, each one was enabled to "proceed to grow," an opportunity which the vast majority had never before enjoyed. No longer did fear of want canopy life, or dread of a penniless age make life a perpetual nightmare, for all men, women, and children had ample for a life of comfort guaranteed, and when any reached the age of forty-five they were exempt from compulsory labor. All those things which most fostered the tiger, the hyena, the serpent, and the wolf in man were done away with, while the divine in every soul was stimulated by all life's environments no less than the larger

and nobler inheritance vouchsafed to all. No longer did civilization present the startling and deeply tragic spectacle which was everywhere present in the closing years of the old republic, — the compulsory idleness of man, the enforced prostitution of woman, and the inevitable slavery of the child.

Let us take a closer inspection of this new coöperative commonwealth, beginning with the young. Each child, as well as every man and woman, received a credit card each year. Hence the little one was in no sense a financial burden to the father and mother. It had until the age of twenty-one, whether boy or girl, to complete its education, after which a probationary term enabled each person to try different kinds of occupation pleasing to the taste and inclination in order that he might select work to which he was adapted and which was most to his taste. Short school hours and ample vacations did not prevent the child from receiving an all-round education entirely unlike the narrow intellectual training and system of mental cramming which characterizes our faulty educational methods. As the five fingers of the hand can be opened with greater ease than one finger, so the full educational course which developed body, brain, and soul gave to schooling a charm never known before, and prevented mental exhaustion. A broad hygienic education was a part of each child's schooling. The physiological and hygienic education included thorough gymnastic drill and sports which were not brutal or too boisterous, but which called into healthful exercise the various parts of the body. A broad, comprehensive, and practical intellectual education taught every child to appreciate the beauties of nature and art.

The soul life was also developed. With ethics as a basis of life, with a deep concern for the good of all, and the cultivation of unselfishness instead of a studied disregard for the happiness of the world, came a new view of life. Indeed, never before had the soul of man been permitted to expand and blossom. In freedom and all absence from carking care and a haunting fear in regard to the comforts of existence now or in the days to come, man found that the generous impulses and bright ideals of childhood received no check, but were developed as life progressed. The old phrases

which signified the deadening of true soul life, such as "learning to take the world as it is," "being practical," and "getting over romantic notions," were no longer current. Life grew at once ideal and practical. Freedom and love were blossoming on the brow of civilization, and, indeed, education for most people only commenced at twenty-one, when the young left school for the leisure of at least one-half of each day and of the long months of vacation each year, giving ample opportunity for any person to perfect himself in any study or to broaden his store of learning in various directions, as the opportunities for obtaining knowledge were free to all, and every person was encouraged to further develop the body, brain, and soul. Childhood took on a happiness never known before even by the richest and most favored children. The young no longer looked forward to leaving school with the dread of an uncertain life of terrible drudgery before them.

The great change or revolution which thus transformed childhood brought woman into a new world, a world of freedom and growth. Through this great revolution woman was delivered from a bondage that was "incomparably more complete and abject than any to which man was subjected."

It was forced not by a single, but by a triple yoke. The first was the subjugation to the personal and class rule of the rich, which the mass of women bore in common with the mass of men. The other two yokes were peculiar to her. One of them was her personal subjection, not only in the sexual relation, but in all her behavior, to the particular man on whom she depended for subsistence. The third yoke was an intellectual and moral one, and consisted in the slavish conformity exacted of her in all her thinking, speaking, and acting to a set of traditions and conventional standards calculated to repress all that was individual and spontaneous, and impose an artificial uniformity upon both the inner and outer life.

Woman was also the slave of fashion, which was injurious to health, destructive to comfort, and grotesque in the extreme. The economic freedom of woman, coming as it did on a wave of moral enthusiasm, served as "a mighty upthrust to a plane of moral dignity and material welfare." The revolution was the voice of God calling her to a new creation.

Nor were freedom, growth, and happiness confined to children and women. The great majority of men knew for the

first time freedom from fear of want, from dread of the morrow or uneasiness about the future of their loved ones. For the first time man had learned to enjoy life and the surroundings which drew out the best in him and yielded the deepest pleasure. With music, theatres, and lectures free, and public utilities at the command of all, he was able to have, to see, and to hear the best the world afforded, while the labor the state required of each adult reached a maximum limit in five hours a day, during the days when the individual was expected to work; and after the age of forty-five all were exempt from compulsory employment. Persons had a choice of work, which was so arranged as to be equalized, and it was compulsory on the part of the state to supply all persons with employment within easy reach of their homes, provided the individual desired it. Should the special field he wished to enter be filled, he could choose another employment, unless he preferred to work elsewhere. Inventions had progressed marvellously under the new *régime*, as inventors were given every advantage and opportunity to work out their inventions, and every labor-saving machine or beneficent invention proved a blessing to all, either lessening the hours of work, increasing the wealth productions of the people, or adding to their common pleasure or comfort.

These are, however, only hints of the changed state under the first true democracy, whose motto was Freedom, Fraternity, and Equality. And perhaps nowhere did the change bring about such splendid results as those witnessed in the religious life of man. The old saying of Jesus was at last appreciated: "Neither in this mountain nor at Jerusalem." The religious life grew broad. The form, rite, and dogma had less and less spell over man as the spirit of love rose. The life rather than the belief, love for all or the recognition of human brotherhood opened the door to a perfect realization of the great common Father, whose name is Love, and who dwells in Light. With growth in spirituality man drew nearer the Infinite Father and the glorious beyond which awaits the soul. Light dawned on the conscience of man sufficiently to "turn the shadow of death into a bow of promise, and distilled the saltness out of human tears."

This vision in its completeness and its reasonableness is one of the noblest pictures of what the world may become, nay, what it shall become before man knows true happiness. For until the Golden Rule becomes the rule of life humanity will grovel in the cellars of being. Mr. Bellamy has given no false note. All his thoughts and ideas are in alignment with justice, progress, freedom, and human elevation. His voice is that of the true prophet. His work will create a profound impression upon minds capable of independent thinking and not blinded by egoism.

The horizon of man is broadening. The religion of the Sermon on the Mount is at length taking root in the hearts of men, and I believe the day of justice, brotherhood, and love will come ere long, when these lines of William Morris will be realized in the future of a truer and saner civilization than earth has yet known:

Come hither, lads, and hearken,
For a tale there is to tell
Of the wonderful days a-coming, when all
Shall be better than well.

Then a man shall work and bethink him,
And rejoice in the deeds of his hand,
Nor yet come home in the even
Too faint and weary to stand.
Men in that time a-coming
Shall work and have no fear
For to-morrow's lack of earning
And the hunger-wolf anear.

I tell you this for a wonder,
That no man then shall be glad
Of his fellow's fall and mishap
To snatch at the work he had.
For that which the worker winneth
Shall then be his indeed,
Nor shall half be reaped for nothing
By him that sowed no seed.

O strange, new, wonderful justice!
But for whom shall we gather the gain?
For ourselves and each of our fellows,
And no hand shall labor in vain.
Then all Mine and all Thine shall be Ours,
And no more shall any man crave
For riches that serve for nothing
But to fetter a friend for a slave.

THE DEAD HAND IN THE CHURCH.

BY REV. CLARENCE LATHBURY.

CENTURIES ago our English ancestors awakened to the startling fact that a vast portion of the national territory had fallen into dead hands and was administered according to statutes framed by dead brains. In short, the inhabitants of the unseen universe were slowly but surely getting their grip on the kingdom, and it was only a matter of time when the living would be ruled by the dead. The silent and inexorable company of the disembodied, to whom no protest might be made, whom no pity could move, were getting the reins of government. To avert the approaching calamity its extension was prohibited by the statute of mortmain.

In the State of New York a backward step has been taken. Protestant institutions were free to follow the predilections of their own consciences, instead of the consciences of their great-great-grandfathers. But in 1875 a law was enacted permitting a church or educational institution to be incorporated and set going for all time under the guaranteee of the state that so long as a half-dozen persons desired — though a thousand others dissented — the property might be held to the original purpose.

This is worse than Romanism. The Roman Church is subject to a living pope influenced by the sentiment of his era, but the Protestant bodies are ruled by a set of dead popes whose voices and decrees are heard only in their writings. Having passed on to clearer vision, and supposedly outgrown their crude views and judgments, they are doomed to control posterity and tie it to a desiccated past. Presumably moving along lines of spiritual evolution they would be horrified at their oppression, crystallized and perpetuated, lying like an incubus on willing vassals. There is the possibility of establishing institutions in this "land of the free and home of the brave" and imposing upon them popes

and autocrats worse than Leo XIII or Abdul Hamid. The hand still and cold is stretched forth from the grave, and is mightier than a thousand hands of the living. It is obstructing the path of human development. The disintegrated brains of Augustine and the early Fathers, of Luther, of Calvin, of Wesley, of Channing, of Ballou, the makers of artificial and inane creeds who flourished in the Dark Ages of the planet, hold posterity back from the shining gates of present revelation, and their skeleton fingers fasten it to the decrepit body of a dying creed.

This is especially evident in the field of theology. Our denominational seminaries lie helplessly under the benumbing influence of the dead hand, automatically chanting the litanies and rehearsing the creeds of ancient times. They are moored in the quiet inlets of the stream of thought flowing to the infinite sea. Physical science keeps pace with the spheres, but theology gropes in charnel houses and, like the antiquarian, busies itself with the *débris* of structures that have served their generation. Science stands erect with clear eye and open face, but the dead finger of a dead past is pointed at theology, and theology slinks away tremblingly, not daring to meet the ghost and bid it down.

Why should this generation become the puppet of any that has preceded it? It was not for the Fathers to bind the future to ordinances that would be inevitably outgrown. The man of the stagecoach times cannot plan for the swiftly coming epoch of steam and electricity. The most altruistic and prophetic of the Fathers could not have outlined the beatific disclosures of these remarkable days. They have sought to perpetuate theories that are now as extinct as the dodo. The authors of them would be as amused at them as we are. The legislation of the dead hand is inflicting absurdities on the venerable present. Free thought and untramelled research are forbidden because they endanger such legislation. The planet should be governed by living hands and intellects, by men and women with eyes and ears wide open to the messages of this decade. The old theologies are as foreign to us as are the old astronomies or physiologies. Truth must be interpreted by each generation and adapted to its

requirements. The manna must be gathered fresh every morning; it will not keep overnight. New sunlight, direct from the sky, is needed for the new day. Hoarded water becomes stagnant and deadly; it must continually fall from the clouds and filter through the hills, replenishing our springs. The atmosphere of the Middle Ages — the air that Calvin, or Luther, or Elizabeth breathed — will not do for us. We must live in the present if we are to live at all.

The bathos of the dead hand in science, sociology, and industrial progress is more pronounced because less customary. What a theme for the cartoonist! The professor of physical geography representing the earth to be flat because the Fathers so represented it! The astronomer teaching that the stars circle about the earth because the old astronomers did so! The physiologist denying the modern theory of the circulation of the blood because it is not found in traditional physiology! The chemist searching for the elixir of life, the traveller for the fountain of youth, the mariner for the fabled Atlantis or Sea of Darkness, because the Fathers thus groped in the gloom of an ignorance harmonious with those young days of discovery! The anthropologist endeavoring to set civilization to the pure and simple era of the childhood of the race! The theologian urging us back to the apostolic crudities! "Let us turn back the pages of nineteen centuries, become babes again — and rest in the blessed state of callow innocence." It is the old cry that would undo the struggles, and tears, and attainments since creation. It is the song of the sluggard, the liturgy of the church of the heavenly rest.

This enthroning the Fathers and handing them the sceptre of the present is simply puerile. We are the ancients. The world was never so old and wise as now. The modern man gathers up the erudition and experiences of all cycles of history, and supplements them with those of the present. He is therefore the conclusion and embodiment of all discovery and wisdom since the dawn of time. Why then should he go to the Fathers? It is more fitting that they should come to him. Science takes this only reasonable position. The

university that should attempt to reiterate the past would die out and become an amusing memory.

The dead hand in theology is even more ridiculous, for it enters a domain higher and grander. If it is intolerable in the science of the rocks, the stars, and the verdure, how is it in theology — the science of God? It is worse, for it throttles the moral life, arresting moral growth. It stupefies the God-given intellect and turns it into a thinking machine manipulated by persons who have lain in their graves, it may be, for millenniums. It is a kind of animated Ouija or Planchette moved by spirits of long ago who are forbidden to return with intuitions gained since the terrestrial record closed. Why not restate theology in modern terminology, as well as biology, zoölogy, philology, psychology, or any of the other ologies? Why take a photograph of an ancient portrait that could never have been exact, when the living truth may be thrown up by a modern camera? Why ask what ancient theology said that the Bible said that Christ or Moses said that God said, when God is here in greater power and clearer vision than ever before? Why procure our sunlight by the roundabout process of the moon reflected from a mirror, when the dear old orb is shining in the heaven of to-day? Why take a report of a report of a report, when we may listen to God for ourselves?

Note the blessed freedom vouchsafed by one of our theological seminaries (Lane Seminary at Cincinnati) to her students. The Presbytery of Cincinnati utters itself thus nobly:

> We advocate a full and free critical study of the scriptures for the purpose of vindicating the true nature of the scriptures as held by our church.

This is Romanism simple and pure, with a dead pope in the pontifical chair. It places the Bible back where it was when it lay in the hands of the priests or was chained to the pillars of English cathedrals. The Bible may be studied fully and generously — provided an agreement shall be made that such study shall lead to conclusions *arrived at by the Fathers of the church.* Fancy Harvard Medical School saying to its students: "Take your microscope and search freely, provided you will agree to contradict Pasteur's theory

of microbes!" or the Massachusetts Institute of Technology delivering itself in this wise: "Study electricity frankly and exhaustively, but be sure to reject any revelations that might substantiate the modern delusion of the X-rays, or the heretical claims of Edison in relation to the phonograph!" or our liberal universities saying to those who come to study: "Be thorough and broad in your pursuit of social science, provided you resolutely hold to the traditional theories of the origin of man, and sustain the old and blessed doctrine of indiscriminate philanthropy!" "Study astronomy in all freedom, but avoid Copernicus's impossible conclusions as to the structure of the solar system!"

Injunctions such as these practically say: "You may not study at all." To study in order to reach a conclusion already reached, under instructions to ignore any new light that might affect those conclusions adversely, is not to study genuinely. It is to close out liberty and light, and to end where we began. It is an absurd waste of time. It is to be forever turning about in an ecclesiastical half-bushel. No wonder there is so much talk about the decadence of the pulpit. How could it be otherwise when the novice is thus handicapped and drugged? No man of independence and force will submit to any such thing, and the church thus bars out that which would give her life and length of years. Let us note a few things the dead hand is doing for the church.

It forbids the frank study of the scriptures. In the days of Christ the Bible was in the hands of the scribes; in Luther's time the priests held the keys of interpretation; to-day the individual sects maintain traditional teachings which the adherent is given to understand he must find in the Bible. Untrammelled liberty of investigation is denied. The clergyman or theological student must be a sacred phonograph through whom the church utters itself. Like the Chinese, he bows at the shrines of his ancestors, reiterates their sentiments, and the dead hand becomes a shaping influence, the ruin of living ideals, the suppression of the hopes of the future.

It induces hypocrisy. A creed as ambiguous and double-faced as a political platform is represented as written by the

finger of Deity, to which the catechumen is asked to append his signature of assent. If his mental endowments are too meagre to compass it, he is urged to bring to bear upon it the transmogrifying powers of faith; which is but another way of asking him to "make believe he believes." He cannot believe what he does not comprehend. He can only believe what is intelligible. But he is told that it is his duty to believe what the very constitution of his mind precludes. He cannot believe that Mr. Rockefeller is president of the Standard Oil Company unless the name Rockefeller calls up a definite personality, and the term presidency a definite office. He cannot believe that the lion is a carnivorous beast unless he knows enough Latin to comprehend that carnivorous means flesh-eating. He cannot believe that nitrous oxide is a gas unless he knows the essential properties of nitrous oxide. If he does not know what nitrous oxide is, the sentence resolves itself into this: "—— is a gas." And this is a sentence in which there is nothing to believe or disbelieve. He cannot believe that the Holy Spirit is "of the Father and the Son, neither made, nor begotten, but proceeding," unless he understands the meaning of these terms.

Language which he does not comprehend is to him as an unknown tongue. It is a mere sound, and he can no more believe in the sound of a sentence than in the sound of a gale of wind. A meaningless statement cannot be believed, for the simple reason that there is nothing in it to be believed or disbelieved. To say that God is a person, and that there are three persons who are God, is to say that three persons are one, and one person is three. If he can believe one to be three, he can believe it to be thirty, or three hundred, or three thousand.

Yet the traditionalists require belief in the meaningless. If the too honest mind dissents, the priests who hold the keys of heaven lock him out.

For ages the clergy have lamented the lack of faith, when all the time the curse of humanity has been the lack of doubt. It would be hard enough in any case to get men to think for themselves, yet the unpardonable sin has been to refuse to "make believe believe." Until the close of the seventeenth century independent thought was branded as heresy. The most deadly intellectual vices were inculcated.

It was a sin to doubt the opinions in which one had been brought up. It was a virtue to rehearse them with unquestioning fidelity.

"Oh, sirs," said Mr. Spurgeon, "could ye roll all sins into one, could ye take murder and blasphemy and adultery and everything that is vile, and unite them into one vast globe of black corruption, they would not equal the sin of unbelief."

"Avoid inquiry," said Cardinal Newman, "for it will lead you where there is no light, no peace, no hope; it will lead you into the deep pit where the sun and moon and stars and beauteous heavens are not, but chilliness and barrenness and perpetual desolation."

The dead hand also drains the church of her rich lifeblood. Her virile and independent thinkers are either barred out or cast out. Sciences and philosophies offer a free field of research; the church offers subjection, thraldom, crucifixion. The hero of truth, looking to the ministry as a field of service, sees himself fettered and tied to the past. Few have the resolution to be willing to fight for freedom with one hand and for truth with the other. The pulpit should be the broadest platform on earth; the traditionalists have turned it into a dungeon. The minister should be the freest of men; the traditionalists load him with chains. Imperial scholars and righteous gentlemen, like Professors Briggs and Smith, are branded and slandered. The independent thinker who ventures to speak out is pilloried before the world. The identical spirit that stoned the prophets, murdered Jesus, burned Huss, persecuted Luther, and malignantly pursued Wesley, Channing, and Phillips Brooks is yet abroad. The traditionalists have from the first been the inveterate foes of progress. Traditionalism arrests growth. It denies that growth is possible. Men must tread forever the worn paths of their ancestors. They must become the satellites of churchmen who are in their tombs. In science it would leave us amid the crude environment of the dawn of history. It would keep the race forever in swaddling-clothes. In theology we should still be teaching infant damnation and an undivine partiality that deliberately creates the masses of humankind for eternal anguish.

The dead hand also fosters a doctrine of sectarian infallibility that prohibits progress. Each denomination has its individual pope to whom all disagreements are referred. The shades of Wesley or Calvin or Luther or Ballou or Channing are called up as arbiters. There is an irrefutable standard

about which the constellated bodies of Christendom gather. With one it is baptism, another lineal apostolic descent, another the trinity, another salvation by faith; with others it is sanctification, feet-washing, faith-healing, or some other of a thousand shibboleths too distracting to record. With the Hebrew Church it was the infallible Mishna; with the Roman Church it is the infallible Pope; with the Protestants, infallible doctrine, drawn from an infallible Word, by infallible interpreters.

Infallibility forbids original research. Things are as crystallized and unshakable as the hills. Infallibility works well in the lower realm of figures, but it is fatal to revelation. There is an axiomatic rule for adding two and two; they have always made four, and always will; and there is no possibility of a difference in opinion. Every man on the face of the earth must order his faith and practice by this undeviating ordinance. There is an unerring rule for placing a brace, or constructing an arch. But the instant we enter the higher domain of morals infallibility ceases. There is no infallible rule for composing a Handel's "Messiah," for painting a sunset or an "Angelus," for carving a statue, or for enjoying a landscape. There is no infallible rule for loving truth, beauty, purity, or goodness. There is no infallible rule for holy patriotism, sacred heroism, eternal hope. It would be absurd to ask Congress to enact a statute by which every citizen of the Republic might become loyal and brave.

Nor can any number of ecclesiastical councils create a formula by which men may become godlike. Law is fulfilled by love and grace. The entire Bible is condensed by Jesus into a single sentence — love to God and man. "This is the whole law and the prophets." Infallibility would be a curse to men if it were vouchsafed. He cannot be free, virile, courageous, self-reliant, strong, when confined to a treadmill existence. It is for brutes to follow infallible instincts, but man is an independent force in the universe. The planet must drop forever along the line of its orbit, but man may take an eccentric course. Infallibility has ever attracted the sluggish intellect. There are temperaments too inane to think or act for themselves; like children who have never

learned to go alone, they have no desire to walk so long as they may be carried by others. The fatal weakness of the masses in the church is a willingness to be yoked to the ecclesiastical machine. Millions of minds repose in the stagnant peace of an inflexible dogma. There is a general longing for a faith cut, dried, and irrefutable, a theology from which there is no appeal; and the clergy are most of them willing to furnish it. They itch for a horde of mental vassals to adore and enthrone them as absolute monarchs of their thoughts. The hunger for an infallible church, doctrine, priest, Bible, or friend is great, and the secret of it is discovered in intellectual indolence. Men who will work tremendously will not take the trouble to think religiously. But the good God denies infallibility, and forever and forever He will deny it. He has created man to a high destiny, and will not extinguish that which constitutes his humanity — independence of thought and action.

Orthodoxy is no longer descriptive of true theology. It simply means slavish adherence to that which has been. It is becoming a term of reproach. It must now be defined as that which is old, regular, dull, unprogressive. Heresy has taken on illuminated characters and stands for that which is optimistic and up to date. The prophet is a heretic — and always has been. The clear voices of Hebrew history were hushed in the silence of dungeons and sepulchres. In the sense of eccentricity from lines of truth it is the traditionalist who is the heretic. He who bends backward is as much out of line as he who leans forward. But forward is the movement of the ages; evolution is the watchword of the times. Not only the planets are moving, but the very suns and constellations are making to some distant goal.

This is the normal attitude; quiescence is abnormal. Every atom, down to the central fires of the planet, is in motion. The heretic searches the sky for promised lands; his face is to the east, and the light of morning transfigures it. The traditionalist dwells amid the detritus of a crumbled past. He is not constructive, expectant, hopeful. He is a sombre figure on whose face lie unutterable shadows.

HYPNOTISM IN ITS SCIENTIFIC AND FORENSIC ASPECTS.

BY MARION L. DAWSON, B. L.

THE mind was given man to reason with, to investigate, to find out the undiscovered, to analyze and separate the true from the false. Thus the bold and independent thinker carries forward the torch of knowledge, enlightens the dark places, and chases from the path of science the lurking shadows of ignorance and superstition.

He, however, who seeks to examine conflicting views regarding disputed scientific theories for the purpose of discovering the correct theory, or the true basic law upon which a particular science rests, should be careful, in pursuing his investigations, not to be enticed away from the truth by some plausible but erroneous theory. All thoughtful persons will agree that no arguments are worthy of serious consideration unless they are founded upon demonstrable facts.

Conceding the soundness of this general proposition, the modest effort will be made to explain the possible cause of the acrimonious differences of opinion held by the various schools of hypnotism concerning the proper method of inducing hypnosis, and how these differences may be reconciled. Also to inquire whether the so-called unscrupulous "hypnotizer" or "magnetizer" is, as the public have been taught to believe, a dangerous member of society, and whether legislative action, for the purpose of restraining the use of hypnotic suggestion to any class or profession, is necessary or advisable.

From the earliest times the psychical condition now commonly known as hypnotism has been recognized by mankind. Interest in the mysterious, particularly that phase of it which pertains to the functions of the brain, is one of the strongest of human characteristics, and the ability which some especially gifted individuals were supposed, until recent years, to possess, to control the actions, silence the conscience, and

dominate the will of others by the exercise of mysterious and occult powers, naturally afforded a subject for fascinating study. For many years, however, the progress of this science was retarded. It had to struggle slowly over many difficulties. Ignorance and superstition hopelessly enveloped it in a cloud of supernatural mysticism. No reference had been made to it in scientific text-books; therefore it was ignored and condemned by scientists. It came to the Western world as a new psychical truth, which threatened to revolutionize scientific theories, and these learned men of the West were not prepared to confess or believe that any scientific fact could exist which was not consistent with their own theories. Not understanding hypnotism, they boldly denied its existence, and opposed its advance as they have so often resisted the acceptation and promulgation of scientific truths. It is a sad fact that some of the greatest and most useful scientific discoveries have been given to the world not by the aid of scientists as a class, but rather in spite of their determined and concentrated opposition.

As science drew back, charlatans and knaves advanced, and, with a few notable exceptions, this science flourished only in the hands of the latter. The "conjurer," the "fakir," and the "sorcerer" found in it a valuable aid to the mystifying frauds which they perpetrated on a credulous public.

While it is not advisable in an article of this sort to inquire into the history of "hypnotism," it is necessary to examine the methods which are taught in the various schools of the science for inducing hypnosis, and the theories which they hold regarding the phenomena of the hypnotic state.

Every writer of note whose works I have examined has advocated a method of his own for inducing hypnotic sleep, and each gives a plausible reason why his is the only proper one. They are all, however, modifications of the teachings of two great schools. One the Salpêtrière, which was founded at Paris by Charcot in 1878; it teaches the Braidian method and defends his theories, holds that hypnosis is a physiological rather than a psychical state, and that those of diseased nervous systems make the best subjects. The other is the "Nancy School," which was established about 1884,

and which owes its existence to Liébault, who is, with the possible exception of Prof. Bernheim, the greatest living student of this branch of psychology. The theory held by it is that hypnosis is purely psychical in its nature, and that it is induced by suggestion alone; that all of its phenomena are controlled by suggestion, and that those of sound health and strong concentrative mental ability yield most readily to hypnotic influence.

The real student of psychology — not he whose mind is circumscribed by the narrow limits of the teachings of any one class or school, but he who is ever ready to recognize truth wherever found — will always regret that the radically different views held by these two schools should have been the cause of so much bitterness between them. The warfare which they have waged upon each other has greatly retarded the advance of the science. It is believed that this conflict has been due mainly, if not entirely, to the fact that each has been constantly engaged in the narrow undertaking to prove the correctness of its own pet theory, rather than in the effort to understand why the different methods which they each use to induce hypnotic sleep give practically the same results. Is not this saying of Bacon's applicable to them: "The human mind does not sincerely receive the light thrown upon things, but mixes therewith its own will and passions; thus it makes a science to its tastes. For the truth man most willingly receives is the one he most desires"?

He who hopes to extract the truth from these contradictory and apparently irreconcilable theories must be prepared to accept the following basic propositions, the correctness of which he can easily and satisfactorily demonstrate for himself by investigation and experiment.

First, that the human mind is composed of objective or positive, and subjective or latent faculties. That the positive faculties are those which take note of passing events through the five physical senses. They form the wakeful, reasoning, dominant mind of the individual. That the subjective faculties are those which receive impressions intuitively, suggestively, or through some higher and finer sense

than any of the physical ones. That they never rise above the "realm of consciousness" except when the positive faculties are asleep, in a condition of lethargy closely resembling sleep, or in certain "extraordinary exaltations of the mind." Second, the subjective faculties alone receive hypnotic suggestion. Third, the objective faculties are reduced to a state of hypnotic lethargy by the concentrated mental effort of the individual, aided, it may be, by external suggestion, *but capable of acting entirely independent of it.*

Those who are familiar with the writings and teachings of the ancient philosophers cannot doubt that they indorsed, in its broadest sense, the doctrine of the duality of the mind. As a proof that oriental thinkers have recognized it for many centuries I will say that some years ago, when I first began the study of psychology, I had the good fortune to form the personal friendship of a distinguished Hindu scholar. This philosopher from the Orient was a Brahmin delegate to the World's Congress which convened at Chicago during the Columbian Exposition. During one of the many discussions which we had on this subject he informed me that the duality of the mind was an essential part of the unwritten teaching of occult philosophy, but that the two general divisions were still much further subdivided. These subdivisions, however, are too numerous and too metaphysical to be discussed in an article of this character. The doctrine is now so generally accepted by advanced modern scientists that but little need be said regarding it. Bernheim in his very comprehensive work on "Suggestive Therapeutics" mentions it (see p. 147). Sir William Hamilton discusses and indorses it (see Hamilton's "Metaphysics," p. 36). Surgeon-General Hammond also refers to it in his work entitled "A Treatise on Insanity" (chapter 2); and the theory is unquestionably accepted by such eminent scientists as Proctor, Wigan, Brown-Sequard, Prosper-Despine; and all men of transcendent genius have recognized in themselves some latent mental ability which not only works independently of all ordinary mental effort, but which is beyond the control and direction of the ego.

Hudson was the first writer of ability to discuss intelli-

gently the important bearing which the duality of the mind has upon the science of hypnosis (see Hudson's "Law of Psychic Phenomena," chapter 2).

Those who are familiar with the phenomena of the hypnotic state will readily accept the statement that the latent or subjective mind only receives external suggestions when the objective faculties are asleep or have been rendered lethargic. But the third proposition is the one about which opinions so radically differ. Moll and Ochorowitz, in claiming that subjects may be hypnotized against their will, distinctly deny that hypnotic sleep is self-induced, and all the other psychological scientists, except Bernheim, question it. Yet the very methods which they employ to induce the condition, and the results which they obtain, conclusively prove the correctness of this theory.

Whether the individual is told to gaze intently at a bright object and *think of nothing* but the object (Paris School), or to close his eyes and think intently of nothing while it is suggested to him that he is slowly but surely falling asleep (Nancy School), or to sit in a comfortable position and fix his eyes on the "mesmeric" orbs of the "magician," who makes passes over his body and supercharges his system with subtle magnetic fluid which exudes from his finger-tips, the result is the same. The prolonged, concentrated mental effort *to think of nothing* is the secret of the success of all the methods employed. This effort on the part of the individual himself frees his mind from thought, from nerve stimulation; the blood recedes from the brain-cells; and the mind, more or less gradually according to the temperament of the individual, sinks into that state of lethargy which must precede the effective use of hypnotic suggestion. The latent faculties, thus released from the domination of the positive, are ready to be elevated above the realm of consciousness by having directed to them, by suggestion, the concentrated nerve stimulation which has been shut off from the objective mind.

In explaining the correct theory of hypnotism, and in giving the reason why the subject falls into a state of mental lethargy and becomes amenable to external suggestion, the

question as to whether hypnotism can be induced without the knowledge and against the will of the individual is conclusively answered in the negative. I realize that nearly all the writers on this subject hold views differing from this, but as I am supported by innumerable experiments, by the weight of authenticated facts, and by the opinions of Prof. Bernheim, I feel no hesitancy in expressing my own convictions.

We are now prepared to examine that phase of the subject in which all classes are taking such keen and general interest, namely, whether the power of hypnotic suggestion, which can be so largely used by the skilled psychologist for the good of suffering humanity, may not also be employed by the ignorant or unscrupulous to inflict untold ills upon mankind, and whether the attention of the legislature should be called to the advisability of restraining its use by law. It should be remembered, in this connection, "that though the subjective mind is constantly amenable to suggestion, the strongest suggestion always prevails;" therefore, to answer intelligently the foregoing questions it is necessary to consider to what extent the subjective mind is controlled by *auto-suggestion.*

Bernheim speaks of auto-suggestion as the "deep-rooted idea that nothing can pull up." Hudson describes it "as not only the assertions which the objective mind addresses to its own subjective, but also the habits of thought of the individual, and the settled principles and convictions of his whole life." Albert Moll recognizes this, and attaches the greatest importance to it, and acknowledges that it is frequently impossible to overcome it by any external suggestion, and yet Moll, Bernheim, Forel, Liégeois, and others seem to lose sight of it when they draw such alarming pictures of the dangerous and criminal use of hypnotic suggestion by ignorant and unscrupulous persons. These writers cite a number of cases which, if true, are well calculated to fill the public mind with consternation, and to raise the serious question whether the health, the property, the virtue, and even the lives of a number of people are not constantly at the mercy of the "magnetizer." Nearly all modern writers on hypnotism refer with approval to the well-known Castellan case, reported by Prosper-Despine in 1865, and the Lévy case, reported in 1879.

Both of these were cases where hypnotic influence was supposed to have been exerted over female subjects for immoral purposes, and the defendant in each case was convicted on expert hypnotic testimony and sentenced to confinement in the penitentiary. Most of them also refer to the Tiza-Eslar affair, and Bernheim, Liégeois, Forel, and Ochorowitz mention a large number of experiments which they apparently successfully performed to prove that subjects while in the hypnotic state can be induced to unresistingly part with their property, to perjure themselves on the witness stand, to commit any crime, from a slight misdemeanor to a high-class felony. Liégeois mentions one case in particular where he induced a refined and gentle girl to attempt the life of a near and dear relative with a supposed loaded pistol, and Moll asserts that by hypnotic influence a subject can undeniably be induced to take *his own life.*

When such statements as these are made and indorsed by well-known scientists it certainly becomes the duty of the moralist, the humanitarian, the lawyer, and the physician to examine them with care and with courage. It is believed, however, that none of these cases will stand the test of such an examination. They do not conform to the latest scientific theories regarding psychical phenomena, and they are inconsistent with the rest of the teachings of those who refer to them. It may be confidently asserted that the power of hypnotic suggestion for immoral or criminal purposes, broadly speaking, *depends upon the moral tendency of the hypnotized subject.*

Those whose lives are vitiated and whose tendencies are criminal may unquestionably be induced to commit either moral or legal crime by the influence of hypnotic suggestion. In this case the individual is told to do only what is congenial to his tastes and habits. On the other hand, when the criminal suggestion is addressed to one who is fortified by a pure heart and sound morals it will find no lodgment in his mind. No suggestion can overcome the silent but resistless influence of an enlightened conscience. In the deepest state of somnambulism this divine spark burns with a steady lustre, flooding the soul with a pure and heavenly light. He who

has endowed us with innate consciousness of right to guide us through the labyrinth of temptations which beset our footsteps, and who has given us a free will to resist the foes to morality that ever lie in ambush for us, has not given any one individual the power so to deprive another of conscious responsibility that that other may be forced to leap at one bound the wide gulf which separates vice from virtue.

As conclusive proof of the correctness of this statement, the following authenticated facts are cited:

If a subject can successfully resist a suggestion which will make him appear ridiculous (Moll), will he not more certainly resist one that will make him commit crime? If a man can resist the suggestion which tells him to reveal the secrets of masonry, or any other fraternal order (Moll and Hudson), is it not absurd to contend that he is unable to decline that which would force him to stain his hand with the innocent blood of a fellow man? Would not such a suggestion fill his soul with horror, and would not the shock to his nerve sensibilities at once reëstablish objective control over the subjective faculties? If a female subject who suffers from an imaginary disease and has this fanciful idea so deep in her mind that no suggestion can dislodge it (Bernheim), or who, in the deepest state of somnambulism, can resist the suggestion to make herself ridiculous by protruding her tongue in the presence of an audience (Moll and Hudson), is it not unreasonable, to say the least, to claim, as Liégeois does, that she can be made to fire a supposed loaded pistol at a relative with murderous intent? Or if she can refuse to awaken from hypnotic sleep on being told that when she wakes she will be deprived of the power of speech (Pitres approved by Moll), is it not a mockery of common sense to contend, as Bernheim, Liégeois, Forel, and others claim, that she is powerless to resist when she is commanded by suggestion to give up that priceless jewel which is the crowning glory of womanhood, and which a pure woman values not less than her life? The most yielding and "subjective" woman, whose mind is chaste and whose life is blameless, need have no fear of the "magnetic" influence of the "hypnotic magician," for somnambulism cannot silence conscience nor "suggestion" disarm vir-

tue. It is unfortunately true that this result is sometimes accomplished by the deceitful and treacherous arts of him who first possesses himself of her heart and her confidence. These having been given, in a moment of weakness she yields to his temptings just as she would willingly sacrifice her life for him, if necessary. It has not been done, however, and cannot be done, by the use of suggestion alone while she is in a state of hypnotic sleep.

Parlor or office experiments, like those made and relied on by Liégeois and Forel, to prove the power of hypnotic suggestion, are untrustworthy as a basis for scientific calculation. In all such cases the subject goes into the hypnotic sleep conscious that he is to be experimented with; he never entirely loses this consciousness; he is unresisting, and there is no reason why he should not, and every reason why he should, implicitly obey the suggestions of the experimenter.

In this country the effort has been repeatedly made to adopt the plea of hypnotism as a cloak for crime. It is therefore important that jurors, and those who may become jurors, should have some knowledge of the law which governs the production of hypnotic phenomena, so that they may know how much weight ought to be given to such pleas. These defences have been made most frequently in the far West, but general notice has been attracted to them in but three cases, and a Supreme Court has passed upon only one. The Myer case in New York and the Anderson-Gray case in Kansas are still remembered by the public, but the most important one seems to have escaped general notice, namely, that of the State of California *vs.* Worthington, reported in 105 Cal., p. 166. The facts were briefly these: Louise Worthington, a married woman, proved unfaithful, but her husband forgave her. He who had brought discord into her family, on attempting to visit her again, was deliberately shot and killed by her. Her defence was that she was hypnotized by her husband and compelled to commit the crime. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and that high tribunal held that: "Testimony as to the effect of hypnotism upon those subject to such influence is not admissible upon trial of a defendant accused of murder, where there is no evi-

dence tending to show that the defendant was a subject of hypnotism." Therefore it may be inferred that, if the defendant had been subject to hypnotism, such a defence would have been both admissible and proper. The learned judge who delivered the opinion said, with refreshing ignorance of the entire subject, that there was nothing in the testimony "tending to show that the defendant was subject to the *disease* of hypnotism." In the light of modern science, could anything be more absurd than to speak of hypnotism as a mental disease? If it is a mental disease, no crime which is committed by one under its influence should be punished.

This case is worthy of careful and thoughtful examination, because for the first time in the history of our courts judicial sanction was inferentially given to the possibility of making hypnotic irresponsibility an excuse for civil or criminal misconduct. Once firmly establish this precedent and a way is open for the miscarriage of justice easier than has yet been devised by the wily criminal or the ingenious and unscrupulous advocate.

On account of the misconception which the public has of this whole subject, the mystery which still envelops it, and the supernatural power which the hypnotist is supposed to possess, such pleas cannot fail to become popular.

What subject offers a wider scope for the display of forensic eloquence? through what other medium can such an effective plea be made for the wrongdoer? how else can the sympathies and the passions of a jury be so easily or so profoundly stirred? The plea of insanity, which is always adopted when no other possible excuse can be found for the crime, will be cast aside as a worn-out and useless dodge, and the much more effective one of hypnotism will be substituted in its place.

It has been clearly shown that unless the tendencies of the hypnotized subject are criminal or his morals loose he cannot be influenced by improper suggestion, and that even when these conditions exist he must first allow himself to be hypnotized before the power of suggestion can be employed. It has also been shown that the power of instantaneous

hypnotism is an illusion, and that the magnetizer and the terrible mesmeric eye exist only in the imagination. Therefore, if the subject voluntarily permits himself to be placed in a state of mental irresponsibility, the well-settled principle of law, that a person cannot take advantage of his own misconduct, would govern all such cases. If he voluntarily subjects himself to the power of hypnotic suggestion and while in that condition violates the law of the land, the security of society demands that he shall suffer for his act.

In this connection it may be stated that many writers, in discussing the legal aspect of hypnotism, have undertaken to claim that a witness who has been previously hypnotized can be made to give false testimony while on the witness-stand, and that the attorney can thus, by the aid of post-suggestion, manufacture evidence to suit his case (Bernheim). This might seem a plausible theory if it were not for the fact that, when in the hypnotic state, a subject, as a general rule, is just as amenable to a suggestion from one person as another. Therefore, if in the direct examination he testifies falsely at the suggestion of the counsel who is conducting that part of the examination, on cross-examination he would be completely broken down, and his testimony would not only be worthless, but would be calculated to do the side which produced him absolute injury rather than benefit.

Appreciating the danger which may attend the careless or ignorant use of psychic power for therapeutic purposes and the harm which may be done by it when used for criminal ends, physicians have rather peremptorily demanded that its use shall be limited to themselves. In Europe these demands have been largely complied with. In Russia no physician can hypnotize except in the presence of two others. In Prussia public exhibitions are forbidden, and in France the use of hypnotic suggestion is limited to the medical profession. Before this profession can reasonably claim any right to the sole use of psychic power it should be required to show that physicians are better qualified than other scientists to use the power for the benefit of the afflicted and less liable to employ it for injurious purposes.

Can any facts be produced to show that the members of the medical profession have given more study to this branch of psychology than other advanced thinkers? Have they exerted themselves so energetically in their efforts to place hypnotism on a scientific basis and to make it useful as a therapeutic agent, that they can now consistently demand that its use be restricted to themselves? Does not the whole history of the science prove that it has struggled to its present eminence in the face of their opposition, rather than by the aid of their assistance? Or can it be demonstrated to the satisfaction of any reasonable man that the study of medicine is more elevating to the mind, purifying to the heart, or ennobling to the character than the study of the other sciences, or of law or theology? Physicians are no more platonic, and no more capable of resisting temptation, than other men are, and there is no reason which commends itself to the unprejudiced thinker why the legislature should favor them by restricting hypnotic experiments to their profession. This attempt has been made in two State legislatures, and quite recently some misguided but probably well-meaning gentleman started a motion to petition Congress to take the matter under advisement.

Although in recent years so much of the time of many of the State legislatures has been consumed in debating and passing useless, unwise, and often mischievous measures, it is not probable that either they or Congress will go so far in this direction as to give serious consideration to the unreasonable demands of the medical profession, and thus throw a serious obstacle in the path of this now rapidly advancing psychical science.

Though the history of hypnotism dates back to the beginning of civilization, it has so recently been placed upon a scientific basis that it may be regarded as yet in its infancy. With the light which we now have on the subject no one who has carefully and thoughtfully studied this science will dare to predict what psychical truths its future development may disclose. But it may be safely asserted that, as the subjective faculties become more perfectly developed, many of the mysteries which now puzzle the human understanding

will be made plain. Many of the problems concerning the relationship of the mind and the soul about which philosophers have wrangled so continuously, and with so little benefit to mankind, will doubtless become simplified. Who knows but that then the mysterious veil which no mortal eye has yet pierced, the veil which separates the material from the spiritual, the animal life from the soul life, may be lifted, and the wonders of the unseen universe revealed to man? Thus may death be unmasked, the grave robbed of its terrors, and physical dissolution prove to be but a transition state more to be desired than feared — who knows? These questions will not be satisfactorily answered as long as psychological scientists continue to debate vague and unimportant theories, and refuse to recognize and accept as a basis for their investigations the simple but inflexible law which produces and controls the phenomena of the psycho-physiological condition known as hypnotic sleep.

SUICIDE: IS IT WORTH WHILE?

BY CHARLES B. NEWCOMB.

"I am Knowledge Absolute — Thought Absolute — Bliss Absolute; I am it — I am it." — *From the Sanscrit.*

THERE is a marked increase in the tendency to suicide. This tendency develops oftenest among men. They furnish more than two-thirds of the subjects, and are generally men of intelligence and in responsible positions.

There is but one motive that can drive a man to suicide: *it is fear.* This incentive manifests itself in many different forms. It is generally a fear of the consequences of a man's own acts — loss of reputation, property, health, or happiness. It is an act of supreme selfishness in any case. Suicide is evasion. It is not necessary to offer insanity as an excuse. If it were, we must admit that insanity itself is but the result of egotism. It proceeds from a morbid condition of mind, a danger to which we are all subject when our thoughts dwell too persistently upon ourselves, when we look in instead of out — the danger of inverted thought.

This can arise only from a misconception of life. The remedy lies in a fresh statement. We have lived too much in the marshlands and among the fogs. We have lingered too long in the cemeteries of dead faiths. We have been led astray by the fireflies and *ignes fatui* of false ambitions.

Every individual is a complete judicial system, an autonomy, within himself. He is his own lawmaker, prosecutor, judge, and jury. We are our own jailers. We apply our own thumbscrews. We stretch ourselves upon the racks, and handle the levers. It is not "fate" nor "Providence" nor "circumstances" from which we suffer. There is no despot but *self.* Every act of a man's life is sooner or later passed upon by his own conscience. All expiations will be assessed and painfully worked out by and for himself with perfect equity. He governs in his own system myriads of cell life, microbes and elementals, each endowed with an intelligence

of its own, but subject to his rule. This is the true field for the discipline of his powers before he seeks dominion over others. In his own kingdom he must learn to reign supreme. His *purified will* must be accepted as law by the subjects of his personal realm, his own body and own mind.

Life is flexible and plastic, and is moulded by our thoughts. Man is at the same time a pupil and an architect. Let him accept the proposition that all things work together for good, and he will find abundant confirmation of it in his daily life. When we humor our weaknesses they force themselves continually upon our attention like spoiled children. When we assert our mastery of ourselves and compel its recognition we stand secure in our sovereign rights.

The supreme folly of the suicide is in the delusion that by breaking the slate he can solve his problem or escape it. He may for a time attempt the role of truant from life's school, but, like the schoolboy, he only delays his task and complicates it. Sometime, somewhere (and doubtless sooner and nearer than he thinks), these problems of to-day *must be worked out.* There is no reason whatever to suppose that any lesson of life can be really evaded. Dame Nature is an honest and expert accountant. Her debits and credits are kept with unerring accuracy. She herself meets every obligation promptly, and, in her turn, exacts the same of us, and will not be cheated of her dues. How can we be so stupid as not to see that this planetary schoolroom is very beautiful indeed, and contains every appliance helpful to our education? What apparatus is lacking, and where could we find more delightful and entertaining classmates? How unreasonable to whine continually about a distant heaven, like a homesick schoolboy crying for his holiday! Why not improve the golden opportunity of the class-room, and the buoyant life of the playground, with the keen zest of a wholesome, healthy nature?

> "The world is so full of a number of things,
> I am sure we ought all to be happy as kings."

To the mature and well-balanced mind every moment of existence is the best, every present plan and circumstance is the one most favorable to its purpose. It looks neither for-

ward nor backward, knows no longings or regrets, experiences neither elation nor depression. It simply *lives*, and life is gladness, strength, and peace.

Life is often called a voyage. Yet on a voyage one would scarcely fling himself overboard because of a foggy day. It has been truly said that "He is a bad sailor who thinks there is no land because he sees nothing but ocean." A good sailor is indifferent to weather. He is as confident in storm as in calm, for is he not equipped with nautical education, experience, and instruments adapted to all the emergencies of the voyage? If the heavens are clouded above, he sails by sounding the depths below. He has learned the science of "dead-reckoning," and he knows no fear. He remembers that

"That night is long that never finds the day."

We often speak of life as a hard taskmaster and as something we should be glad to have done with. We call it an illusion and a dream. But we are beginning to learn (and every discovery of science emphasizes the fact) that death is the only "illusion," and that life in ever-varying form goes on forever. We *cannot* put it away from us. No man can be really burned, drowned, frozen, or buried. He may change his garment, but *he must live on.* Through all experiences he comes unscathed, untouched, and *conscious still.*

Doubtless among the greatest surprises that await us in the future is the realization with a clearer vision than we possess to-day that life is infinitely kind and tender, and wonderfully wise in its adaptation of our experience to our necessities. We shall yet admit that it has been a skilful surgeon performing the necessary operation as gently as we would permit, and alleviating to the utmost the pains of the sufferer. Life itself inflicts no pain upon us. All suffering comes from within. It proceeds from the inharmonious conditions of our own souls. No pang can endure beyond the moment when we have restored harmonious vibration to the mind — have adjusted our own relations to people and events. The necessary and infallible result of mental harmony is health of body, opulence of environment, and love of friends.

Love is the keynote of life. Its harmonies are sublime. It is a magnet of irresistible power which draws to us all things desirable.

Destiny there surely is, but it is a consequence of an inner cause. It is not the arbitrary government of another intelligence.

When one is lost in the forest, and the night comes on, it is wise to "camp down" and wait for daylight. The old huntsman makes himself comfortable by the bivouac fire and lies down cheerfully, knowing well that if he were to keep in motion he might only travel in a circle and exhaust himself in vain. Is not this a wise suggestion for all hours of uncertainty in relation to the affairs of life? We must not be "driven." When we cannot act we must learn the science of waiting — and of waiting cheerfully and confidently — beside our bivouac fires. We need not camp down in the darkness. A few dry boughs, a flint and steel, will bring us warmth and light, and the morning is never far away. A little further on, when the planet has travelled a bit further in its orbit towards the sun, how differently will appear the problems of the night! A little distance only is necessary to evolve harmony from any discord. Nature skilfully readjusts and blends all the vibrations of life in her atmospheres, transforming all to rhythmic chords. Even the deafening noises of the boiler shop, with its hundreds of busy hammers, are turned into a symphony to the listener just across the field.

If we were to dwell long upon the fact that we live in our mortal bodies under a constant atmospheric pressure of fifteen pounds to the square inch we should feel crushed and suffocated. Why do we not suffer? Because the resisting power of the atmosphere within is always equal to the pressure from without. We are permeated and upheld by the same force that surrounds and overhangs us. So in our life of daily responsibility. When we consider only the care that comes from without we feel under constant and violent pressure. When we remember that we live *in* God we know that the universal force can never fail us. It works constantly in and through us as tireless energy. The human

life is as real and important a thing in its orbit as the planetary life of which it is a part. In a sense we ourselves do not breathe. The universal life breathes through us. We do not carry the world on our shoulders. It is the pressure within and without that maintains our centre of gravity and makes life possible and pleasurable.

God, Love, and Life are synonyms. Each comprehends the other, and each is a complete term for the Infinite Energy. We are each a part of the life-blood of the universal system. We are a part of its sensoria and ganglia.

In the great ocean of life, we do not need any artificial life-preservers. The depth is so great it has incalculable buoyancy. We cannot sink. We need not struggle. Every man is by nature a swimmer. Fear often delays the discovery for years. Many a man goes down in sight of shore because he does not know how to throw himself on his back and wait quietly for the relief just at hand.

Any day of life, any moment of time, may be made the starting-point of success. Let us "rejoice as a strong man to run a race."

> And should the twilight darken into night,
> And sorrow turn to anguish,
> Be thou strong — thou art in God,
> And nothing can go wrong which a fresh life-pulse
> Cannot set aright,
> That thou dost know the darkness proves the light.[1]

[1] George Macdonald.

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

OLD GLORY.

(A Song.)

BY IRONQUILL.

1.

Flag of a thousand battles,
  Beautiful flag of the free;
Waving from lake to ocean,
  Waving from sea to sea;

Outward and seaward ever,
  Daring the restless wave;
Upward and skyward ever,
  Pride of the true and the brave.

Old Glory, Old Glory, the world awaits thy story;
Float on, float ever on o'er land and sea;
Old Glory, Old Glory, the world awaits thy story;
Float on, float on, thou emblem of the free.

2.

Flag of a thousand battles,
  Cresting the billows of fire;
Whelming established evils,
  Raising the lowly higher;

Challenging ancient error,
  Silencing tyranny dumb,
Gladdening and inspiring
  Hope for the year to come!

Old Glory, Old Glory, the world awaits thy story;
Float on, float ever on o'er land and sea;
Old Glory, Old Glory, the world awaits thy story;
Float on, float on, thou emblem of the free.

VITA SUM.

BY JUNIUS L. HEMPSTEAD.

I am Life, the invisible sprite,
  My palace is builded in space;
With an Ariel's restless flight
  I hurry from place to place;
I laugh at the plodding of time
  As I flit from star to star;
I build with a skill sublime
  The forms which the ages mar.

I am Force, but who is it can tell
  How I come, or whither I go?
I am essence of all; I dwell
  In the current's mysterious flow.
I am child of electrical birth,
  And flourish from pole to pole;
With fingers of fire I kindle earth,
  I fill her dark veins with coal.

I am Life; all the atoms my slaves;
  King of sea, and of earth, and sky;
Of Death, and his phantom graves,
  And of those that forgotten lie
Down deep in the petrified earth!
  I move, and the edicts of change
Are laws of eternity's birth,
  That my servants with patience arrange.

I am Life — Life, a protean dream,
  O'ermastered by chemical laws,
A subtile and magnetic stream
  From Time and its Great First Cause.
I live in molecular cells,
  In the germ with its latent force,
In the bud that abounding swells,
  In the seasons' resistless course.

I change with my marvellous skill
  Death's current, so sombre and wide;
I remake with a sovereign's will,
  From the substance of those who died,

More beautiful houses of clay,
Abodes for the conscious soul,
Where Will, with its impotent sway,
Is a slave to the senses' control.

I am Life! I survive by decay;
Selecting the atoms I need,
I bring, in correlative play,
Through a germ or a latent seed,
The forces that men so call —
Strong forces as old as time.
Forever and over it all
I reign with a reign sublime.

GOLD.

BY CLINTON SCOLLARD.

Gold! — gold everywhere!
A delicate dash of amber in the air,
Autumn's bright benison
Of haze from the benignant sun.
Happy are all the hills
Gold-tapestried; and far below,
Where flash and flow,
Irradiate, the rills,
Behold, behold,
An undulating field of the cloth of gold!
All blends and blurs,—
Shades, shadows, half-lights, flood-lights, ministers
Of glow and gloom,
Into one compact and perfected bloom
Of color: tint-ores manifold
Fused into gold!

With thee, O heart,
Love, with his transmutation fine,
E'en as the alchemist Year, has played his part.
The present is a-gleam with golden shine,
And lo! the opening future doth unfold —
Gold, — all gold!

RICHARD REALFE.

BY REUBIE CARPENTER.

His was the poet's heart of strange unrest.
  His thoughts were woven thick with midnight dreams,
  And golden fantasies, and those vague gleams
Of spirit-light with which the seers are blest.
Pale-featured Sorrow was his constant guest,
  And every star of joy whose silvery beams
  Fell o'er his path, changed into darkened streams
Of bitter woe within his joyless breast.

At last Love came, and brought with her such pain
  As burns the heart like flames of fiercest fire,
    And dries up every fount of hope divine;
He, frenzied, desperate, knowing all was vain,
  With one last parting moan upon his lyre,
    Dashed down Life's goblet, spilled its bitter wine.

THE DREAMER.

BY HELENA MAYNARD RICHARDSON.

Keen is the wind, and steep the pathway grows
  To where the shaggy brow o'erlooks the sea.
  The clouds hang low. The scudding yachts fast flee
Before the urging breath of breeze which blows
Them wide of port. Saluting, comes or goes
  The smoke-stained ship of steam, with deep-voiced key
  That echoes down the shoreland far and free
And dies amid the gathering mist's repose.

Atop the cliff the dreamer lies a-dream:
  Beneath, the world of men; its paths diverge;
    And all is his to conquer and to claim.
But motionless, and bound in hush supreme
  Above the dash and roar of beating surge,
    Apart he dreams, and dares to dream of fame.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

The Greatest Lyric.

POETRY interprets two things — nature and human nature. Besides these, the muse has no other worlds to discover and reveal. Nature is the objective, visible world; human nature is the subjective, invisible world. The singer of the song sees both; but his vision turns to the one or the other according to his temperament, his disposition, and his habits of culture.

In some cases the poet is the poet of nature. For example, our American Bryant is a nature poet, pure and simple. It were difficult to find in the writings of any other bard so much of nature, so little of human nature. From the day of his first outgoings, when he lay musing by the margin of the meadow and traced the distant flight of the waterfowl, while the heavens were aglow "with the last steps of day," to that far time when the veteran poet composed the "Flood of Years," there is hardly a trace of anything but nature and the influences of nature falling on the heart of man.

On the other hand, Longfellow is the poet of human nature. Though he had a soul most susceptible to the influences of the natural world, he nevertheless chooses the human heart for his realm of delight and interpretation. His poetry is ever illumined with the affections and hopes of humanity. Even in those cases in which he begins with nature he always ends with human nature. Standing by the ocean side he beholds the seaweed drifting. He muses on the autumnal equinox and the gigantic storm-wind that falls on the deep and lashes shoreward the laboring surges. He discovers in vision the far regions of the water-world from which the seaweed comes. He hears the soft waves murmuring on the Bermudian corals and the hoarse breakers roaring on the rock-bound Hebrides. He thinks of the mysterious sea-stream bearing its unmeasurable volume of warmth from the tropics into the frozen gulfs of the North. But he cannot finish with the sea vision *as such;* he turns to the poetic an-

alogy in *life*, and the whole force of his thought expends itself in developing the imagery of the invisible empire:

> So when storms of wild emotion
> Smite the ocean
> Of the Poet's soul, ere long
> From each cave and rocky fastness
> In the vastness
> Floats some fragment of a song.

Anon we find a poet who is a singer of both nature and human nature. Of this kind was the late immortal Laureate of England. Tennyson's preëminence rises upon the double abutment of the visible and the invisible world. He blended the two elements in his song; and the imperishable beauty of much of his work depends upon the blending.

It is this happy union of the objective and visible with the subjective and invisible that has given to the "Bugle Song" its strong hold on the sympathy of the English-speaking race, and has brought a virtual consensus of judgment that it is the finest lyric in our language. Note the unconscious ease and beauty with which the elements of the natural and spiritual worlds are mingled in this masterpiece. On what does the splendor fall? Not on mere mountain peaks and cliffs and precipices, but on *castle walls*. Yonder, on the heights, stood the old castles of the feudal ages, with moats and drawbridges ready for romance or battle. Human interests were there. True enough, the poet's vision falls on "snowy summits," but they are *old in story*.

Through the first and part of the second stanza there is no suggestion that any other than the poet is standing with him and viewing the splendid scene. In the second stanza he introduces Elfland. The element of life, even the life of the Little World, cannot escape his sympathy and discernment. If there are echoes of the actual bugle falling across the lake and returning from cliff and scar, those echoes are not merely the rebound of sound; they must be the little music blown from the horns of Elfland. The Elves blow, and the purple glens reply, and the echoes recede faintly, faintly, into the silence.

Then, in the third stanza, we discover that the poet has not been musing aloud so much as pointing out and interpreting

the scene to *another* soul beside him. In the beginning of this stanza he addresses that other soul; he tells her that while the echoes of the actual bugle die away into silence — while they fade to nothing in the rich sky that overspans the world of sense and sorrow — there are other echoes that do not melt into silence. The voices of the soul, as the syllables of the bugle, flung forth on the infinite air, roll from soul to soul, and grow forever and forever.

There is thus in the Bugle Song a sudden involution of all the visible landscape — of snowy summits and castle walls and lakes and cataracts and cliffs and scars; and there is the equally sudden and beautiful evolution of *another world* — the invisible world of hope and love. The Bugle Song thus enfolds in its drapery the sublimest elements of nature and the purest elements of human nature, and the echo, like that of the soul itself, will continue to resound and fly from the crags and valleys of life through all centuries until our mother tongue shall no longer carry from heart to heart its messages of peace.

"Thrift, Thrift, Horatio."

A patriot in exile went on Bunker Hill day to see the *Collis Sacer*. He went alone; for solitude, even in the city-ful, fits the mind for communion with the great.

The great were not wanting on that sloping hill, in the June meadow, a hundred and twenty-two years ago. There were men in Breed's pasture on that day who wore hunting shirts and belts with powder-horns and leather bags filled with chawed bullets, who, on another planet, would have been gods, not by courtesy, but by right. Being on earth, they were shot and killed in freedom's cause, and for a century at least it seemed that their fame was immortal.

Old Boston was proud of her heroes. She reared an obelisk of granite not unworthy of her patriot dead. The Man of Marshfield, when the writer of this note was still a blinking baby, said some immortal things at the foot of that everlasting shaft. Now the exile went to Bunker Hill to muse on these things, and to drop a possible tear of affection and veneration on the spot where Joe Warren and old Israel

Putnam and Prescott and Gridley and the other heroes fought in the trenches and fell back into immortality.

The exile tried to revoke the greatness and the glory of the event and the actors. He paid his tribute at the foot of the statues of Prescott and Warren, and was permitted by an official to ascend to the top of the monument where the old battered guns are kept. *For this privilege he was charged twenty cents!* From the top of the obelisk he looked down and saw *six fakirs gesticulating in quack-carts just outside of the enclosure.* They shouted and vociferated about their fraudulent wares and accursed tricks to a lot of ignoramuses, to whom Bunker Hill signified as much as the Parthenon would signify to as many Bushmen!

Twenty cents for admission! A fakir crying his wares at the base of Bunker Hill! Business is business.

The Pessimist.

It is the fashion to decry pessimism as the shabbiest vice of the civilized life. To be a pessimist is to incur the aversion and contempt of the world. To be an optimist is, according to the rhythm of the age, the highest of the virtues. For this reason they who would avoid censure and they who would gather praise must shun the pessimistic and follow the optimistic gonfalon.

But there are pessimists and pessimists. Old Thersites was a pessimist. His head indicated it. Homer says that the head of Thersites was "piled up behind." The wearer of that head used to go about the Greek camp at Troy finding fault with everything. He criticised Agamemnon, king of men. He mocked at the conduct of the siege. He quarrelled with everybody, even the sutlers and camp-followers. He could not keep the peace, insomuch that the mild-mannered Ulysses was obliged one day to whip him. When the queen of the Amazons was slain Thersites plucked out her eyes; he could not forbear to make even Death worse than it was. He went on in this career of truculent fault-finding and mockery and denunciation of everything and praise of nothing until the soured and terrible Achilles — himself something of a pessimist — got hold of him and killed him.

That was the end of Thersites, but not the end of his kind. The original mocker has descendants. They are plentifully scattered through all the civilized races. There seems to be a certain type of character which cannot be satisfied with anything but criticism and denunciation of things as they are. We heartily agree that this type is the gadfly on the back of humanity. Under the sting of the gadfly humanity writhes and twists and plunges, but cannot shake Thersites off.

But there is another pessimist of a different order. Him we appreciate; him we honor with brief eulogy. I should think that every good physician in the world is a pessimist, for it is his business to discover ailment and to make memorandum of what it is. The physician may be never so hopeful about the ultimate condition of his patient. He may be never so confident that the dreadful epidemic will at length subside; but in the interim he relaxes no jot of effort to discover the seat of infection, to tell the authorities what it is that is breeding death, and to get a wholesome quarantine established around the borders of the infected district.

In this wise proceeds every sane philosopher. What a fool is he who supposes that civilization is a healthy subject! What a quack is he who, knowing the infected provinces in the Empire of Life, says that he does not believe there is an infection, and that indeed he doubts whether there is malady anywhere! What a poltroon is he who calls the discovery and uncovery of infection and plague the bugaboo of a pessimist! Albeit, the quack knows that the spurious all-is-well diagnosis goes for much with the folks of his neighborhood, and that the increment to his own estate will be large in proportion to the hygienic flattery which he dispenses.

Of this kind of quack and poltroon the world is full. The easy optimist abounds. He constitutes a part of the vociferous majority who mob-like howl down the wind the wholesome, courageous pessimist who dares to diagnosticate the maladies of his age and country. Behold how every genuine man and woman who has the courage of conviction and does that courage into word and deed shall be assailed and vituperated! His criticism and his warning will be turned ever to his hurt. Popularity belongs to the *laudator temporis acti*.

Contumely follows the steps of whoever speaks the sarcasm of truth and administers the irony of righteousness.

Take for example such a man as James Russell Lowell. What does he fling into the face of the age? Here is his message in a single verse:

"*Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne.*"

What does the loud world say in answer? The loud world denies it. The loud world rushes to a political meeting and catches with open mouth the harangue administered by the Honorable Donovan Maginty of the Sixth Ward, who declares in stentorian rhetoric that the world was never before so good and sweet, society was never before so pellucid and sunlit, and man was never before so rich in virtue and health. None the less, it was Lowell and not the Honorable Maginty who delivered the imprisoned truth to his fellow men, taking upon himself cheerfully the ill fame of pessimism, if thereby he might conduce a little to the betterment of mankind. The beautiful but sad aphorism of the poet stands like a great rock in the noisy swell of the breakers, challenging and flinging back their impotent assailing waters; for Truth *is* forever on the scaffold, and Error *is* forever on the throne: only, at last, we shall pull down the error and crown the truth.

The Physician's Last Call.

He rose at midnight, fevered and worn out
With forty years of service to mankind!
A young wife waited for the master mind
To save her in the hour of hope and doubt.
He gave her baby to her, turned about
And staggered homeward through the darkness — blind
With toil and vigil, and was fain to find
Death and surcease from life's distracted rout!

Small was the box of silver-bronze that held
The treasured ashes! It was Freedom's Day,
And overhead the sky was deeply blue.
We left the casket! Death and fire had felled
Our girdled cedar! He had gone away
Who did his duty till the fight was through.

BOOK REVIEWS.

[*In this Department of* THE ARENA *no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.*]

A Bard of the Ohio.[1]

From the poetry of our day I select that of Madison Cawein as an example of conspicuous merit. Many American readers have enjoyed Mr. Cawein's productions. His Muse is a welcome visitant in the parlors and summer-houses of high-up people in all parts of our country. But the appreciation of his poetry has never been as great as its merits would indicate. His poems are rather *too good* to be caught up on the babbling tongue and cast forth into mere popularity. They are caviare to the general; and yet they have in them the best elements of popular favor.

Cawein is a classicist. He will have it that poems, however humble the theme, however tender the sentiment, shall wear a tasteful Attic dress. I do not intimate that Mr. Cawein's mind has been too much saturated with the classical spirit or that his native instincts have been supplanted with Greek exotics and flowers out of the renaissance, but rather that his own mental constitution is of a classical as well as a romantic mould.

No true poet, I presume, can help being a poet, or can refrain from exhibiting his divine weakness to mankind. Poetry is a form of spiritual dream which it were impossible to suppress; and how dismal withal the world would be without it! If the logicians and mathematicians could have their way, if the philosophers could rule, if the scholastics issuing from their fuliginous dust-heaps could prevail over all spiritual and sentimental conditions, to be sure what a dreadful reign of death we should have! What an empire of bones!

Madison Cawein has now published at least five volumes of poems; and they are all worth while. I find mentioned also "Lyrics and Idyls" and "The Triumph of Music," which I have not seen in separate form — these besides the five publications

1 "Days and Dreams." Poems, by Madison Cawein, author of "Lyrics and Idyls," "The Triumph of Music," etc. One volume 12mo. Pp. 173. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1891. "Moods and Memories." By the same. One volume 12mo. Pp. 310. Same publishers, New York and London, 1892. "Red Leaves and Roses." By the same. One volume 12mo. Pp. 205. Same publishers, 1893. "Poems of Nature and Love." By the same. One volume 12mo. Pp. 211. Same publishers, 1893. "Intimations of the Beautiful and Other Poems." By the same. One volume 8vo. Pp. 208. Same publishers, 1894.

which are before me. "Days and Dreams" appeared in 1891. In the following year "Moods and Memories" was published. In 1893 "Red Leaves and Roses" and "Poems of Nature and Love" were sent out; and in 1894 "Intimations of the Beautiful" followed, completing the series, all from the press of the Putnams. But let no one think that the series will end with the present fytte. Cawein is a constant writer. His poems appear in the current magazines of the last two years, *rari in gurgite vasto*, as the pale shade of Mantua would say, and I do not doubt that a new volume will soon be given to the public.

The themes of Cawein's poetry are generally taken from the world of romance. If there be any modern bard who can recreate a mediæval castle and give to its inhabitants the sentiments which were theirs in the twelfth century, Cawein is the poet who can. He takes delight in the East. He is the Omar Khayyam of the Ohio Valley. He is as much of a Mohammedan as a Christian. He knows the Son of Abdallah better than he knows Cromwell; and has more sympathy with a Khalif than with a Colonel. He dwells in the romantic regions of life; but the romance is real. The hope is a true hope. The dream is a true dream. The picture is a painting, and not a chromo. The love is a passion, and not a dilettante episode. Cawein's art is a genuine art. His verse is exquisite. Out of the three hundred and thirteen poems in the five volumes under consideration there may be found hardly a false step or broken harmony.

The sympathetic reader will note in Mr. Cawein's poems the marks of steady poetical development. How subtile are those touches by which genius reveals itself in the evolution from youth to maturity, and from maturity to full flight! In the poems which make up "Days and Dreams" there are distinct traces of the youthful dreams which give to life its keenest charm. Out of "One Day and Another" the following stanzas reveal the impatience of the waiting lover:

> The owls are quavering, two, now three,
> And all the green is graying;
> The owls our trysting dials be —
> There is no time for staying.
>
> I wait you where this buckeye throws
> Its tumbled shadow over
> Wood-violet and the bramble-rose,
> Long lady-fern and clover.

The volume of "Moods and Memories" is the most extensive which Mr. Cawein has published. It represents the second

stage in the poet's fancy; for in these songs he begins to be reflective. He writes much of nature, and shows extreme happiness in depicting the aspects of the landscape. Thus, for example, in the poem on "Frost" Cawein reveals the finest poetical fancy:

White artist he, who, breezeless nights,
From tingling stars jocosely whirls,
A harlequin in spangled tights,
His wand a pot of pounded pearls.

The field a hasty palette; for
In thin or thick, with daub and streak,
It stretches from the barn-gate's bar
To the bleached ribbon of the creek.

Or again, in the poem on "Indian Summer" how sweet is the discernment:

The dawn is a warp of fever,
The eve is a woof of fire;
And the month is a singing weaver
Weaving a red desire.

Or again, how beautifully pathetic is the sketch of "A Dead Lily:"

The South had saluted her mouth
Till her mouth was sweet with the South.

The North, with its breathings low,
Made the blood of her veins like his snow.

The West, with his smiles and his art,
Poured the honey of life in her heart.

The East had in whisperings told
Her secrets more precious than gold.

So she grew to a beautiful thought
Which a godhead of love had wrought.

The little volume of "Red Leaves and Roses" contains several of Cawein's most beautiful productions. It is made up of the longer poems "Wild-Thorn and Lily," "The Idyl of the Standing-Stone," "An Epic of South-Fork," etc., with intervening songs, some of which are as beautiful as our style of new singing may make them. In this volume the romantic and far-off spirit of Cawein shows itself more strongly than hitherto. Thus in "Thamus" behold the setting of the story:

And it is said that Thamus sailed
Off islands of Ægean seas
No seaman yet had ever hailed,
No merchant yet had sailed to these,
Phœnician or the Chersonese.

Like shadows on a shadow-ship
The dark-haired, dark-eyed sailors lay,
When from the island seemed to slip,
Borne overhead and far away,
A voice that "Thamus!" seemed to say.

In the fourth volume of the series the poet communes much with nature, and is a little saddened with the retrospect of life; for the young singer as well as the veteran has the power of retrospect. I quote a stanza from "The Forest Pool:"

One memory persuades me when
Dusk's lonely star burns overhead,
To take the gray path through the glen —
That finds the forest pool, made red
With sunset — and forget again,
Forget that she is dead.

In the volume called "Intimations of the Beautiful" the poet is nearer to us in time, and nearer to us in spirit than in his preceding work. A single extract may serve as a sample of the sixty beautiful pieces composing the collection. "In Shadow" is a love song, and there is much of this divine passion in all of Cawein's poems. Sometimes he plays delicately with the sentiment; sometimes he springs into the river and swims away. Or sometimes he stands half-hidden by overhanging vines breathing out in sweet cadences the sorrowful plaint within. Thus in the poem to which I have referred he saddens us into a sigh with a glimpse at a marble index over the grave of some bygone love:

A moth sucks in a flaming flower:
The moon beams on the old church-tower:
I watch the moth and waning moon —
A moth-white slip —
One silver tip
In ghostly tree-tops, drifting soon
To gleam above the church an hour.

My soul is sad as any bloom
The moonlight haunts beside a tomb;
So very weary with the love
No words may speak —
Oh, wild and weak! —
Here where thy tombstone's marble dove
Makes of the moonlight plaintive gloom.

THE ARENA FOR NOVEMBER.

TO OUR PATRONS AND FRIENDS:

We appeal to all who are concerned in the people's cause to aid in its promotion. Friends of Reform and Freedom, THE ARENA is fighting your battle! If you are sincere, as we are sincere, in this conflict, support the one great magazine which stands true to your interests. If you wish success to the champion of popular liberties, the defender of the rights of man, then show your devotion and earnestness by subscribing for THE ARENA and by inducing your friends to subscribe.

"Freedom and Its Opportunities."

In THE ARENA for November the battle for the betterment of conditions will be waged as hotly as ever. The first article, "*Freedom and Its Opportunities*," will be by Governor John R. Rogers, of Washington. The portrait of the author will stand as frontispiece to the number. Governor Rogers considers what human freedom is, what its worth is to mankind, and how the enjoyment of freedom is impeded.

A Labor Symposium.

One of the most interesting features of THE ARENA for November will be a symposium entitled "*The Laborer's View of the Labor Question.*" To this the contributors are Herbert M. Ramp, of Missouri; W. E. Edwards, of Ohio; and William Emory Kearns, of Kansas.

Blow at the Telegraph Monster.

In THE ARENA for November Professor Frank Parsons will continue his arduous fight with the telegraph monopoly. This will be his fourteenth article and not the least powerful of the series.

Initiative and Referendum.

No subject in the policy of the United States possesses greater or more vital interest to political reformers than does that of the *Initiative and Referendum* as a method of legislation. The advantages and feasibility of the new system over the present abusive and inefficient method will be strongly set forth in THE ARENA for November by Elihu F. Barker.

Haupt on the Railroad in Politics.

In THE ARENA for November Lewis M. Haupt, Chairman of the Colombia-Cauca Arbitration Commission, will contribute a brief but admirable article entitled "*The Railroad as a Political Factor.*"

Judge George H. Smith on Bimetallism.

In THE ARENA for November Judge George H. Smith, of Los Angeles, will contribute a powerful article in review of Giffen's "Case Against Bimetallism." Judge Smith is an able writer and thoroughly informed on the subject.

B. O. Flower's Contribution.

Mr. B. O. Flower will continue his special contributions with an excellent article in November. His title is "*Practical Measures for Promoting Manhood and Preventing Crime.*"

How Poor the Rich Are!

In the number for November a brilliant little article entitled "*Poor 'Fairly Rich' People*" will be contributed by H. M. Foster. Mr. Foster is a satirist, and his contribution is a witty and ironical exposition of how poor "fairly rich people" may be in their own estimation.

History as a Science.

In THE ARENA for November the Editor will discuss the subject of "*History as Science.*"

The other parts of THE ARENA will be the "*Plaza of the Poets*," The Editor's Evening, Book Reviews, etc.

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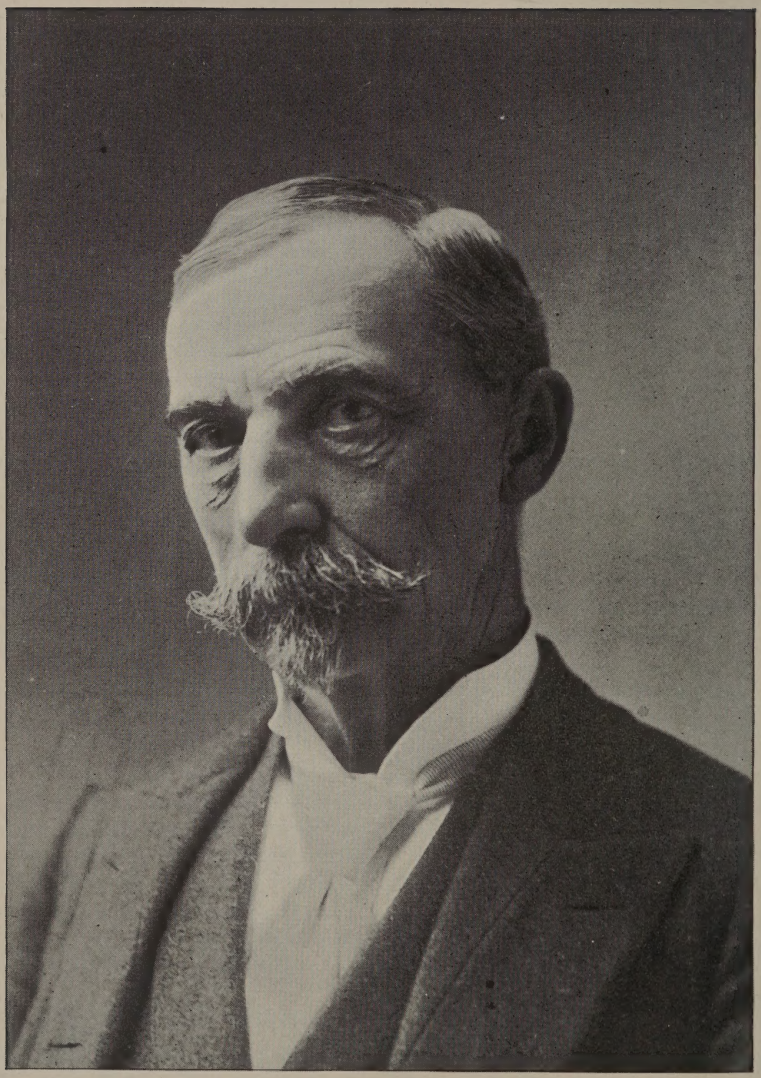

J. R. Rogers

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THE ARENA.

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FREEDOM AND ITS OPPORTUNITIES.

BY GOVERNOR JOHN R. ROGERS, OF WASHINGTON.

"In every country the nation is in the cottage, and if the light of your legislation does not shine in there your statesmanship is a failure and your system is a mistake." — *Canon Farrar.*

IT will not be necessary to prove that a very general apprehension of coming change occupies the public mind. All things show the present to be a time of transition, and most people are ready not only to believe it, but to assist in the change. The growth of invention, the progress of luxury, and the spread of intelligence by means of public education have created conditions unlike those existing in any previous age of the world; and these conditions not only vitally affect, but absolutely control, the lives of men. It is seen that change must come, for man is the creature of his surroundings and of his thoughts. No deed without a thought as its father, and in his thoughts the most ignorant animal-like man lives and moves and has his being. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he," is as true to-day as in the days of Solomon; and this is accentuated and emphasized when multiplied by numbers. If one man in a community is profoundly impressed by a thought, as a rule only his life is affected by it; but let ten be infected by him, let the base of his thought be a new truth, and it will go hard with that community if all in it be not somewhat diverted from previous lines of thought and action. Let the whole community be moved in like manner, and even though that community be moderate in its extent and numbers a new school is the result, which to a greater or less extent finally profoundly affects all other schools and modes of thought and action.

But let this go farther in its spread, let the people of a nation be generally convinced of the truth of a new proposition, an epoch in history is the result, and straightway the thing previously only imagined has come to pass. Up to the time of action this had been held by the so-called wise ones of earth to be impracticable, visionary, and as the idle imaginings of a dreamer. And yet, strange to say, when the time of action is come, suddenly and as if by magic the people come to see that the previously derided thought is true! Thenceforward the power of the Living God is behind it, and naught can bar its progress.

Examples of this, nature's mode of progress, are not wanting upon every page of history. Our nation came into being upon precisely these lines, and black slavery was doomed when ten men had been gathered into the first society for the propagation of abolitionistic thought and opinion. So, today, that change will come is clear, for all demand it. There are no conservatives. Even the beneficiaries of present wrongs are anxiously awaiting the opportunity to protect their ill-gotten gains under a stronger government. They are very much ill at ease. They fear the fury of the mob when it shall discover the depth of the wrong practised upon it. As yet the people refuse to believe the story of their thraldom. They are now exploring the cage constructed for them by their masters. No loophole of escape as yet appears. Of this they are convinced. But hope springs eternal in the human breast; they do not yet believe, they cannot be brought to think, that the conditions which surround and hedge them in were specially prepared and constructed for the express purpose of depriving them of that freedom of action and opportunity outlined in the Declaration of Independence. But when in the near future this shall have been made plain, when they shall have been convinced by dire experience that the cage of legal circumstance against which they beat their heads in vain has been constructed for them, and that it does actually and positively prevent freedom of opportunity and action, and that without remedy, then, indeed, a time of trial will come.

And for this time of trial the enemies of freedom are

preparing with might and main. It is their intention to secure aid and assistance from our hereditary enemies, the English. Indeed, we are already told that, as English money has been heavily invested in this country, it is but natural that English guns should protect it if threatened by what its owners may term "repudiation," either in whole or in part. The new bondage is to be enforced by a bondocracy having its headquarters in London. It is to be world-wide in extent and world-compelling in its power. In many respects it is the most formidable conspiracy against human liberty ever formed in the history of the world. The population of England is relatively small; with a globe under tribute this small population can always be controlled. From London, as a centre and base of operations, the world is to be governed through control of money, the medium of exchange which all must use. It is thought to be impregnable from outside attack. With the wealth of the world at his command, and secure in his tight little isle, the moneylender is to rule the world. This is the scheme. Shylock is to be king over all the earth! And we have Americans who wish us to follow English lead in these matters! That bonds mean eventual bondage is now very generally understood, and yet we have Americans who have defended in the past, and will attempt to defend in the future, the further issue of bonds in aid of this scheme to place our country under bondage to the money power of the world! Modern slavery is enforced by the exaction of tribute for the use of money. But the end of bondage approaches. The oppressed shall go free.

Some one has illustrated the difference between monarchy and a republic by saying that a monarchy is like a well-appointed ship which may founder and go down in mid-ocean, while a republic is like a timber raft. The men upon it are often uncomfortable, their feet are always in the water, and conflict with the waves is continual. But the raft remains afloat. Our republic will not go down, but progress is slow, and error requires much time for its extinguishment. A generation passes in mental conflict for the establishment of a truth. After thirty years of anti-slavery agitation, which until near its close was frowned upon and deprecated by all

so-called "substantial citizens," Abraham Lincoln, in his famous debates with Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, said it was idle to disguise the truth, this nation could not longer continue half slave and half free. The next year William H. Seward, in his well-remembered Rochester speech, said substantially the same: It is folly, said he, longer to talk of compromise; "there is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces." And these men were right. There was a conflict, and the country did not continue half slave and half free. They were the patriots of that time. Like wise men they foresaw the evil and endeavored to prepare their countrymen to withstand it. They did not deceive them with false cries of peace, peace, when there was no peace possible except at the price of submission to the mandates of those responsible for "the sum of all villanies."

So, to-day a new conflict appears. Wise and determined action will prevent all appeal to arms; while the cry of submission to English money lords, heard from our modern tories, if acquiesced in, will surely bring a bloody struggle whenever the people fully comprehend the fact that in this way freedom and its opportunities have been bartered away.

The conflict between manhood and mammon, which, although as old as history, took on a more pronounced phase in 1873, has now in its present form been before the people of this country for near a quarter of a century. The time of decisive action approaches, and everybody knows it. Either the people are to regain the old freedom of opportunity enjoyed in the earlier years of the republic, or they are to sink lower and lower in the social scale. The struggle is one of moral right and moral worth against the power of money. It has been aptly described as the fight of the Almighty Dollar against Almighty God. This is the truth. Cowards and timeservers will deny it, but they cannot prevent it. Nothing can prevent it. And the ultimate outcome is not doubtful. The right will triumph.

While all intelligent men will agree that a crisis approaches, there is no agreement regarding the principles involved or the ground properly occupied by the champions of freedom. This is the great want of the time. Concert of

action is demanded. But concert of action to be effectual must wait on truth. Truth must be the guide and mentor of advance. A base line must be drawn upon which all can agree, and which all can see rests upon those immutable principles of justice finding universal lodgment in the heart of man. To be universally accepted, or to be accepted by the great majority of men, truths must not be finespun or illusive; they must be self-evident to all and as clearly perceivable as the noonday sun. Nor ought this to be difficult. Truth, although many-sided, is capable of the clearest statement. Let us, then, endeavor to agree upon a foundation of self-evident truth.

Stated in a large and wholesale way there are but two factors employed in all the multifarious activities of men upon this planet: mind and matter; the world about us and the thought of man; or nature and human nature. Both these factors are controlled by certain immutable and unchangeable laws, which have never changed and will never change. Natural laws remain. Human nature is now what it has always been. It follows, then, that the laws of human and external nature cannot be broken without the infliction of certain penalties. Punishment is unescapable and inevitable. Man, then, to be happy, to advance, to live the life intended by nature, must obey natural laws controlling both human and external nature. These cannot long be successfully evaded. It becomes important, then, to know what these are, for no plan of betterment can be successful which is not in strict accordance with them.

To begin, then, it is self-evident that all men have from their Creator, or from nature, certain rights, powers, and privileges as an inalienable possession. These are so many natural gifts, for the right use of which nature holds us responsible. If we abuse them she vigorously and without forgiveness exacts her certain penalties. These rights, powers, and privileges with which nature has invested us form the nature of man; they are inseparable from him. The proper exercise of these cannot be denied to man without violence being done to his nature. It is thus self-evident that any power which prevents men from the right use and

proper exercise of the gifts of nature comes into opposition to nature. These gifts are inalienable.

We have a right to life. It is the free gift of God, and we are held responsible for the right use and exercise of this gift. We cannot rightfully alienate, give, or barter it away. Nor can any other person, power, or government rightfully deny or abridge this right except as punishment for crime whereof we may have been duly convicted. It is an inalienable right. It is also self-evident, if this right cannot be rightfully denied or abridged, that whatever is essential to the right is also included. For, otherwise, the right is gradually taken away and denied. Air is essential to life. If air is denied, even in part, the right to life is gradually destroyed. And so of all other essentials. Indeed, it is one of the fundamental axioms of law and equity that a grant includes all essentials to the grant. It follows, then, naturally, that as the Creator, or nature, has granted us life, holding us to a strict accountability under the laws of nature for the right use of it, the Creator has also given us as a free gift all that is necessary and essential to the enjoyment of this grant of life. For, otherwise, we could not be held accountable for the use we make of it.

And this also is self-evident. In a state of nature, or under the law of nature, all men have an equal right to use what are called natural opportunities, that is, the earth in a state of nature. All, in the absence of statute law, have an equal right to cultivate a sufficient portion of the earth's surface for self-support, to fish in the sea, to delve in the mine, etc. This is sufficient for the preservation of life, and the right to apply labor to natural opportunities is the one essential to life, without which it cannot be preserved, save by the payment of unjust tribute to those who possess no warrant from the Creator, or nature, for its exaction. That is, this tribute or payment for the right to live is unnatural, making void the original grant. *And the exaction of this tribute, contrary to the laws of nature and of God, is the fundamental error in all progress and all so-called civilization.* This will appear the more plainly when we consider that all wealth, all that beautifies and embellishes life and makes it worth the

living, is the product of human exertion applied to natural opportunities. Wealth and the means of living are obtained in no other way. The means of living, it must be evident, are part and parcel of the grant of life, for if the means whereby life is prolonged are denied, the right to life, which it is agreed is inalienable, is destroyed. And this is readily seen to be true by a reference to man's past history. All the buried nations of antiquity, all previous civilizations, have perished simply and solely because man's fundamental rights have been denied.

Nor is this a new doctrine. The preamble to the grand declaration of the National Assembly of France in 1789, composed at that time of the wisest and best, recites:

> The representatives of the people of France, formed into a National Assembly, *considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government*, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration those natural, imprescriptible, and inalienable rights, and do recognize and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of His blessing and favor, the following sacred rights of men and citizens.

The French people in their declaration, as did the Americans in theirs, built upon the only foundation which can endure — the fundamental and natural right of man to the use of natural opportunities. All tyranny begins in a denial by men to their brothers of the equal use of the free gifts of a common Father. So, to-day, the monopolist, the destroyer of liberty, like Cain, his ancient prototype, conspires against his brothers, seeking to possess himself of the favors of God bestowed equally upon all.

> And it came to pass when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel, his brother, and slew him. — *Gen.* iv, 8.

In our day Cain has gained in craft. He is far more stealthy in his methods, and more dangerous. He even deceives himself. Now, being the stronger, that is, the richer, he simply refuses his brother the field, smilingly assuring him that to this ancestral field he has no valid claim! This not only disposes of Abel in a far neater and more scientific fashion than of old, but also makes a brother, and his posterity after him, a hewer of wood and drawer of water in the service of himself and his descendants forever.

But it is probable that no one will deny man's right, in a state of nature, to the bounties of God. It will be held, however, that society has in some mysterious and unknown way acquired the right to deprive men of that which it is clearly seen is a birthright and a gift from the Creator. This is a direct outgrowth of the now exploded belief in divine right of kings. It is of monarchical origin, unrepublican in form, and destructive of liberty in its results. Let us very briefly note the way in which this monstrous perversion has been engrafted upon our statute books. Sir William Blackstone, our English lawgiver, thus sums up the matter:

> In the beginning of the world, we are told by Holy Writ, the all-bountiful Creator gave to man dominion over all the earth and over the fish of the sea and over the fowls of the air and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. This is the only true and solid foundation for man's domain over external things, whatever airy, metaphysical notions may have been started by fanciful writers upon the subject. The earth, therefore, and all things therein are the general property of all mankind, exclusive of all other beings, from the immediate gift of the Creator. — *Blackstone's* "*Commentaries*," II, 2.

But men have been deprived of this natural right. Blackstone, after stating explicitly that occupation and use constitute the sole natural and moral right to the possession of land, and after declaring that all statute law which contravenes divine law is void, still was constrained by the English monarchy to join in legalizing the greatest theft ever committed since the world began. In order to confer special privilege upon the few and rob the many of their birthright, the gift of a common Father, he starts out with what he acknowledges to be a lie:

> It became a fundamental and necessary principle (though in reality a mere fiction) of our English tenures, that the king is the universal lord and original proprietor of all the land in his kingdom; and that no man doth, or can, possess any part of it but what has mediately or immediately been derived as a gift from him to be held on feudal tenure.— *Blackstone's* "*Commentaries*," II, 51.

The teaching of this is that the king, as the agent and representative of God, rightfully annuls a natural right.

As our laws proceed almost directly from English sources, we are not surprised to find the same lie engrafted upon our statute books — a lie which is alike the denial of the equal

freedom of all, and the denial of the first and principal right of man.

> It is a settled and valid doctrine with us that all valid title to land within the United States is derived from the grant of our own local government, or from that of the United States, or from the crown or royal chartered governments established here prior to the Revolution. . . .
>
> It was held to be a settled doctrine that the courts could not take notice of any title to land not derived from our own state or colonial government, and duly verified by patent. This was also a fundamental principle in the Colonial jurisprudence. All titles to land passed to individuals from the crown through the Colonial corporations and the Colonial or proprietary authorities. — *Kent's* "*Commentaries*," III, 378.

Lawyers' precedents, which rule us, merely form a means by which one lie is made to justify another. Chancellor Kent here furnishes the proof.

Thomas Jefferson saw all this clearly. In a letter to a friend he writes:

> When the war is over and our freedom won, the people must make a new declaration; they must declare the rights of man, the individual, sacred above all craft in priesthood or government; they must at one blow put an end to the tricking of English law which, garnered up in the channels of ages, binds the heart and will with lies. They must perpetuate republican truth by making the homestead of every man a holy thing which no law can touch, no juggler can wrest from his wife and children. Until this is done the revolution will have been fought in vain.

Men sometimes tell us that we live under a free government, and that no man possesses special privilege in this "land of the free and home of the brave." But here is the proof that the most stupendous robbery of the many is today perpetuated by the authority of kings among us. Indeed, this is the only ground upon which paper titles to land exist. The learned author of "The Bible and Land," as an instance, after proving that the land belongs to God, that He nowhere gives it to individuals in perpetuity, but simply allows its use by all during life, after quoting the following as the law in the case: "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine" (Lev. xxv, 23), still proceeds to say:

> The laws of society are, equally with the laws of nature, the decrees of the Creator. And in these laws of society the private ownership of land is fundamental. — "*The Bible and Land*," p. 104.

According to this the Dred-Scott decision was the decree

of the Creator, and the decisions of the Tammany judges proceed direct from heaven! Could folly go further?

But, surely, no argument will be needed to prove that, if mankind is thus denied a natural and God-given right, permanent order and general prosperity are impossible without its restoration. This is unquestionably the main reason why humanity groans, and all creation is in travail. This is why all the governments of the past have gone down in blood. This is the reason for the awful misery that encompasses the world. Now, as anciently, the cry of justice, of right, and of God is, as in Pharaoh's day, "Let my people go!" And because Pharaoh "hardened his heart," he and his people were afflicted and destroyed.

Nature always triumphs. If her laws are broken, suffering must ensue. The penalty must be paid. To the unthinking the forces of nature seem easily thwarted. Water is a mobile fluid, easily obtained, underfoot everywhere. But confine it, deprive it of freedom and subject it to cold, and it rends all bonds with ease. Vegetable growth in its ultimate fibres is surprisingly insignificant; but allow even these to penetrate a crevice, give them lodgment and support, and the power of God is behind them, and in time they rend and destroy the proudest constructive efforts of man.

Each and every man has within his breast a spark from the Infinite Light, insignificant though it may appear to the beclouded eye. It must be free. God commands it, and nature enjoins it. Confine it if you dare! Subject it to cold and hunger, either mental or physical; deny its rights, and the strongest fabric of human government will sooner or later prove but a spider's web in strength when swept by the storms of human passion.

Blackstone tells us, in his principles of law, that all valid law is based upon that natural and instinctive apprehension of justice which finds universal lodgment in the heart of man. Indeed, he says, in hyperbolical language, "Law hath her seat in the bosom of God." And this is true of just law; but men nowadays are aware that the law with which we have to do has its "seat" in the pocket of the richest suitor. "All men have not the data of science, but all have the data

of ethics"; and woe to that nation where men feel that injustice overpowers them.

To deny the equal right of all men to sit at the well-spread board of a common Father is to deny the brotherhood of man. This is the sin which nature has never failed to punish, and her revenges are always sure, though often long delayed. Deprived of access to nature's bounties, man, in the mass, always degenerates. The city, that plague-spot upon civilization, must be constantly reinforced from the country. "Crowd-poison" is not purely a physical, it is also a mental, effect. Degeneration is always communicated to the remotest fibre, and thus society becomes unnatural, hideous in its injustice and deformity, and is prepared for the destruction of God.

But that this brotherhood does exist seems susceptible of the clearest proof from physical sources. Each man has two parents, and each of these has two, one's ancestry thus increasing at each remove by geometrical progression until at the end of thirty or forty generations a man might trace direct relationship to a greater number of people than at present exist upon the globe. A single thousand years are sufficient for this, and yet our scientific men place two hundred thousand years as the shortest possible time which the testimony of the rocks gives as the measure of man's occupancy of the earth. Many place it at millions of years. In the profound depths of the almost illimitable past, all nations and all races must be found inextricably commingled. "God hath made of one blood all the children of men."

But there is another proof: a divine sympathy with sorrow and suffering exists in every well-ordered mind. Even the rough crowd upon the street will not see a weakling abused at the hands of a stronger. Sorrow and suffering, steadily shown and thoroughly exposed, finally have their remedy coming from that responsive chord which proclaims the brother. Mind, soul, spirit, call it what you will, must be reckoned with. And to-day this is being aroused as never before. The impious reply of Cain to the demand of God regarding the welfare of his brother: "I know not; am I my brother's keeper?" will no longer suffice. Conscious exist-

ence is not material. It belongs to another realm. Thought is from an exterior source, and varies in power as related to that great Over-Soul that is all and in all. This is the foundation and origin of the divinity of man. This is why the brotherhood of man is true, and this is why the curse of Almighty Power will follow the man or the nation that refuses to acknowledge the duties of relationship.

The first and greatest demand of man's nature is to be free; the second is, opportunity to better his condition. Freedom and opportunity make possible the enlightened pursuit of happiness. And happiness is, after all, the aim and object of all men. One may seek it in one direction, and another in another, but the end sought is the same. The thief steals in the belief that he can in that way add to the sum of his enjoyment; the enlightened philanthropist spends his life in the endeavor to assist and befriend, for the reason, chiefly, that otherwise he would be unhappy. Between these two may be found every shade of opinion and manner of life; and yet the motive of all is, in essence, the same. To state this proposition is to prove it to the reflective mind. Man must seek happiness. It is the demand of his nature, and thus the command of God.

If this be true — and no man can deny it — the essential requisites to an enlightened and reasonable pursuit must also be found ready to every man's hand. God asks no man to do an impossible thing, and wherever nature commands, she has made the way of obedience clear. With freedom and opportunity men are able to work out their own salvation; that is, they are able to follow out the law of being, which is the law of advance. In this, both revelation and evolution agree. Without freedom and opportunity man is made miserable and rendered incapable of following this law; he can no longer advance; the enlightened pursuit of happiness is impossible. In slavery or under despotism men are degraded. In freedom alone is there opportunity for that general improvement which is the manifest design of nature. Thus, it must be clear, all men have from nature — from God — an absolute natural right to freedom and opportunity. Freedom necessitates the absence of galling and injurious control; it

establishes among men an equality of natural right to the gifts of a common Father. And by the law of freedom, whatever gifts of external nature have been provided for the use of man, descend, like the rain and sunshine, upon all alike. To hold the contrary is to contend that some are brought into the world beholden to their brothers for the right to live.

The right to the soil is man's first and greatest opportunity. But there is another like it and necessary to it. Discussion of this must be left for a future article.

OLYMPIA, WASH.

"THE CASE AGAINST BIMETALLISM."

BY JUDGE GEORGE H. SMITH.

MR. GIFFEN'S work, under the above title, has had the good fortune to commend itself both to monometallists and bimetallists, — to the former as the production of one of their most distinguished champions, to the latter for its honest statement of the facts and of some of the fundamental principles involved in the currency question.

In this respect, it may be observed, English monometallists present a very refreshing contrast to our own. For while — after the manner of the conservative kind — the former piously regard false logic, or fallacy, as a legitimate weapon placed in their hands, as it were, by Providence, for the defence of existing interests, they yet seem to have an old-fashioned British prejudice against deliberate falsification of facts, which, to say the least, is not common with our own monometallists, who, in general, hesitate at no denial or assertion which they think necessary to their case, and by which their hearers can be imposed upon.

Bimetallists, of course, are not bound by his admissions; but for the purpose of fairly presenting the questions involved we may provisionally accept Mr. Giffen as a competent authority as to the facts involved in the controversy, though it is not contended that these are not open to further investigation.

I propose, therefore, in order to facilitate access to the work itself, to review briefly the facts and fundamental principles furnished us by the author, and his argument against bimetallism, as based upon them. For this purpose, the work may be likened to a case at law where the facts are agreed or found, and the only questions remaining are as to their effect. In this aspect, to those who desire to understand both sides of the question, it cannot be too highly recommended.

It will be understood that, throughout the discussion, the term bimetallism, or, as it may be more appropriately called,

the double standard of gold and silver, will be used as denoting simply the kind of money system that was established by law in the United States from 1792 to 1873, and in France from the beginning of the century to the suspension of free coinage in that country, consisting in the free coinage of both gold and silver into gold and silver legal-tender coins bearing to each other a prescribed relation of value.

The meaning of the term is very familiar, but it is often designedly misused by our monometallist friends. Thus, for example, we have heard it argued on the one hand, that our present money system is *bimetallic*, and, on the other (and, among others, by a no less distinguished authority than Senator Sherman), that our system prior to 1873 was in fact *monometallic*, and the law of 1873 simply a recognition of the actual fact. Again, it is one of the principal arguments of monometallists (including Mr. Giffen) that bimetallism is in fact impossible. But obviously all these assertions are refuted by simply referring to the definition. For, *ex vi termini*, the system in the United States prior to demonetization was that of bimetallism, and upon demonetization it ceased to be so; and the assertion that it is impossible is refuted by the actual experience of the United States and of France.

The operation of the double standard depends upon the principle, universally admitted by financial writers, that, where coins of both metals are used as standard, or legal-tender money in any country, the coins of less value will displace the more valuable money from circulation.

This is known as Gresham's law, and is admitted by Mr. Giffen. He is, however, careful to explain that the operation of the law is simply to displace the dearer metal from circulation, and not necessarily to drive it out of the country, as is sometimes ignorantly asserted.[1]

Thus, under the ratio of 15 to 1, established by law in the United States prior to 1834, silver was overrated, or, in other words, the silver coins were of less value than the gold, and consequently silver was almost exclusively the actual currency of the country. But by the change of ratio to 16 to 1, which was effected by the law of 1834, the relation of

[1] Article in *Economic Journal*, cited in Walker's "Bimetallism," p. 41, note.

value between the coins of the two metals was reversed, and gold immediately took the place of silver as the common currency of the country. The change of the currency in use from one metal to the other, thus effected by the act of 1834, illustrates one of the greatest advantages resulting from the use of the double standard, *viz.*: that it places it in the power of the nation using it to pass, without disturbance, from the use of one metal to the other at will. And, as will be seen, the same result took place in France when the relation of value between the two metals (at the ratio of 15½ to 1) was reversed by the gold product of the Californian and Australian mines.

In this way a demand for the less valuable metal is created and the supply of the dearer metal increased by the amount of that metal displaced, thus tending to raise the value of the former, and to depreciate that of the latter. This *compensatory* or, as it is called by Mr. Jevons, *equilibratory* action of the double standard is admirably explained by that author,[1] and has been strikingly illustrated in practice by the effect of the bimetallic ratio in France in the years following 1850, as will be explained more fully in the sequel.

Statement of the Case.

The following, as may be readily verified by reference to the citations given, is in substance Mr. Giffen's statement of the historical facts that have given rise to the controversy as to the standards.

(1.) *Historical Retrospect.* Prior to the year 1849 or 1850, all the world except Great Britain, France and the other countries of the Latin Union, and the United States, were, and from time immemorial had been, on a silver basis, or, in other words, were using the system of silver monometallism. In England and her colonies the gold standard prevailed; in France and the United States the double standard of gold and silver, in the former at the ratio of 15½ to 1, in the latter at the ratio of 16 to 1. In France silver was overrated, and hence constituted the coinage commonly in use. In the United States gold was overrated, and thus came to be

[1] "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," p. 136.

the common currency. Hence, except in Great Britain and the United States, silver was the common currency of Europe and of the world; and in fact had been such from the first introduction of the use of the precious metals. "England, with the exception of" the United States (which "also had a practical gold standard"), "was considered to be the only gold-standard country in the world."[1]

Gold was also in use, but was rated to silver from day to day, and was in effect "merchandise." "Silver [was] the regular coinage."[2]

(2.) *Effect of the California and Australia Gold Product.* During this period, that is, for many years prior to 1850, silver, at the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, was of slightly less value than gold; but owing to the immense production of gold in California and Australia in the years following 1850, by which the stock of gold in the world was more than doubled, without any material increase in the production of silver, the ratio of value between the two metals was reversed, gold at the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 becoming of less value than silver.

(3.) *Effect of the French Bimetallic System (1850–1872).* The effect of this disproportionate production of gold, had there been nothing to counteract it, must have resulted in a depreciation of gold, as valued in silver, of probably not less than from thirty to fifty per cent; but, fortunately, the bimetallic, or double standard was in use in France, and by this fact the catastrophe was averted. "Gold was poured into France and exchanged for silver, the process continuing for many years."[3] "In this way, the ratio acted as a parachute to prevent the fall in the value of gold which otherwise might have occurred. Silver went away from France and gold took its place, and this immense new use of gold, which was conveniently provided by the bimetallic ratio, arrested the fall in value. . . . The bimetallic ratio was effective in France in the way described from 1850 to 1872."[4]

The actual result was that, so soon as the value of gold (at the French ratio) passed below that of silver, its further fall was at once arrested, and gold thus continued to remain very nearly on a par with silver.

[1] "Case Against Bimetallism," p. 62. [2] *Id.* pp. 63, 64, 65. [3] *Id.* p. 22. [4] *Id.* pp. 55–6.

(4.) *Effect of the Demonetization of Silver.* About the end of the period referred to, and in the few years ensuing, silver was demonetized by the United States, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and those of the Latin League; and since then Austria and Russia have adopted or are attempting to establish the single gold standard; and elsewhere, India, Peru, and Japan have given in their adhesion to the same policy. Thus silver has been demonetized throughout all the world except in China and some smaller countries in Asia and America.

There is thus presented what may be regarded as the *crucial* test, or question, of this controversy, namely, What has been the effect of this policy on prices?

On this point Mr. Giffen is of the opinion that the catastrophic fall in prices that has occurred since the demonetization of silver is mainly due to that policy. It might have been averted, or largely averted, he says, "if France had continued to be bimetallic;" which would have counterbalanced "the effect of the substitution in Germany, and partly in the United States, of gold money for silver and paper." And so, "Equally the alleged mischiefs would have been prevented if Germany and the United States had not made the change they have done."[1] The evil is therefore to be ascribed "to the fact that governments have not left the thing alone."[2]

As to the extent to which the fall in prices is to be ascribed to demonetization, this is estimated by him to be about one-half, the other half being due to the inadequacy of the gold and silver product to meet the growing demands. If silver had not been demonetized, he says, "then the actual change of the index number, instead of showing a fall of about twenty per cent in gold and hardly any in silver, would have been intermediate between the two,—that is, a fall of ten per cent in gold, and a fall of ten per cent in silver only."[3] "The catastrophic changes in the use of gold and silver, of which so much has been said, have thus only aggravated an evil which must have existed independently."[4]

(5.) *The Probable Effect of Remonetization.* On this point the author says: "The effect of the restoration of the ratio

1 "Case Against Bimetallism," pp. 69-71. 2 *Id.* p. 78. 3 *Id.* pp. 71-2. 4 *Id.* p. 73.

would apparently be that gold prices would rise ten per cent, and silver prices fall ten per cent, so that matters would be equalized on the basis of a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. . . . So that, to adjust matters now, silver prices would have to fall, and gold prices to rise. This would be the immediate effect. And the question now to be considered is, Is it an effect worth trying for?"[1]

Since the time of the author's writing, it is to be observed, the fall in the gold value of silver and in general prices, owing to the continued war upon silver, has been more than doubled, amounting now to somewhere in the neighborhood of fifty per cent, and Mr. Giffen's figures must be altered accordingly. That is to say, the fall in prices caused by the demonetization of silver must be put at about twenty-five per cent instead of ten, and the rise to be anticipated from its remonetization, at the same figure; which, perhaps, the author may now think is "an effect worth trying for."

(6.) *A Continued Fall of Prices Inevitable, whether with or without Bimetallism.* As appears from what has been said, the author regards a continued fall of prices, whether bimetallism be adopted or not, as inevitable. "What has happened in the past," he says, "will happen again. Even with bimetallism there would have been a ten-per-cent fall in prices in the last few years [prior to 1886]. Similar falls must be expected from period to period . . . . The tendency, as a rule, amongst communities advancing so rapidly in numbers and wealth as European communities do, . . . must be for prices to fall steadily from period to period. Exceptions only occur when you have such tremendous changes as those caused by the Australian and Californian gold discoveries."[2]

(7.) *The Effect of the Appreciation of Gold on the Relation of Debtor and Creditor.* The author fully appreciates the disastrous effects of falling prices, or the appreciation of gold, on the debtor; and explains it with his usual force.

Thus "we may have a long-continued fall of prices from generation to generation, and this will probably have very great effects as time goes on. The debtors pay more than they would otherwise pay, and the creditors receive more.

1 "Case Against Bimetallism," pp. 71-2. 2 *Id.* pp. 73-4.

The matter is thus not unimportant to the two large classes of the people who make up the community. Appreciation is a most serious matter to those who have debts to pay."

"That the pile of debts has to be paid, principal and interest, in appreciating money, is a most serious consideration."[1]

Mr. Giffen's Argument Against Bimetallism.

Mr. Giffen's argument is professedly a refutation of that of the bimetallists, and, to appreciate it, the position of the latter must, of course, be first understood. It may be briefly stated in the following propositions:

1st. The catastrophic fall in prices (to use the expression of the author), or what is the same thing, the appreciation of gold or the depreciation of silver that has occurred since 1873, is to be attributed directly to the demonetization of silver as the cause.

2nd. The evil is as yet only partially accomplished. The invisible and apparently irresistible power that has effected the demonetization of silver throughout nearly all the world, will undoubtedly, unless checked, succeed in making the gold standard universal. We must therefore (if this policy is to be accomplished) look forward to the absolute ruin of debtors generally, and to a long continuance of the existing paralysis of business.

3rd. The only effectual remedy for the evil is the remonetization of silver by the United States, either independently or in conjunction with other nations.

Mr. Giffen's argument will be considered with reference to each of these positions.

(1.) *Demonetization the Cause of the Depreciation of Silver and the Fall in Prices.* The position of bimetallists on this point rests upon two arguments, namely, the *a priori* argument that, under well-established natural laws, such must have been its effect, and the statistical proof that this effect has in fact been thus caused.

As to the last proposition, namely, that the demonetization of silver has in fact been the cause of the unprecedented de-

[1] "Recent Changes in Prices," cited by President Andrews in "An Honest Dollar."

preciation of silver and the catastrophic fall in prices that has ensued, this, as we have seen,[1] is freely admitted by Mr. Giffen, and therefore need not be further considered. It may be observed, however, in passing, that this is also the opinion of other eminent English monometallists, such as, for example, Mr. Jevons, who is regarded by our author as "the best of the latest authorities on money,"[2] and whose work on "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange" is, or ought to be, in the hands of everyone, and Prof. Bastable, in the article on "Money," in the Encyclopædia Britannica, both of whom express the unqualified opinion that the depreciation of silver that had already taken place at the date of their writing was the direct effect of the demonetization of silver by Germany.

> The increased supply of silver [following the year 1870] was accompanied by a marked depreciation in the gold price of silver, though the prices of commodities in countries having a silver standard did not rise. The result of the close investigations to which all aspects of the question were subjected, was to show that the increased production of silver was only a minor element in causing its depreciation. The policy pursued by various states — (1) Germany and the Scandinavian states, in adopting a single gold standard, (2) the countries composing the Latin Union in limiting the coinage of silver, (3) the Indian government in adopting a new method of drawing bills — proved to be the really influential causes for the decline of silver as contrasted with gold.[3]

With regard to the *a priori* argument, this also is, in effect, admitted in the admission that the depreciation of silver and the fall of prices were in fact caused by the demonetization of silver, the two propositions being so related that to admit the one is to admit the other. Mr. Giffen, however, in some parts of his work, seems to take issue with the bimetallists on this point, and it will therefore be necessary to state briefly the argument of the latter, with his animadversions upon it.

The position of the bimetallists rests upon the principle known as the quantitative theory of money; which, in effect, simply asserts the obvious fact that there is a definite relation between the quantity of money in use and prices; and hence (the other elements of the problem remaining un-

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1 *Supra*, p. 594, par. (4). 2 "The Case Against Bimetallism," p. 197.
3 "Encyclopædia Britannica," Eng. ed., art. "Money," pp. 729-30.

changed) that if the money in use be increased prices will rise, and if it be decreased prices will fall.

The principle may be conveniently expressed algebraically in the following formula: $p = \frac{ed + c}{n\,w}$, in which w represents the number of units of a given commodity, as for example bushels of wheat, bought and sold in a given market, say Liverpool, during a given period, and n the average number of times each bushel is bought and sold; d the number of dollars used, and e the average number of times each dollar is used, or, as it is called, the efficiency of the currency; c the number of credit dollars used; and p the average price.

It can readily be seen that, were silver universally demonetized, its use as money, except for token coinage, would altogether cease, and the money of the world would thus be diminished to the extent of about one-half; and from this it would necessarily result, from the principle cited, that a corresponding fall in prices, or, what is the same thing, appreciation in the value of gold, would take place. And, under the same principle, where the demonetization is only partial, the same result will partially follow; that is, prices will fall, or gold will be appreciated, to a corresponding extent, which perhaps would be measured by the extent of the depreciation of the demonetized metal. For, assuming the gold and silver money of the world (at the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1) to be about equal in amount, — as was the case prior to 1873, — then the depreciation in silver to the extent of fifty per cent would be, in effect, a diminution of the money of the world by one-fourth. So that though the value of the gold and silver in the world, available for money, is even now (at the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1) approximately equal, the amount of silver money — at least so far as the gold-using world is concerned — is only one-half of its nominal amount.

In this proposition we, of course, leave out of view token money which is half *credit*, and therefore not *silver* money.

Hence Seyd, Wolowski, and other bimetallists were able, in advance of demonetization, to predict accurately its effects.

The depreciation of silver and of property, the ruin of the farmer, the depression of trade, "the very fall of the rupee to one shilling," — all this was accurately foretold by them before the demonetization began; and we may therefore confidently rely upon seeing the further fulfilment of their predictions in the continuance of these evils.

Nothing, it has been well said, can be more instructive than to compare these forecasts with those of the ablest monometallists, such as Jevons, Bagehot, and, we may add, Giffen, who predicted that the depreciation of silver and prices following demonetization would be but temporary. How many scores of times have we been assured that "prices had touched bottom," and that "silver would shortly find its natural value" — whatever this may mean. "*If prevision is a test of science, the bimetallist explanation easily holds its own.*"[1]

The quantitative theory is apparently accepted by Mr. Giffen, as it is generally by writers of authority on money.

"The amount," he says, "of the standard monetary substance itself, in relation to all the demands upon it, cannot but be an important factor in determining the ratio at which it exchanges for other articles."[2] And he adds: "No doubt the use of the standard monetary substance for currency purposes makes the whole demand for it different from what it would otherwise be."[3]

Obviously, therefore, if of two standard monetary substances, as gold and silver, the latter is demonetized, the aggregate amount of the standard monetary substances must be diminished by the amount of the metal demonetized, and a corresponding increased demand imposed on the other. He says: "We see then how widely mistaken those monometallists have been, who, in their dislike of bimetallism, have denied that the recent great demands for gold in proportion to its supply were likely to have caused a rise in its exchange value for other things. Looked at in this way, the fall in prices is itself a proof that gold, in relation to all the demands upon it, has been relatively scarcer than it was."[4] "Some

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1 Prof. Foxwell, as cited in Walker's "Bimetallism," p. 199.
2 "Case Against Bimetallism," pp. 218, 98. 3 *Id.* p. 220. 4 *Id.* p. 219.

monometallists," he adds, "in their eagerness to refute bimetallism, have given a great advantage to their opponents by denying altogether the necessary connection between a fall in general prices and a relative scarcity or short supply of gold, which they have foolishly done on the score of gold, in the form of currency, being abundant enough."[1]

The principle is indeed so obvious that it requires but little knowledge of monetary science to perceive it. Thus in Virginia, in Colonial times, tobacco was the common currency; which was subject to inflation whenever there was an extraordinary crop. But the remedy was obvious, and readily applied. It was to provide by law for the destruction of part of the crop; which was regularly done. But it does not appear that any remedy was ever thought necessary for a short crop. An ardent Republican asked me, with an air of triumph: "Can Bryan fix the price of wheat by legislation?" I answered: "Yes, if Congress will pass the necessary laws on his recommendation." "How?" he said. "By destroying half the wheat in the country," was the obvious answer; which is, in effect, precisely what is proposed with regard to the money of the world.

Elsewhere, however, the author seems, very inconsistently, to attack the principle thus so emphatically asserted by him, saying broadly that "the precious metals are merchandise only;"[2] that "there is absolutely no difference in gold and silver from any other merchandise, and the theories which presuppose some special and peculiar difference, because the precious metals are used for money, is a palpable delusion."[3] But, in examining his reasoning, we find that everywhere he qualifies his propositions, or premises, by limiting their application to ordinary conditions,[4] and that it is expressely admitted by him that, "in *extraordinary circumstances*, . . . the quantity of different sorts of the precious metals required for money use may be greatly changed."[5] "The essential point," he says, "is that it takes a catastrophic change in prices, or in some other economic conditions, to make any sensible change in that quantity."[6] Hence his conclusion, when guardedly stated, is that prices "are not, *in*

[1] "Case," etc., p. 221. [2] *Id.* p. 87. [3] *Id.* p. 94. [4] *Id.* pp. 89–92. [5] *Id.* p. 96. [6] *Id.* p. 97.

ordinary circumstances, fixed by" the quantity of money;[1] or, as he otherwise expresses the proposition, "that money demand can *hardly ever* be the regulator."[2]

It will be seen, therefore, that the theory propounded by the author, whatever may be its precise effect, is expressly limited in its application to ordinary conditions, and does not apply to *catastrophic* changes. We must, therefore, acquit Mr. Giffen of any intention to dispute the proposition that such a catastrophic change as a general demonetization of one of the precious metals must necessarily result in the depreciation of the demonetized metal and the appreciation of the metal retained in use, or, in other words, in a general fall of prices. Otherwise we should be compelled to hold him guilty of the familiar fallacy of arguing *a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter* (from a qualified to an unqualified proposition), that is to say, from the proposition that, "*Under ordinary conditions*, the money demand for the precious metals does not affect their value," to the proposition that "It can never do so."

The theory of Mr. Giffen, briefly stated, is that, *in ordinary times*, prices are determined by the volume of credit to a much greater extent than by the quantity of money, and that the greater or less demand for money caused by fluctuations of credit is met, under ordinary conditions, by the use of banknotes or other paper currency, which is more or less elastic; and that when extraordinary conditions occur, and thereby a demand for specie is created, it is supplied from the gold or silver hoarded, or existing in the form of ornaments, etc. The last he estimates as exceeding in quantity the amount of gold and silver used for monetary purposes, basing his opinion on the fact that nearly all the annual product of gold, and more than half the annual product of silver, is consumed in the arts.[3]

It is obvious, however, that much of the gold and silver in the form of objects of art has thus received too great a value to permit of its use for monetary purposes; and, even

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[1] "Case Against Bimetallism," p. 114. [2] *Id.* p. 94.

[3] The subject discussed in his third and ninth essays, pp. 81 *et seq.* and 193 *et seq.*, entitled "A Problem in Money" and "A Chapter on Standard Money."

if we regard the metals in this form simply as hoarded, experience seems to show that, in times of financial pressure, the disposition to hoard is increased rather than diminished.

(2.) *The Evil as yet only partially Accomplished.* Our second proposition, namely, that the evil effects of demonetization have, as yet, been only partially accomplished, and that if the policy be continued we must look forward to a long-protracted period of depression, is, in effect, involved in our first; for obviously the cause that has produced the evil must, if it continue to act, continue to produce it.

It should be observed, as bearing on this point, that Mr. Giffen is of the opinion that the supply of gold and silver taken together is inadequate to the demand occasioned by the increase of the population and of the business of the world; and hence that, with or without bimetallism, we must look forward to a permanent continuance of falling prices, or of appreciation in the value of the precious metals.[1] This, if true (as it probably is), is a most serious consideration, but is certainly not an argument against the double standard; for the evil must be doubly intensified by the disuse of one of the metals.

(3.) *Remonetization of Silver the only Effectual Remedy for Existing Evils.* Practically, therefore, our first and second propositions are admitted by Mr. Giffen, and the only practical issue is as to the adequacy of bimetallism as a remedy for existing evils. On this point many of the arguments of the author are of a trivial character, and need not be considered. Of this kind is the argument to prove "that bimetallism is not adapted to be a remedy for the evil of a persistent fall of prices."[2] Here his premise is, that its effect would be to restore prices only to the extent of one-half, and to prevent, to the same extent, a further fall; the conclusion, that it is not a remedy to any extent,[3] is but another example of the *fallacia a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter.* The conclusion should have been that it is a remedy *pro tanto.*

Another example of the same kind is the argument that bimetallism is "a sheer impossibility;"[4] by which is meant

1 *Supra*, p. 595, par. (6). 2 "Case Against Bimetallism," p. 75.
3 *Supra*, pp. 594–5, paragraphs (5), (6).
4 "Case Against Bimetallism," p. 203, and *supra*, p. 591.

only that it is impossible to effect permanently an *exact* equivalence of value between gold and silver at any ratio; which is not contended. It will be sufficient if a parity be approximately established, that is, to the same extent as it existed before demonetization.

These and similar arguments may be safely left to the unassisted judgment of the reader; we will confine ourselves to such as may be regarded as serious.

These are three in number, namely: 1st. That no remedy is required; 2nd. That the effect of bimetallism must be "the universal establishment of a monometallic silver standard;"[1] and 3rd. That creditors would be paid in a depreciated currency.

1st. The first proposition is in effect that matters will right themselves. It is based upon the opinion that gold and silver are naturally stable with reference to each other and to commodities, and, consequently, that the effect of the catastrophic changes in their use, by which their relative value has been disturbed, will be but temporary. This he conceives to be established by experience, and especially by the steadiness of the ratio between the years 1820 and 1850, during which time he holds that (silver being the less valuable metal) the French ratio could not have had any effect in maintaining its value. To this proposition several essays are devoted.[2]

This "experience," he says, "is, in fact, a confirmation of the theory that as gold and silver must each from the nature of the case, when used as standard money, be comparatively stable with reference to all other commodities, therefore they must be comparatively stable with reference to each other."[3] But this also is an example of the *fallacia a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*, to which Mr. Giffen seems to be inordinately addicted; for it omits the qualification, that this steadiness of ratio resulted from the use of silver as standard money by all the world except Great Britain, and that the present question relates to a condition of things in which it is universally, or almost universally, demonetized.

His premise, which may be freely admitted, is that "It is

1 "Case Against Bimetallism," p. 121. 2 *Id.* pp. 53, 132, 139. 3 *Id.* p. 68.

surely possible for silver and gold to remain comparatively steady, although every country is monometallic, *some with a silver standard, others with a gold standard.*"[1] But it does not follow that this will be possible if silver be wholly or generally demonetized; but the contrary is obvious.[2]

2nd. The second objection is that *bimetallism must necessarily result in silver monometallism.*

Literally construed, this proposition, as we have seen, is readily refuted by referring to the definition of bimetallism;[3] but what is probably meant is that, under the double standard, silver would largely, or even mainly, take the place of gold in the circulation, and thus become the currency most commonly used for domestic exchanges; and, thus qualified, the proposition is no doubt true.

Precisely such a state of the currency existed in the United States prior to the act of 1834, and, afterward, with the metals reversed, until the act of 1873; that is to say, during the former period, *silver*, and during the latter (until the suspension of specie payments) *gold* was the currency commonly used. But during both periods the metal least used was also standard money, and performed, among others, one important function, namely, that of barring a change in the relative value of the two metals. Thus, in the former period, had gold (the more valuable metal, at the established ratio of 15 to 1) fallen in relative value below silver, the fall would at once have been arrested, — as happened afterward in France. So in the period subsequent to 1834 silver performed the same function, until our financial system was abrogated by the act of 1873. Had the system been allowed to remain undisturbed, the fall in silver that commenced after 1873 would have been checked as that of gold was by the French system between 1850 and 1872;[4] and thus all the evils that have befallen us would have been averted.

Bimetallists, therefore, may freely admit that the remonetization of silver would result in substituting that metal for gold for common use. But, as is lucidly explained by Mr. Giffen, it does not follow either that gold would be largely

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1 "Case Against Bimetallism," p. 68. 2 *Supra*, p. 598. 3 *Supra*, p. 592, par. (1).
4 See *supra*, pp. 593-4, paragraphs (2), (3), (4).

exported, or that it would cease to be used as money. For it is a fact vitally material to the present discussion, that where silver is the common currency, whether as the sole standard or as one of two standard metals, the use of gold for monetary purposes is not considerably affected.

The reason for this is that, under existing customs, gold is used almost exclusively for commerce and foreign exchanges, or, in our national economy, as bank reserves, and to but a limited extent for currency; while for silver the only monetary use to which it can be appropriated is as a currency.

> Gold [in case of remonetization of silver] need not, therefore, go much out of use, and is not likely to go much out of use, as compared with its uses at present; as far as amount is concerned, it is mainly used now for purposes where its quality as standard and unlimited legal tender is immaterial; for these purposes it will be used as before. This was pointed out by Locke two hundred years ago, even as regards the money use of gold, when he showed that the abandonment of the attempt to fix a ratio between gold and silver, silver being the standard money, need not drive gold out of use even as money, because it would continue to circulate at the market ratio, whatever it might happen to be.[1]
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> Hence Locke recommended that only one [*silver*] should be standard, and that the other should be used in payments at a ratio — to be fixed by the market from time to time.[2]

Thus, as we have seen, prior to the demonetization of silver initiated in 1873, silver was the common currency of all the countries of the world, with the sole exception of Great Britain, France, and the United States; and, in the latter two countries, it was on the eve of becoming so, had not the double standard been abrogated. Yet there was no country in which gold did not continue to be freely used. Europe was "bimetallic in fact though not theoretically."[3]

In this respect there is a remarkable difference between the two metals. Where silver is the common currency, gold is also largely used; but the reverse is not true. For the principal use of silver is to serve as currency, and if this use be destroyed no other remains except as token money; and thus, as has been demonstrated by our experience since 1873, its value is destroyed. On the other hand, the use of gold for currency, unless enforced by legislation, is not so extensive,

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1 "Case Against Bimetallism," pp. 121–2. 2 *Id.* p. 102.
3 Shaw, "History of Currency," p. 197.

and, indeed, in comparison with its other uses, is inconsiderable; hence the use of gold as money is hardly affected by displacing it from common circulation.

Hence, by using silver for the currency of the country, both metals can be maintained in concurrent use; and — if we leave out of view the use of silver as *token* money — in no other way can this be effected. And to this is due the fact that from the time when gold and silver first came into use until 1873 — with the exceptions above explained — silver, either as the sole standard or as one of two standards, was universally used as the common currency, or, as it is expressively called, the "People's Money" (or, as we may say, the Folk-money) in preference to gold; and it is the principal object of bimetallism to restore this condition, which was so ruthlessly disturbed by the policy — born either of folly or greed — of demonetization.

The preference of silver over gold for the ordinary circulation of the country is thus recommended to us by the undeviating practice of mankind from the earliest ages, and the reasons for this preference are manifest.

To appreciate them we need only distinguish between the use of money as domestic currency and its use in commerce and for foreign exchanges, with respect to which we may regard the world as a great commonwealth or economic district, whose monetary standard is established, not by national enactment, but by common custom.

Both gold and silver are susceptible of either use, but in modern times there has been a growing tendency to use gold for commerce and foreign exchanges; and it is claimed that this has resulted from the superior adaptability of gold for such uses. But, whether the claim be just or otherwise, the fact that gold has come to be so regarded, and that it is used almost exclusively for these purposes, renders it unsuitable for use as domestic *currency*. For the quality most essential to a rational currency is steadiness of value; which, as can easily be shown, is lost when its use for foreign exchanges predominates. For in these gold is not used, or is hardly used, as currency, but as a basis of credit; and from this use of gold — which is so *predominant* that in comparison with it

all others may, without material error, be disregarded — it results that it must be subjected to constant fluctuations in value.

If we could imagine a country where credit was not used, and money was the only medium of exchange, the prices of commodities, or, what is the same thing, the value of money, would be determined exclusively by the quantity of money in use; and prices would rise or fall proportionately to the increase or diminution of the currency. But where the credit system prevails, and the predominating use for money is as a basis for credit, — which is the case with foreign exchanges, — the same principle (the quantitative theory) operates quite differently; for here credit becomes the dominating factor in determining prices, and prices are more extensively affected by its expansion or contraction — as the immediate cause — than by the increase or diminution of the quantity of money. Hence Mr. Giffen is quite right in saying that, "In consequence of changes in credit alone, the serviceableness of the same amount of money varies indefinitely in comparatively short periods," and that "no conceivable changes in the quantity of money could at all have the effects which are constantly produced by changes in credit alone;" [1] and so he and other monometallists are also right in asserting that, having regard to the immediate cause, the amount of credit is a more potent factor in the determination of prices than the quantity of money.

But these gentlemen neglect to observe that there is also a *quantitative* relation, more or less definite, between the amount of credit that may be safely maintained, and the cash basis on which it is based, or is supposed to be based; and that when this limit — which indeed is more or less variable — is passed, credit is first checked, then contracted, and finally, like Jonah's gourd, is withered in an hour. Other causes may indeed coöperate or may even independently cause this constantly recurring expansion and contraction of credit, and the periodical panics resulting, as, for example, over-trading, etc.; but the increase or diminution of the currency will always be a potent factor, and will of itself, when consider-

[1] "Case Against Bimetallism," p. 18.

able, produce the effect; and thus the effect upon prices of such increase or diminution of currency is, in the long run, intensified.

But in the present connection the material aspect of this phenomenon is that, as credit is contracted, there is a constantly increasing demand for the money that is used as the basis of credit; and, if this be also in use as currency, there ensues a contraction of the currency, and infinite distress is occasioned.

This principle will, indeed, to a certain extent apply to domestic affairs. For, if the currency is silver, silver will doubtless be used to a large extent, and, except at the great commercial centres, almost exclusively as bank reserves; hence the evil consequences of a contraction of credit cannot be altogether avoided. But such effects will be local, and will not compare in intensity with those that are produced by contraction of credit in the world at large.

Hence the distressing effects of panics have been greatly intensified by the demonetization of silver and the adoption of the single gold standard. Under the existing system, when financial disaster occurs in any part of the world, other gold-using countries are at once equally affected. A demand for gold is established at the financial centre, which can be supplied only by drawing upon other countries, and thus the shock is transmitted at once to the heart of the commercial world, and from thence to the extremities. So that, while under the old system such disasters were localized, now they are made universal and almost perennial; and the case is, as it were, as if every man had to suffer, not only from diseases peculiar to himself, but by infection from those of all men.

Thus, when the financial crash occurred in the Argentine Republic, followed by the failure of the Barings, as quickly as the telegraph could communicate the news every hamlet in the gold-using world was disastrously affected. The same result followed the crash in Australia.

So, too, any extraordinary demand for gold in European countries, whether arising from such panics as we have specified or from other causes, as, for example, the demand occasioned by the attempt of Austria and Russia to go upon a

gold basis, or for war hoards, at once depletes our circulating medium, and occasions the most acute distress. Thus it appears that the long-continued financial distress to which the world has been subjected is due almost exclusively to the cause assigned, namely, to the use of gold, or credit based on gold, for domestic exchanges. Whereas, had we been using silver for our home circulation, these disastrous effects could not have occurred. We should have been, as it were, safe in a secure harbor, unaffected by the storms raging over the outer financial ocean.

Other obvious considerations leading to the same conclusion might be suggested, such, for example, as the increase of our commerce with the silver-using nations of Asia and America, and the encouragement of our manufactures by abolishing the discrimination now existing against them in favor of silver-using countries; but space does not permit me to dwell upon them.

It may therefore be laid down as one of the most fundamental and important of monetary principles, that both gold and silver are equally essential to a sound monetary system, the one as the predominating element of the *currency*, to pass from hand to hand in the ordinary transactions of men; the other, predominatingly, for use in foreign exchanges and in wholesale transactions generally. Among the additional advantages of this arrangement will be that, when thus used, each kind of money will support and strengthen the other in the performance of its peculiar function; the use of silver as currency will, to that extent, increase the amount of gold available for reserves in the world state, and *vice versa;* and, as occasion may demand, the *currency* may be reinforced by gold, and the *reserves* by silver.

Accordingly, as we have seen,[1] we have the high authority of Locke for the opinion that silver only is suitable to serve as the currency of nations, and that gold is altogether unsuitable. The same principle was, in effect, applied by Solon, who, in his great reform, besides providing for the domestic currency by reducing the amount of metal in the legal-tender coins twenty-seven per cent, also provided for the continued

1 *Supra*, p. 605.

mintage of coins of the same denomination, with the old weight, for use in foreign commerce.[1]

It may therefore readily be seen that the author, and monometallists generally, altogether mistake the object proposed by bimetallism; which is, not to effect an exact equality of value in the gold and silver coins, and their indifferent use for the same purposes, but an approximate equality of value, and their concurrent use, each for its appropriate function, that is, *silver* as domestic currency, or the People's Money; *gold* for international exchanges. And the chief advantage of bimetallism is that, by the use of it, this can be effected; for, under the double standard, gold can always be re-rated to silver without affecting contracts or disturbing values; and it is thus put in the power of governments to use either metal as currency, at will; which, under present conditions, should be silver.

And this, it will be again observed, is not a mere theory, but it is the actual system which prior to demonetization universally obtained throughout the world except in Great Britain, and which had been slowly worked out by the reason and experience of mankind through a period of over six centuries, or, if we take into consideration the ancient world, a period of over three thousand years.

It is therefore well observed by Mr. Shaw, author of the "History of the Currency," and, as he is styled by Prof. Walker, "a *ferocious monometallist*," that, in demonetizing silver, "we are undoing the constructive work of centuries, . . . and thereby reversing and letting slip all the course and advantage of the centuries of development which it has taken to build that system." And thus "the whole development of six centuries of painful endeavor and experience, so far as relates to commerce, is rendered or is in danger of being rendered nugatory."[2]

By thus restoring silver to its ancient use there can be no doubt that its value with relation to gold will be also restored; and it is probable that its remonetization by a single nation of the population and business development of the

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[1] Curtius, "History of Greece," pp. 380-1.

[2] Cited in Walker's "International Bimetallism," pp. 146-7.

United States would, of itself, sooner or later have this result. But whether the last proposition be accepted or not, it is at least certain that the use of silver as the domestic currency by the United States would at once put a stop to the extreme fluctuations in the relative value of the two metals that have resulted from the almost total demonetization of silver by the world, and by the persistent crusade still carried on against it; and would thus reëstablish (at some ratio) the steady par of exchange that always existed between the two metals before demonetization; which is all that is essential.

"Far more importance" is to be attached "to the injurious effects of constant fluctuations of their relative value, in imparting a character of uncertainty and insecurity to the international exchanges between gold- and silver-using countries, than to a mere alteration in their relation to each other."[1]

"The principal evil of the present situation lies in the instability that results from it. . . . The hesitation which checks all great enterprises, and which paralyzes many markets, is the direct consequence of the instability in the price of silver as compared with gold."[2]

(3.) The third and last objection of Mr. Giffen to the policy of bimetallism is that creditors would be paid in depreciated silver.

To this objection, did space permit, numerous answers might be suggested, as, for example, that if such be the effect the creditor class is to be blamed for it, and that it cannot be expected that this consideration should stand in the way of a reform vital to the interests of mankind generally; that we have every reason to believe that the effect of remonetization by the United States will be to bring silver to par, a result that can certainly be effected if the money power will lend a helping hand; and that, at all events, in view of the increased burdens laid upon debtors by their selfish policy, creditors will probably, in the great majority of cases, get more than they are entitled to.

But, without dwelling upon these considerations, there is one conclusive answer to the objection, which is, that the

[1] Sir Louis Mallet, cited in Walker's "International Bimetallism," p. 145.
[2] M. Montefiore Levi, cited in *id.* p. 145

result anticipated is not a necessary consequence of remonetization, but can be altogether averted by a proviso making the act prospective in its operation, that is, making the new silver coins legal tender only for future debts. Whether such a proviso would be advisable or not, it is unnecessary to consider. It is sufficient to say that the creditor party, had they been willing to recede from their ill-advised policy, could at any time have secured the adoption of such a provision, and that they can even now do so. If they fight the battle to the end, this, of course, cannot be expected.

Los Angeles, Cal.

THE INITIATIVE AND THE REFERENDUM.

BY ELIHU F. BARKER.

IN the Declaration of Independence there is found this statement: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and pursuit of Happiness: That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

It is evident the framers of that declaration considered the rights of life, of liberty, and of happiness the most important of all man's rights, and that governments are established for the purpose of securing and maintaining these rights.

This purpose or use of governments, as set out by our Revolutionary parents, contains no new thought. It is true, perhaps, that this purpose had not formerly found similar expression, but the fundamental principle is as old as civilization. The history of forty centuries, as revealed through various sources, indicates that men have felt that through some source they have become possessed of certain individual rights which no man ought to molest, and that the highest duty of a government, or ruling power, is to secure and protect these rights. To learn the best method of securing the widest possible enjoyment of these rights ought to be the highest obligation resting upon the leaders of men when the foundations of governments are laid and at all times thereafter.

With this deep-seated principle ever present within their breasts and with a keen sense of the duties and labors devolved upon them, together with the history of struggling humanity to guide them, the founders of this nation concluded that a purely representative government would best secure the inalienable rights of man. They reasoned that the representatives of a people would be true servants to the masters who delegated them powers and plied them with honors.

At the time of the organization of this government and even up to the period of the Civil War, the structure called a representative government, generally speaking, was all that could be desired. It was in fact as well as in theory a "government of the people, by the people, for the people." During that period the cry for the rights of man could be heard above the cry for the rights of property. Loyal citizenship and honest character were more desired than stocks and bonds or a salaried office.

During the war all honest men were busily engaged, directly or indirectly, in rendering aid to the government that it might be successful in preserving the Union intact. But there were men who claimed the protection guaranteed to loyalty, yet who enriched themselves by forcing tribute from a crippled nation. They sucked the blood of the victim because forsooth he was dying! Capital thoroughly intrenched itself in power, while the eyes and ears of patriots were deadened by the smoke and roar and clash of musketry and cannon. How well capital succeeded in its efforts is evidenced by the constant agitation and unrest among the wealth-producing classes. Corporations became enthroned, and from that day to this we have flinched and floundered at every turn of the screw propelled by the capitalists of the land, but at each movement we have sunk deeper into political mire, while corporate influence sits serene in legislative halls of State and nation.

If we may be allowed to judge by present conditions, it is safe to say that as a nation we still have the form of legislation so highly prized by our fathers, but that the substance has escaped. The shell is ours, but the kernel falls to those who often earn it not. We enjoy saying, "Ours is a government by the people," but the enjoyment certainly ends with the saying, for the most casual observation reveals that most legislation has been conducted along lines that produce benefits for the few rather than for the people. Results too truly warrant the statement: Ours is now a government of the people, by the corporations, and for the millionaires! Conditions have so changed that representative government in many respects is a failure as a means of securing that enjoy-

ment of the inalienable rights so earnestly sought to be provided by those who organized our form of government.

How much truth is there in the statement, "This is a government by the people"?

By constitutional provision, the government is divided into three departments, namely, the executive, the judicial, and the legislative. For the purpose of this discussion and a better understanding of present conditions, we will subdivide the legislative department into the Senate and House of Representatives. This gives us four departments of the government, and of these four, one only is elected by the people — the House of Representatives. The members of the other departments owe their position to the manipulation of State legislatures, through appointments largely secured by corporate influence, the barter of a governorship for an electoral vote (as in New York in 1888), and other influences foreign to the knowledge and welfare of the people.

It requires no argument to show that members of the Senate owe but little, if anything, to the direct influence of the voting populace. Having received no aid from the people, and there being no special reason to suppose their influence will be felt in a succeeding election, so remote is such influence, our Senators feel no great obligation resting upon them to respond to public sentiment as do members of the House, who owe all to the votes of their constituents.

The members of the judicial department are chosen by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Men with years of active legal work are usually selected, and in the past many members of the highest court of the land have been active counsellors for mammoth corporations at the time of their promotion to the judiciary department. When a vacancy occurs, by death or resignation, great influence is brought to bear upon the Executive in the selection of a man for the vacancy. As great stress is laid upon money and wealth in these days, the corporations prove effective in urging their claims. Judges are human, and the active corporate work of years, together with the kindly influence exerted in their behalf to secure the promotion, often leaves more than a friendly feeling toward all corporate bodies. The people — masters in

name—have no choice in the selection of Supreme Court judges.

There being but one department out of four representative of the people, it certainly would not be wise to expect any real and permanent good to result from the acts of the governmental departments. A bill is introduced in the House, and the same purports to be in the interest of the people. It passes the House and then has to run the gauntlet of being strangled in the Senate; or, if not killed outright, it has its teeth knocked out and is virtually of no effect. But if the bill should be successful in the Senate it is then taken to the President, for whom the voter never casts a ballot. If our bill escapes destruction at the hands of the Executive, the same becomes a law; but before many weeks have passed the corporations and plutocrats have pounced upon it and carried it to the Supreme Court of the United States, another body owing nothing to the people, the members of which often owe lifelong obligations to that wealth and influence most effective in securing their appointments.

An illustration in point has lately passed under public observation. The Income-Tax law was passed after months of labor and great and urgent demand of the people; and just at the time we began to think the wealth of the nation would help to bear the burdens of the government, the Supreme Court, as the ally of wealth, pronounced the law unconstitutional, and in the language of Justice Brown in his dissenting opinion, "The decision involves nothing less than a surrender of the taxing power to the moneyed class, . . . is fraught with immeasurable danger to the future of the country, and . . . approaches the proportions of a national calamity."

Representative government, such at least as we now have, it must be evident, does not meet the requirements of to-day. It has been weighed in the balance, and millions of loyal and brave-hearted citizens not only are able to testify, but are testifying, that it has been found wanting. Something must take the place of representative government; and as our fathers said that the inalienable rights could best be secured by allowing the people to rule, and gave us the system of representatives, so the citizens of to-day, children of noble sires,

must reaffirm with emphasis that the people shall rule, and give to ourselves and posterity a system of pure democracy in which the citizens can directly make and unmake laws such as occasions demand.

In the first place, the people, if they desire legislation favorable to themselves, must have a reserve power which may be exerted directly for or against any law enacted by their representatives. This power the people do not now have. If our representative refuses to voice and vote the sentiments of his constituents, we promise ourselves that our next representative shall do as we desire. We may defeat the present, but we have only the word of the next representative that he will do better, and from year to year districts and States are wholly misrepresented, and bad and vicious laws continue. What we want and must have, if prosperous conditions are ever to be permanently restored, is the power of voting on any law passed by city, State, or nation. And if a law be passed which is unsatisfactory to a certain percentage of the voters affected by it, the law shall be submitted to the final arbiters — the voters; then, if ratified by a majority, the same shall stand as law until repealed by a majority of the voters; if rejected by the voters, the law dies at once without the slow torturing process always accompanying the death of a law where a majority of voters are constantly arrayed against it.

In the second place, the people must have the power of *forcing* the passage of laws which will give the protection demanded. Give the voters an opportunity of saying directly what laws shall be passed, and it takes no prophetic vision to announce that laws will soon appear upon the statute books with far different aspect than some now found there.

Both of these advantages, together with many others, can be gained by the Initiative and the Referendum, and at the same time have as few disadvantages as any law can have which provides for the wants of diversified classes.

To secure the Initiative and the Referendum, amendments to the State constitutions as well as the Federal must be adopted. These amendments should provide that, when a certain percentage of the voters (seven has been thought to be reasonable for States) shall petition the Secretary of State,

asking that an election be called for the purpose of voting on some question or questions, for example, "Shall the Australian ballot system be abolished?" such Secretary shall order (at a time provided in the amendment) an election for the purpose of allowing the voters to say what action they wish taken on the question or questions submitted. If a majority shall answer "Yes" to the question, then the following legislature shall simply act as a committee to frame a bill in harmony with the will of the people previously expressed. This part of the amendment would be called the "Initiative." The voters start, or initiate, the law, and the legislative members cannot postpone or defeat the will of the people. Lobbies will be useless, and the politician looking for "snaps" will be without a job.

This amendment to the Constitution will provide that within six months (or any time fixed by the amendment) from the adjournment of the legislature, and ninety days previous to the taking effect of the laws passed by such legislature, a given percentage of the voters, say seven, may petition the Secretary of State asking that an election be ordered that the voters may express their sentiments on any one or a dozen of the laws passed by that session of the legislature. If a majority of the voters shall respond "Yes" to any law, the same shall remain as enacted. If "No" to any one law or a half-dozen, the same shall be considered dead, just as at present the veto of a Governor or the President kills a bill. This part of the bill is called the "Referendum" — referring the laws passed by the legislature to the people for their ratification or rejection as they may deem best. This method places the veto power in the hands of the people, the only place for it if democracy is to mean anything. If such constitutional amendments were in existence in the various States of the Union, from one-third to one-half of the statutory enactments that now take the time of every session would not find their way to the public to be repealed at a following session or pronounced unconstitutional by the courts. Most of such laws would certainly die a violent death at the hands of an injured people, and the authors of them, knowing that such would result, would not dare advocate their passage.

This system of lawmaking does not abolish representatives. It simply curtails their power. It makes them servants of the people rather than of corporations. It changes the place of worship from the throne of mammon to the footstool of a patient, patriotic, long-suffering but often outraged constituency. A great many laws of small import and many of local application will still require the attention of the lawmakers. And as great changes occur rarely, two or three first-class cleansings of the political and legislative fields would perhaps suffice for almost a generation. During the time of apparent inertia the representatives would act, but at all times the incentive to proper action and a respect for the power of the people would remain. If at any time the people should desire to assert this power for or against any measure, the means of so doing would be at hand.

It is manifest that such a system would prove of great benefit to a city or State (the city councilmen becoming true servants, as with legislators); and there is no reason why it will not work with equal advantage in national affairs. An amendment to the Federal Constitution providing that so many thousand voters (stating the requisite number) should be allowed to petition the government and call for a general election to allow the people to initiate some question that Congress has failed to act on, or to ratify or reject some law passed, would prove as effective on national affairs as the same system would on local matters.

Give the people such an amendment in national matters and they will at once petition, asking that an election be called at which the voters shall answer the following questions: "Shall the Constitution be amended so as to provide for the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people?" "Shall the government own and control the railroads and telegraphs of the nation?" "Shall the government remonetize silver in order that it may pay its bonded obligations?" "Shall the government control and issue its volume of money, or shall this power be delegated to the selfish cupidity of individual and corporate greed?" "Shall the government prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage

purposes, or shall it continue to debauch the manhood of its citizens for so many dollars per year, cash in advance?"

These questions and others of importance could at once be brought before the people for settlement. The attention of the people could be directed toward questions which perhaps would not otherwise get a hearing for a generation or more. The possibilities of education on public questions are unlimited under this system. It is possible and very probable that the people would do more first-class legislation in two years than our representatives have done in the last quarter of a century. If a question should fail of receiving a majority of the votes at the first election, another could be called so soon thereafter as desired, and the education on the question kept almost continuous until just and permanent legislation resulted.

The expense of getting out the petitions and the special elections that may be held under such a system may appear to be great — much more than that connected with the present system. There need be but little cost in getting the necessary percentage of voters to sign the petitions. The cost of holding the elections will be no greater than now, and if our people can secure relief by having a few special elections, even at double the cost of our ordinary elections, a great financial saving in the end will have been accomplished. But there is much needless expense attached to the present system that can and will be abolished when the people are allowed to speak their sentiments. The cost of holding the late election in counties of 25,000 to 30,000 inhabitants was from $1,600 to $2,000. At least one-half of that amount could be saved to the taxpayers, and yet all persons required in holding such an election be amply compensated. About the first thing done by legislative bodies is to pass the appropriation bill and allow from $100,000 to $200,000 for the expenses of the session. That amount is used year after year, and still no relief comes. If money is to be used, why not use it to secure legislation that will benefit those who bear the burdens of taxation? As has been said above, the probabilities are that special elections would have to be called in a few instances only, and for

these the taxpayers would gladly pay, knowing the beneficiaries and burden-bearers to be the same. Every such election would prove a financial investment. Men grumble at taxpaying when the returns are poor, and such protests are reasonable; but, with the Initiative, taxation can and will be lessened, while the accommodations can and will be greatly increased.

This system of lawmaking not only places the people in power and secures such legislation as their needs demand, but it does much more. It removes forever the influence of the lobbyist and professional politician in legislative halls. It takes from sight the thirty pieces of silver that representatives may not betray their masters. It saves the railroad companies the expense of supplying the members of the General Assembly with passes over the various lines. It will rescue the Western Union Telegraph Company from the necessity of issuing telegraphic franks, free of charge, to members of both houses of the United States Congress. The lobbyist, whether around the halls of Congress, in the waiting-rooms of legislative assemblies, or on the front seat among the councilmen of cities and towns, will be without an occupation. What changes can be effected by a million-dollar lobby and "influential citizens," by railroad passes, by telegraphic franks, by promises of political promotion, by threats and intimidation, when the people have already spoken the word that silences all opposition, and those usually subjected to such influences have no power to alter the command in the least? Under such conditions the lobbyist might be foolish enough to "cast his bread upon the waters," but the people may rest assured it will never return to him.

That street railways, gas companies, oil companies, railroads, telegraph and telephone companies, building and loan associations, mining and quarry companies, boards of trade, county, city, and State officials, whiskey league, and almost every trust, combination, and aggregation of wealth have their lobbies at hand at every session of legislature and Congress, needs no detailed statement of proofs to those conversant with present conditions. The total failure of beneficent legislation is sufficient evidence that some powerful hand is

behind the curtains and manipulates the strings. Nothing but united and determined effort, aided by long experience and devilish desires, could so perfectly shut off all good and worthy legislation as has been done in our national affairs for almost a quarter of a century.

That those persons who have not thought of this influence and its effects may learn something of its true character, I quote the following from Professor Bryce in his "American Commonwealth." This learned author being a foreigner, but having made a close study of American affairs, institutions, conditions, customs, and laws, it is presumed that his remarks are void of prejudice and partiality. He says:

> The doors of Congress are besieged by a whole army of commercial or railroad men and their agents, to whom, since they have come to form a sort of profession, the name of lobbyist is given. . . . Thus a vast deal of bargaining goes on. Lobbyists offer considerations for help in passing a bill which is desired or in stopping a bill which is feared. Two members, each of whom has a bill to get through . . . make a compact by which each aids the other. This is logrolling. You help me to roll my log, which is too heavy for my unaided strength, and I will help you to roll yours. Vol. ii, p. 153.

He cites the report of the United States Pacific Railway Commission, and quotes from it as follows:

> There is no room for doubt that a large portion of $4,818,000 was used for the purpose of influencing legislation and of preventing the passage of measures deemed to be hostile to the interests of the company and for the purpose of influencing elections. Vol. ii, p. 154, note 2.

In speaking of the railroads and their influence in the State of New York, he says:

> These corporations are the bane of State politics, for their management is secret, being usually in the hands of one or two capitalists, and their wealth is so great that they can offer bribes at which ordinary virtue grows pale. . . . Each great corporation keeps an agent at Albany, the capital of the State, who has authority to buy off the promoters of hostile bills, and to employ the requisite number of lobbyists. Such lobbyist, . . . bargains for a sum down, $5,000 or $10,000, in case he succeeds in getting the bill in question passed or defeated as the case may be; and when the session ends he comes for his money, and no questions are asked. Vol. ii, pp. 156, 157.

Again he says:

> It results from the foregoing state of facts that the efforts of the promoters and opponents of a bill will be concentrated upon the committee

to which the bill has been referred; and when the interests affected are large, it will be worth while to employ every possible engine of influence. . . . "In the United States," says an experienced American publicist, whose opinion I have inquired, "though lobbying is perfectly legitimate in theory, yet the secrecy and want of personal responsibility, the confusion and want of system in the committees, make it rapidly degenerate into a process of intrigue, and fall into the hands of the worst men. . . . The most dangerous men are ex-members, who know how things are to be managed." What has been said above applies equally to Congress and to the State legislatures, and to some extent also to the municipal councils of the great cities. All legislative bodies which control important pecuniary interests are as sure to have a lobby as an army to have its camp-followers. Where the body is, there will the vultures be gathered together. Appendix, Vol. i, note B to chap. 16.

Prof. Frank Parsons, in the July ARENA, 1896, in writing of the Telegraph Monopoly, quotes from Victor Rosewater as follows:

The power which the lobby holds over Congress in such matters is proverbial. I saw clearly the hand of the Western Union when I appeared before the Congressional Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, March 18, 1890. There was but one member of that committee who was not already opposed to the postal telegraph, that being Mr. Blount of Georgia. The chairman was very plainly working in the interests of the Western Union.

The foregoing quotations are only a few out of hundreds that could be given from equally reliable sources. These are sufficient to impress the reader with the urgent necessity of removing at once the tremendous and far-reaching influence of the lobby. Many States have passed laws to check the lobbyist, but even in those States where lobbying has been declared a "felony" or a "crime," it still continues. There is a way to destroy it effectually, and that is to place the people in power under the system of Initiative and Referendum.

One of the great hindrances to progress in these days is prejudice to party. Party ties are as strong as church ties, and both frequently blind their partisans to all good that may be found outside of their organization. Men acknowledge every day that certain legislation ought to be enacted, and they frankly admit that they would work and vote for such measures if they were presented in a manner other than through a political party. They want righteousness, but will not sacrifice an unrighteous political organization to enter

another organization to secure that which they desire and even pray for! Such weakness ought not to exist, but it does and in abundance, and statesmen and patriots must devise means of securing proper legislation and so far as possible remove party idolatry from the minds of the people. Men remain loyal to party because they are taught to believe that through their party beneficial legislation will be enacted. Some voters there are who stay in a party to secure immediate and selfish returns, but not so with the masses. If a people can be shown that there is a method of securing certain and effectual legislation, and that more of it can be secured in a year or two than their "dear old party" was able or willing to give in a score of years of legislative power, then the "tie that binds" most men will be forever broken. Voters will cease to worship at the shrine of party when they can vote directly for home and good government. No longer will they be deceived by false teachers and prophets, nor will they rally round an empty shell, when they perceive that more good results can be accomplished under the Initiative in a few weeks or months than can be done by party action through years and years of power and money-spending legislation.

When voters can speak directly on any of the great questions of to-day, without the fear of hurting their party, knowing that voters of all political beliefs are voting *sentiment* instead of *party*, and knowing further that the will of the majority must be enacted into law without regard to what party predominates in the legislature, feeling that parties, as such, are uninterested and the people supreme, — under these conditions there is no doubting that majorities will be great and on the side of progress and industrial freedom. As laws are now made and campaigns and elections conducted, the will of the majority is not expressed. Politicians are in power instead of the people, and these raise the cry that certain laws enacted or certain topics introduced into the campaign would hurt the party; so party prejudice is aroused, the people are led astray, patriotism is lost, and the party is saved, while unjust and often vicious legislation continues.

The Initiative and the Referendum furnish means by

which men of all parties, who desire to see progress in governmental affairs, may unite. For instance, a platform of principles with the Initiative and the Referendum as its basis ought to attract all men who believe in a republican form of government, a government where majorities rule. There may be a number of planks in such a platform which a voter does not indorse, yet he could consistently advocate the election of a party upon such a platform, for he knows that the Initiative and the Referendum will enable him to get those planks to which he objects submitted to the voters, and that there he may be successful in causing their defeat. If not successful in defeating them he has had his opportunity and must submit to the will of the majority. The party with such a platform is pledged to support the principles of the platform, but it is pledged to *enact* nothing that *the majority of the people do not indorse.* As parties are now managed they pledge themselves to enact into law that part of their platform which *a majority of the party favors*, and which will be for the *benefit of the party*, and *without any regard to the wants of a majority of the people.* The distinction is certainly a wide one. Under the system advocated political parties take their true position. They become educators of the people, are radical in platform utterance and on the stump, but in legislation can go no faster than the majority of people will allow — are truly conservative when in power.

Men who believe in majorities ruling only when the majority is of the same opinion as themselves, will not indorse this system; neither will the corporations who fear the virtuous indignation of a long-suffering people; but all men who have faith in the people, who believe in the wisdom, integrity, and virtue of our nation, and who believe in a democracy such as was intended by the fathers of the Republic, will find in it a panacea for many ills which now beset us.

There is a class of people who at once enter objections to constitutional innovations, on the theory that, constitutional provisions and methods being the basis of other laws, no changes should be made after a people have become accustomed thereto; and, further, it is argued that if a people once change a constitution or get in the habit of changing it,

there will be no end to the changes desired, and all the laws of the land will become unsettled. For these reasons many people object to the changes contemplated in the Initiative and the Referendum.

In answer to these objections it is only necessary to say that, under a democratic form of government, the people have a right to those changes, constitutional or otherwise, through which they will be benefited. To deny them this right is to take from them the basic principle of democracy, and virtually to say to a people that self-government is a good thing, but that you will end in lawlessness and chaos if you undertake to govern yourselves! The principle of self-government was placed in the Constitution, and the spirit of democracy — a ruling by the people — breathes in almost every word and line; and as it was interpreted and obeyed for three-fourths of a century, the benefits were such as to fill the fondest hopes and desires. But conditions are such that the right of self-government is more or less restricted. Interpretations of the Constitution and laws have been so rendered that the rights of man are not so great as they were by original interpretation. The Constitution has not changed, but *interpretations have changed*, and it is because of the *changed interpretations* that an amendment to the Constitution becomes an absolute necessity. And this amendment is to re-proclaim that the people of a democracy are the source of all power, and the same may be asserted at pleasure, the amendment sought through the Initiative and the Referendum being a re-statement, an emphatic affirmation, of the original understanding and interpretation of the Constitution.

The question has been asked: "Will this system prove satisfactory in settling such problems as that presented by the liquor question?" It will settle that problem as easily and as effectually as can be done under any other system. It will allow the voters to express themselves on this subject, and if a majority says, "Yes, the saloon must go," then the saloon with all its influence will go as quickly as though a political party, organized for that purpose, had secured a majority of the votes and placed its men in power.

A prohibitory law with a party behind it means nothing more than a prohibitory law with an educated majority behind it; and if in the first instance a majority could be successful in enforcing the law, it certainly could in the second. If there be virtue in majorities, if self-government as tried in this and other countries has not proven a failure, then assuredly the saloon system, along with many other evils, may be destroyed more quickly under this system than under the representative system. There is the opportunity of getting the question before the people oftener, and of obtaining a more general hearing than in any other manner.

In a republic two conditions, at least, are essential: first, a pure ballot or as nearly so as can be secured; second, effective control of representatives, or those who serve. The first of these conditions was certainly badly mangled, so much so that a general uprising of our people caused the adoption of a remedy. But how we suffered before we got it! We went to Australia and borrowed her system of secret ballot, which is about as near perfection as we can ask. The last decade and longer has demonstrated that the people are no longer masters of the servant-representatives. The burdens are becoming heavier year by year, while the ability to meet them becomes less and less. The time to strike for our "altars and our homes" is now, and the occasion is urgent. This time we go to Switzerland and borrow of her the Initiative and the Referendum and make them a part of the constitutional law of the land; and through them the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness will be permanently established.

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS.

XIV.

The Defendant's Brief.

THE defendant's pleas, so far as made in open court at least, fall into four divisions, financial, political, constitutional, and miscellaneous. We will first investigate the sources and general character of defendant's arguments and evidence, then we will state their several pleas as briefly as possible, and to save time and space will annex to each the plaintiff's replication.

House Report 114, Senate Report 577, the Bingham and the Blair Hearings, the *North American Review*, vol. 137, p. 422, Senate Miscellany 86, 42–2, etc., contain large quantities of Western Union arguments and testimony, the spokesman being generally either the president of the company or an attorney. Several pamphlets against the postal telegraph have also been issued by the company, the earliest one that has come to my knowledge being in large part taken almost verbatim from a pamphlet previously published in England by Robert Grimston, chairman of the Electric and International Telegraph Company, which, before the transfer of the English telegraph to the government, occupied a position in Great Britain somewhat like that of the Western Union in this country. The statements of the Western Union pamphlet are taken up in detail by the Washburn committee and shown to be a tissue of falsehood and misstatement.[1] To find the relation of offices, wires, etc., to population in 1868–9, the statistics of offices, wires, etc., were brought down to date, while the population of the United States was taken at thirty-one millions (the census of 1860) instead of thirty-nine or forty millions, which was estimated by statisticians to be the population corresponding to the date of offices,

[1] House Report 114, pp. 14–31.

wires, messages, etc., an estimate proved by the following census to be nearly correct. The populations of European countries, on the other hand, were brought down to date, and in this way the pamphleteers made a favorable showing for the Western Union. In counting offices, they included all competing offices, though often adding substantially nothing to telegraph facilities, also railroad, hotel, branch offices, etc., while in Europe there were no competing offices, and the railroad and branch offices were to a large extent omitted, about 1,200 in France, and correspondingly in other countries.[2] In comparing rates the Western Union shortened the distances in Europe and enlarged them in this country.[3] Even the facts of geography must yield to the necessities of corporate logic. In dealing with Belgium the company copied from the British pamphlet a lot of statements which the Belgian government had already in May, 1868, officially declared to be untrue and to contain "as many errors as words."[4]

In 1867 the Western Union said their average rate was 57 cents; in June, 1872, they said it had been reduced fifty per cent; and in December, 1872, they said it was 62 cents.[5] In early reports the company stated the average charge at 57 cents, and the average cost at 40 cents; in later reports the company state the average charge for the same years covered by the said early reports as $1.04, and the cost as 63 cents, in order to make it appear that they had reduced rates very much since the said early years.[6] The company seems to have a delicate feeling that the truth is too sacred to be used in corporation statements or testimony.

President Green told the Hill committee that the average press rate was $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents per one hundred words, and then immediately proceeded to give the figures of the press business, which show an average press rate of over 30 cents per hundred words delivered, and $30 per hundred words sent.[7] President Orton's sworn evidence in court could not be

2 House Report 114, pp. 15, 16. 3 *Id.* 29–32. 4 *Id.* 23.

5 Senate Miscellany 79, 42–3.

6 See authorities cited in note 37, Part X, ARENA, Dec. 1896, p. 25.

7 Senate Report 577, Part II, p. 23; see Part II of this discussion, note 1, paragraphs 4–6, ARENA, Feb. 1896, pp. 400–1.

made to agree with his testimony before the Washburn committee.[8]

Such are a few illustrations of the value of Western Union testimony, logic, and statistics. Others will be found scattered through these papers, and they may be found in bulk by anyone who cares to examine the statements made by the company and its officers and attorneys. It is a painful subject, and we will leave it with one further illustration from the Blair Report, 1885, Senate Committee on Education and Labor, vol. i, p. 875. Dr. Norton Green, President of the Western Union, has been telling the committee that rates are much higher in Europe than in America (using for his comparison international rates in Europe and inland rates here); the committee asks:

Q. What is it that causes the great disparity between your rates and the rates charged between England and the Continental countries?

Green. I think a good deal of it grows out of the conducting of a commercial business by the government and the conducting of the same business by individual enterprise.

Q. Do you know of any other cause to which the difference can be attributed?

Green. No, sir; salaries are much lower there than here. They pay much less for the service than we do.

Q. Is the telegraph a source of revenue beyond expenses to the governments abroad?

Green. I do not know of any government that has ever made any profit out of the telegraph. [Extensive knowledge.] The British post-office system claim to be making about expenses, but they get large appropriations every year. They claim, however, that those appropriations are for the extension of the plant, the construction of new lines.

Q. They must do much less business there than is done in this country in proportion?

Green. No, sir; they do a larger business in proportion to the amount of wires they have than we do in proportion to our wires.

Q. *Then if they are doing a larger business with cheaper labor, and are receiving much higher prices than you receive, why should they not make money?* [Did ever a reckless witness walk into a prettier trap?]

Green. Well, I do not know why, but somehow governments never make any money out of anything. [See the big profits stated below.]

Q. You state the fact as you understand it, but you do not feel called upon to account for it.

Green. *I do not feel called upon to account for it.*

The objections urged by the defendant against the establishment of a national telegraph system are as follows:

[8] House Report 114, p. 100.

1. "The cost of establishing a postal telegraph will be too great."

Yes, if we buy your lines at the value you place upon them as you wish us to do; but we are surprised that you should say it would cost too much. How could you be so thoughtless as to admit that your telegraph is not worth what you ask for it? Under the law of 1866 the United States has a right to buy the telegraph lines at their actual value. The country can afford to pay that; it can afford to pay more than that if necessary to prevent a continuance of the high rates and other evils of the present system. The United States can make greenbacks; it made several hundreds of millions of them during the war, to pay for cannon and armies, powder and shot, horses, provisions, and clothes; and they worked first-rate; business was better than it has been since they began to burn up greenbacks instead of making them. Maybe it would pay to make a few greenbacks now and buy a telegraph; or we can open postal savings-banks, and the people will deposit the needful money in a little while. The United States has a good deal of money; all that the telegraph millionaires possess belongs to it in case of need. As they depart (perhaps to regions where they cannot take their money without danger of its melting), we will ask Uncle Sam to use a portion of what they leave behind them in remodelling the telegraph system. If we can get a good, wholesome, progressive inheritance-tax law and Providence will serve extradition papers on one or two of our Wall Street multimillionaire speculators, we can pay cash down for a national telegraph and still leave the families of the wealth-absorbers more means than ought to fall to any small number of persons.

2. "If the government take the telegraph it will have a telegraph deficit; it will lose money, as it always does; 'governments never make any money out of anything.'"[9]

Let us see. Here is a table of average yearly postal profits as reported by the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union for the last decade:

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[9] The words of President Green, Blair Hearings, vol. i, p. 875; see above, p. 630.

	Average Postal Profits per Year.	Percentage of Gross Receipts.
Great Britain	$14,000,000.	21
Germany	5,600,000.	8
France	9,000,000.	23
Belgium	1,300,000.	40
Austria-Hungary	3,320,000.	15
Switzerland	350,000.	7
Spain	2,000,000.	44
Italy	1,320,000.	14
Holland	575,000.	20
Denmark	32,000.	2
Norway	26,000.	3
Sweden	105,000.	5
New Zealand	320,000.	25

This does not by any means exhaust the list of governments that make a profit out of the postal service, but it may be sufficient to show you what a mean spite facts have against the statements of your presidents. The truth is that as a rule governments make a good profit on public industries although the rates are low. Germany makes 1,500,000 marks a year out of the government printing office, and 550,000,000 marks ($131,000,000) yearly profit on its public railways. New Zealand makes $2,000,000 a year on her public railways; Austria-Hungary makes a profit of 144,550,000 guilders ($57,822,200) a year on her state railways, or nearly fifty-four per cent of the gross receipts; Belgium clears 58,000,000 francs ($11,600,000) on her roads, etc. Italy cleared 13,360,000 lire ($2,670,000) on her post and telegraph in 1894, about half of it from the telegraph. Holland made a profit of 1,673,262 guilders ($669,200) on her post in the same year, Sweden 500,000 kronas ($135,000), and Russia 9,465,800 roubles ($4,732,000) on post and telegraph, etc. German statistics put the average yearly profit of the imperial post and telegraph in the last decade at 28,000,000 marks. Adding the profits of the post and telegraph in Bavaria and Wurtemburg gives 31,000,000 marks, or $7,750,000, for the yearly profit of the post and telegraph in the whole German Empire. In the last ten years Great Britain has cleared $155,000,000 on its post and telegraph, an average of $15,500,000 a year, or more than fourteen millions a year after paying interest on the telegraph debt; that

is, double the profit you make (according to your reports), and it goes into the people's treasury, not into Wall Street to be used as a club to extort more wealth from the producers. Does the statement seem large? You'll find the data on page 10 of the forty-first Report of the British Postmaster-General.

3. "Whatever may be said of European railway and postal profits, it remains a fact that England, France, Belgium, and Europe generally make a deficit on the telegraph service. In the United States there is a deficit even in the post. If we make a loss where Europe makes a profit, what shall we do in a business that even in Europe is run at a loss?"

Let us see. The Belgian government reports the receipts of the telegraph and telephone department as substantially half a million francs above all expenses.[10] France also makes a profit on her telegraph.[11]

The English telegraph, as we have seen, is reported by the postal authorities as clearing a good sum above expenses of operation, not always enough to cover the interest on the inflated telegraph debt,[12] yet, taking the whole thirty-six years of its history together and including all items of expense, interest, construction, and all, the postal telegraph has saved the English people $150,000,000 at the least. The service they have had from the postal telegraph would have cost them that much more under private ownership.[13] P. B. Delany said to the Butler Committee in May, 1896:

> One of the main points made by the opponents of telegraphy by the government is that the British post-office telegraphs do not pay. This is a misleading and truth-impoverished statement. It is well understood in England that the telegraph branch of the post office has not a distinct financial head, and that the post-office accounting bureau arrange disbursements and expense items from a standpoint not in accord with the ideas prevailing among the heads of the telegraph service, and that if the telegraph branch kept its own books the yearly exhibit would show a

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10 Rapport par le Ministre des Chemins de fer, Postes, Télégraph, Téléphone, et Marine.

11 Annual Cyclopædia, art. France, subhead Post and Telegraph.

12 The reported deficit for 1896 is £34,788, or about $150,000 on a business of 78,839,600 telegrams, costing the people about 15½ cents each, less than 16 cents each including the deficit and all, while our telegrams cost us 31 cents each.

13 See Part X, ARENA, Dec. 1896, p. 9, and Part I, note 12, ARENA, Jan. 1896, pp. 260-2.

handsome profit not only above operating expenses, as now, but above *all* expenditures, including interest on the enormously excessive purchase price.[14]

It appears therefore that, if we may rely on the government reports and the statements of European authorities in closest touch with the telegraph service, we shall not be able to accept your assertions regarding England, France, and Belgium. Neither is it true that Europe, as a whole, makes a deficit on its telegraphs, although the lines in southern and eastern Europe have little business to sustain them. The very figures given by the Western Union to show a deficit of $2,000,000 in Europe disclose the fact of a substantial profit on the operation of the telegraph, when construction expenses are taken out of the column of operating expenses, where the Western Union put them,[15] thinking, perhaps, that it was dealing with private corporation accounts, or being so much in the habit of classing construction cost in that way to enlarge its apparent operating expenses that it has come to be second nature. If a farmer spent $4,000 last year in raising crops which he sold for $6,000, and then bought a new piece of land for $3,000, I suppose the Western Union would say he had a deficit of $1,000. If a miller paid out $15,000 for labor, materials, rent, interest, repairs, and depreciation, and sold his product for $20,000, and the same year built an additional mill that cost him $8,000, the Western Union would state the account thus:

Expenses	$23,000
Receipts	20,000
Deficit on the year's business	$3,000

showing a considerable loss, while the miller might be laboring under the impression that he had made a profit of $5,000.

[14] Sen. Doc. 291, May 26, 1895, p. 2. Even if there were a real deficit it would prove nothing except that the English people choose to pay part of the cost of their telegraph in taxes so as to bring the service within the reach of the farming population and others in the thinly settled districts.

[15] Sen. Misc. 79, 42-3, p. 7. Six million dollars for new construction were included in operating expenses in the Western Union statement of European results. If instead of including Turkey, Spain, Russia, Roumania, Portugal, and India, we compare states of the same relative position as our own, such as Germany, Belgium, England, Austria, etc., we find a net profit of sixteen per cent of the gross receipts. *Ibid.* p. 7.

The deficit in our post office is real, but what is the cause of it? A deficit may arise from overpayment for labor, materials, etc., from defalcation or misconduct of officers, from miscalculation in placing the rate too low, or from a deliberate policy of paying a part of the whole cost of the service by taxes.

If the running expenses of a private company exceed its receipts, we know it is losing money, but no such inference can be drawn in the case of a public institution from a mere excess of expenses over receipts. The people may choose to pay part of the cost in taxes instead of tolls, for the sake of simplicity or to encourage the growth of some beneficial business by means of low rates; and thus a deficit may be caused although the business is being managed with the utmost economy and success.

The accounts of our street departments show a deficit equal to the whole expense because the whole cost is paid in taxes, and no tolls are levied. A public water-plant may show a deficit because it makes low rates to encourage the use of water in the poorer quarters of the city, and yet the total cost in taxes and rates together may be a good deal less than the people would have to pay a private company for an equal service. It is impossible to tell anything about a public deficit till you know its cause.

In the post office very low rates are made on second-class matter, county matter free, and one cent a pound for the rest, an average of $8\frac{1}{2}$ mills a pound on the whole. If this be regarded as the cause of the postal deficit, it does not indicate that the people are losing money; it simply means that they pay part of the postal cost in taxes in order that newspapers and magazines may be very cheap. If a private company owned the post office the present mails would probably cost us $200,000,000 a year, instead of $90,000,000, taxes and all.

There is, however, in our post office another cause of deficit of an entirely different order. I refer to railway overcharges. The postal deficit is really due to the greed of private corporations; the heavy loss on second-class matter is caused by excessive railway rates.

It costs the government $31,360,000 [16] a year for railway carriage of the mails, and $3,480,000 [17] more for rent of postal cars, — about 7 cents a pound for railway haulage and nearly another cent for postal cars, a total of about 8 cents a pound to the railroads for an average haul of 448 miles — $8 a hundred for all the mail carried by the railroad.[18]

The postage on second-class matter averages 8_2 mills per pound, or one-ninth of the charge paid to the railways. Second-class matter constitutes two-thirds of the gross weight of the mail, and the loss on its railway transportation is over $20,000,000 a year, or more than double the deficit, $8,127,088 (by the report for 1896), even if we place the entire receipts of $8\frac{1}{2}$ mills per pound against the railway account, allowing nothing for star-route and messenger service, etc., or for handling and delivery by the postal employees, which constitutes more than half the total postal service both in labor and value.[19]

The government cannot charge one cent a pound, pay the railways eight cents, handle the mail for nothing, and make a profit. It cannot pay out eight cents for less than half the work it undertakes to do for one cent, and make the books balance. But it does not follow that a one-cent rate would not pay if railway rates were reasonable. It may not be good policy to make high postage rates on letters (charging several times the cost), and carry newspapers, magazines, and circulars free or at very low rates, but the fact remains that

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16 Postmaster-General's Report, Nov. 1896, p. 214, annual rate of cash pay for railroad transportation of mails $30,049,051, withheld from Pacific railroads on account of transportation of mails and applied on the Pacific Railroad debt to the government, $1,310,403, total $31,360,454.

17 *Ibid.* pp. 449, 457, annual rate of pay for 622 P.-O. cars in use (40 feet or more in length), $3,228,611, accrued to Pacific railroads and allowed on debt $251,406, total $3,480,000.

18 On p. 7 of the Postmaster-General's Report, Nov. 20, 1896, the annual weight of mail is given as 512,977,326 pounds. A letter of Aug. 12, 1897, from the Third Assistant Postmaster-General, replying to a note of mine addressed to the Postmaster-General, informs me that this weight covers all matter mailed, whether for local delivery or for transportation by star route, steamboat, or railway. From official figures relating to various offices large and small I estimate the local-delivery matter at one-tenth of the whole, and that which goes by steamboat, star route, and wagon, or messenger directly from the office of deposit without railway intervention at one-twentieth, which indicates a weight of about 435,000,000 pounds transported by the railways.

19 For the facts of this paragraph see Postmaster-General's Reports 1894, 1895, and 1896, especially p. 32, 1894, and pp. 31, 164, 1895, and pp. 7, 8, 39, 1896.

if railway rates were fair there would be no deficit in spite of the one-cent rate on second-class matter.

First, as to haulage rates. Inquiries at various points reveal the fact that express companies frequently carry packages of books and papers a distance of five hundred miles for $1.50 per hundred pounds; and the average of a large number of charges representing all sections of the country gives a rate somewhat below $2.50 per hundred for a 500-mile haul. From persons familiar with the contracts between railways and express companies I learn that forty per cent of the gross receipts (or $1 in this case) goes to the railroads that furnish the express with station facilities, cars with room for the railway express messenger, heat, light, and haulage, so that the railway charge for *hauling* books and papers by express is considerably less than $1 per hundred pounds, probably not more than 75 cents a hundred, or less than one-tenth of the charge to the government for the same service; and this 75 cents still includes a good profit.[20]

The ordinary railway freight charges for a 500-mile haul run from 60 cents to $1 a hundred first-class, and 30 to 50

[20] It may be said that the railways not only haul the mail on their trains, but take it from the station to the post office. But this is not true as a rule. In the large cities the government wagon-service transports the mail to and from the depots, and in smaller places also the government pays for the messenger service between the depot and the post office except where the post office is within a quarter of a mile of the depot, in which case the ordinary railway employees can usually do the work without extra cost to the railway. (Postmaster-General's Report, Nov. 1896, p. 208 *et seq.*).

It may be said also that the railways furnish apartment cars and carry the postal clerks. Well, they do more than that for the express companies at $1 a hundred in place of $8 to Uncle Sam. The truth is, however, that some of the highest rates are paid where there are no apartment cars or railway postal clerks, nothing but the mailbags to be hauled. Open the Postmaster-General's Report of Nov. 1896, Table H, beginning on p. 382, and you will find plenty of roads that are paid at the rate of from $50 to $300 for each hundred pounds carried 500 miles, and no apartment or post-office cars on the route. For example, the Florida Central Railroad is paid $42.75 per mile for carrying an average weight of 17 pounds daily over a route 22 miles long, which is at the rate of $320 per hundred for the average mail haul of 500 miles. Many similar cases exist in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine — all over the Union in fact.

It may be said that express matter consists in large part of small packages on which much higher rates than $2.50 a hundred are paid, and that railway companies would not agree to carry express matter at an average of $1 a hundred right through. Possibly, but the contrary is strongly indicated by the tariffs the railways make for their own traffic.

Since this article went to the printer I have learned that the express companies make a uniform rate of one cent a pound on magazines from any point between the Rockies and the Alleghanies to Louisville, Ky.; — one cent a pound for an average haul which far exceeds 500 miles, the Mississippi valley measuring 1,500 miles by 1,700 in the United States; — one cent a pound and paying the railroads out of it, while Uncle Sam has to pay the roads eight cents a pound on the same matter.

cents fifth-class. The average is about 75 cents first-class, and 40 cents fifth-class. Books and papers are first-class goods, and would pay the higher rate. This rate, however, includes remuneration for station service, advertising, legal expenses, etc., as well as haulage. Only seventy per cent of railway expenses is due to transportation,[21] which gives us $52\frac{1}{2}$ cents a hundred for haulage; and as forty per cent of this is profit,[22] the cost of hauling a hundred pounds of books and papers 500 miles does not average over 32 cents. Probably it is less, for the fifth-class charges indicate a cost of haulage under 20 cents a hundred; and, whatever difference there may be in other respects, there can be very little difference in the *hauling* cost of a hundred pounds of books and a hundred pounds of paint or castings.

The cost of hauling per car mile on passenger trains is not quite three times the car-mile cost on freight trains,[23] and as it appears probable that the average loading is not widely different, when we consider the large mileage of partly loaded freight cars and "empties," it is reasonable to regard the freight statistics just given as indicating that the cost of haul on passenger trains for the distance named falls below $1 per hundredweight for dead matter capable of easy and rapid handling and causing practically no delay.

There are facts indicating a much lower actual cost than appears from the above discussion based on railway returns in respect to cost per train mile. The railroads carry goods from New Orleans to San Francisco, 2,500 miles, for eight-tenths of a cent a pound, or 80 cents a hundred, and for nearly a decade have fought persistently in the United States Courts to maintain the right to make such rates; yet the government has to pay $8 a hundred for a haul of 448 miles, ten times as much for one-fifth of the distance. That is, the government pays

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21 A. M. Wellington's "Economic Theory of Railway Location," p. 170.

22 *Ibid.*

23 Todd on "Railways," p. 23, gives the total cost per passenger-train mile in the United States as 81 cents, and $1.05 freight. Wellington, pp. 134, 170, and 179, gives the average number of cars per passenger train as 5¼, and 20 freight, and states that 30 per cent of the total cost is due to station service and other items aside from transportation. This gives about ten cents a car mile for passenger-train cost, and 3.7 cents for a freight-car mile. The mails as a rule have little or nothing to do with the station service, ordinary legal expenses, etc. They buy no tickets and need no waiting rooms, so we exclude them in this discussion of transportation.

the railways *fifty* times the rate the railways voluntarily make to private parties and struggle to retain the privilege. An investigation before the Interstate Commerce Commission has brought out the fact that railways and express companies carry milk 330 miles, and could carry it 1,000 miles, at one-sixth of a cent a pound, or seventeen cents a hundred, and return the cans free, and still make a profit, though the charge would average *less than a fiftieth* of the rate the government is required to pay.[24] Mr. Cowles says: "In some instances the receipts from the post office probably more than pay the entire cost of the trains that carry the mails" [25]

The star-route service is obtained by the government at much lower rates than the railway service although the actual cost of transportation by wagon, horseback, and on foot is much higher than the cost of carriage by rail.

	Annual Mileage.	Annual Cost to Government.
Star-route service	122,116,000	$5,884,000
Railway service	268,806,000	34,840,000

[24] These railway facts are taken from "A General Freight and Passenger Post," by James L. Cowles, pp. 68, 122, *et seq.*

[25] *Id.* pp. 5-7. Under the act of July 7, 1838, the lowest compensation given to the railroads for transportation of the mails was twenty-five per cent higher than the highest compensation allowed the old stage lines for a similar service, and this notwithstanding the fact that the cost of the service of the railroads was hardly a fiftieth part the cost by stage. The rates paid to the American roads were, in general, double the English rates, and the American Postmaster-General had no control of the running of trains, and therefore no power to determine when the mails should be delivered. Here are some of the figures given by Postmaster-General Wycliffe in 1843: New York to Paterson, N. J., seven times a week by the old stage contracts, $800 a year; by rail, six times a week, $1,385; Buffalo to Niagara Falls, seven times a week in each case, by stage $572, by rail $1,122; Springfield, Mass., to Albany, N. Y., six times a week in both cases, by stage $4,762, by rail $10,000; and the railways claimed still more.

Postmaster-General Cave Johnson, in his report of 1845, says: "Great and important advantages are enjoyed by citizens by the reduction of the price of transportation, travel, etc., by the railroads, but they have universally increased the price of transporting the mails, and in some instances to the extent of 200 or 300 per cent above the former prices. It would be difficult to find a satisfactory reason for the difference in the price of transporting a thousand pounds of newspapers and letters, and a thousand pounds of merchandise, in the same car, between the same places, and at the same time; yet more than ten times probably is demanded in one case than in the other." The following is from "Her Majesty's Mails," by William Lewins: "The cost to the public of the service really done is heavy beyond all proportion. The cost of carrying the mails by coaches averaged twopence farthing per mile; the average cost under railways (now that so many companies take bags by all trains) for 1864 averages sixpence a mile, some railways charging five shillings a mile for the service they render. The cost of running a train may be reckoned, in most cases, from a shilling to fifteen pence a mile; and thus the post office, for the use of a fraction of a train, may be said to be paying at the ratio of from fifty to two hundred and fifty per cent in excess of the whole cost of running." Thus the railway policy seems to be to charge the public more than the old stage rates, while charging private parties much less than the old rates.

The star-route service is competitive, the railway service is monopolistic.

It would not seem reasonable to expect the roads to carry the mails at an average rate of $1 a cwt. and carry the postal clerks as they do the express messengers. If Uncle Sam were a cunning monopolist he might get a considerably lower rate than that. But to be certain of entire fairness we will allow $1 per cwt. for haulage, plus 15 cents a car mile on railway post-office and apartment cars, plus 10 per cent on the value of the cars,[26] which is certainly a very liberal payment, the second item alone being more than enough to cover the transportation of the cars and all there is in them over the lines having postal-car or apartment service.

The account will stand as follows:

$1 per hundredweight on the weight of mail carried by the railroads	$4,350,000
15 cents per car mile[27] for transportation and care of P.-O. and apartment cars	13,050,000
10 per cent on the value of postal cars and apartments	568,000
	$17,968,000

It is clear that $18,000,000 would be a liberal payment for haulage of the mails, transportation of cars and apartments, and rental for their use, the rate on each item containing a reasonable margin of profit.

With $18,000,000 for railway service instead of $34,840,000 the government would save $16,840,000 a year, which would pay the deficit and leave a clear profit of $8,712,000

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26 There are 776 postal cars, 622 in use and 154 in reserve [Postmaster-General's Report 1896, p. 457, the latest figures available, as I am informed by letter just received (Aug. 1897) from the General Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service]. Postmaster-General Vilas says, p. 56, Report 1887, "Taking all the P.-O. cars in the U. S., their average value does not probably exceed $3,500;" and the cost of construction has diminished considerably since then. The average length of the cars has increased, however, so it may be fair to retain his average. which would give a valuation of $2,716,000. There are 1,996 apartment cars in use, and 546 in reserve. The average length of an apartment is 17 feet, or ½ the average length of the postal cars, so that the 2,542 apartments are substantially equivalent to 847 cars, with a possible value of $2,964,500, making $5,680,500 total value for cars and apartments.

27 The total mileage of railway postal and apartment cars is 170,800,000 per year (Postmaster-General's Report, Nov. 20, 1896, and letter from the General Superintendent Railway Mail, Aug. 12, 1897). There are in use 622 P.-O. cars and 1,996 apartments, wherefore the mileage of the P.-O. cars is probably about 45,000,000. On the average it takes three apartments to equal a car, so that 126,000,000 apartment miles equal about 42,000,000 car miles, making a total of 87,000,000 car miles, which at 15 cents a car mile would amount to $13,050,000.

to go into the public treasury or be used to improve the postal plant. In a few years the profits would be sufficient to pay for a postal-telegraph system.

If the government owned the postal cars a still greater saving would be possible; the ten-per-cent rental, amounting to $271,600, included in our estimate would be deducted. Under the present rates of payment public ownership of the post-office cars would save the people a very large sum even without any other reform. The nation pays $3,480,000 a year in rentals for cars worth about $2,716,000, so that every three years the government pays in rent about four times the value of the property rented. One hundred and twenty per cent is a pretty good rent. It takes a railroad or some sort of a corporation to get, or be willing to take, that kind of a rent. In twenty years, the average life of a car, the government pays its value twenty-four times. If the government bought those cars or built new ones for itself it could pay for them out of one year's appropriation, and have $764,000 left. Interest at three per cent on the cost would be $81,480, depreciation $135,800, repairs, care of cars, etc., at $720 a car in use and $200 per car in reserve, $478,000, a total of $695,000 for annual expenses.[28] Wherefore the government would make a net saving of $69,000 the first year, and more than $2,785,000 each year thereafter by acquiring the ownership of the postal cars,[29] a saving of probably more than fifty millions in the next twenty years, as the railway charges double up about every ten years.

The ideal plan would be for the people to own the railways as well as the postal cars, then they would get not only

[28] No payment for hauling cars would be necessary so long as the pound rate for hauling the mail was sufficient to pay the roads for carriage in their own cars. With such rates the more government cars the better for the roads on the haulage account, for nothing need be deducted for wear and tear; whereas in the case of mail carried in cars belonging to the roads a deduction must be made for repairs, depreciation, etc., and the profit per one hundred pounds of mail carried would be less than if it were carried in government cars, the wear and tear and depreciation of which must be borne by the United States.

[29] In his report for 1887, Postmaster-General Vilas said that on one line $59,037 was annually paid for the use of four cars that could be bought and equipped in the best modern style for less than $17,500, and this in addition to full-weight pay for transportation, amounting in this case to $504,573 a year. Senator Marion Butler, in the Senate, Feb. 27, 1897, mentioned the following railway P.-O. car payments: $515,000 to the Pennsylvania Railroad for 69 cars, $7,327 a year for each car; and $425,000 to the New York Central for 50 cars, $8,500 a year for each car.

their mail but their freight, baggage, and themselves transported at cost. But meantime it is not fair to pay double railway rates on public business. Even at the present excessive rates, however, the roads are not satisfied to have their compensation estimated on the actual weight of mail they carry, but "pad" the mail during the month set apart for weighing the mails as a basis for the periodic readjustment of compensation. Sacks of books and pamphlets, largely Congressional or free matter, are shipped and reshipped by the roads during said month in order to swell their pay from the government. Detailed evidence has been obtained by the post-office authorities in some cases, and has been put in the hands of the Attorney-General for criminal prosecution (Postmaster-General's Report, Nov. 20, 1896, p. 35). The excuse of the defrauders when caught is simply that "They all do it" (Judge Clark in ARENA for May, 1897, p. 949).

The chief responsibility for the present situation rests with Congress and not with the administration.[30] The Post-Office Department has urged again and again the government ownership of postal cars and the adjustment of railway rates, but Congress will not take effective action.[31] Senator Marion

[30] It is sometimes said that the law only fixes the maximum rates and that the Postmaster-General should get better contracts from the roads if the service is not worth the maximum. The truth is, however, that the law practically fixes the rates. U. S. Revised Statutes, § 4002, says: "The Postmaster-General is authorized and *directed* to readjust the compensation hereafter to be paid for the transportation of mails on railroad routes upon the conditions [as to frequency, speed, cars, etc.] *and at the rates hereinafter mentioned:*

"The pay per mile per annum shall not exceed the following rates, namely, On routes carrying them whole length an average weight of mails per day of 200 pounds $50, 500 pounds $75, 1000 pounds $100," etc.

July 12, 1876, Congress enacted: "That the Postmaster-General be and he hereby is authorized and directed to readjust the compensation to be paid for transportation of mails on railroad routes by reducing the said compensation ten per cent from *the rates fixed and allowed* by the act of 1873," incorporated in § 4002 of Revised Statutes quoted above.

June 17, 1878, Congress made a five-per-cent reduction in "*the rates fixed and allowed*" by the act of 1876.

Under such laws it is not easy to see how the railroads can be persuaded to take less than the statute rates.

In addition to the transportation rates payments are allowed under Revised Statutes, § 4004, "for every line comprising a daily trip each way of railway post-office cars, at a rate not exceeding $25 per mile per annum for cars 40 feet in length, and $30 for 45-foot cars, and $40 for 50-foot cars, and $50 per mile per annum for 55- to 60-foot cars."

[31] The department has also asked for one-cent letters, a postal telegraph and telephone, postal savings-banks, and a parcel post, but the representatives of the railways and express companies, banks, and telegraph and telephone companies in the third house have prevented favorable action by the people's representatives in the first and second houses.

Butler's proposition that the government should not pay more than express companies pay for the same service would seem to be one that no honest man could object to, and yet the Senate would not listen to it.[32]

Why does Congress refuse to act in the interests of the people in this matter? Because of the influence of the great railway corporations.

So far from being an argument favorable to private corporations or *against* public ownership, the postal deficit, from whatever point of view we regard it, proves to be a powerful argument against private corporation methods and in favor of *more* public ownership.

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[32] I mean they would not listen to it favorably. See the discussion in the Senate in February, 1897 ("Congressional Record," vol. 29, numbers 55 and 60, especially the latter, pp. 2540 to 44, 46, 67, 69, 70, Feb. 27, 1897). Senator Butler proposed that the government should not pay more for transportation than express companies (but gave no facts to show how much that is), and also that the annual rental for postal cars should not exceed ten per cent of their value. He said that freight rates have been reduced forty per cent in the last twenty years, while railway mail rates have remained almost the same.

(*To be continued.*)

THE LABORER'S VIEW OF THE LABOR QUESTION.[1]

I. HOW THE LABORER FEELS.

BY HERBERT M. RAMP.

PERHAPS no question is more thoroughly studied and considered in all its phases, or shows forth greater extremes, than the condition, prospects, and sentiments of the American laborer. Men of letters, of culture, and of wide experience have given it their attention and attempted to carefully analyze the same; while men of smaller intelligence and narrowed understanding have delivered their harangues, which served to excite feelings of rebellion and resentment on one side, or tyranny and oppression on the other. Men who have been oppressed by capital or labor — for oppression is possible on either side — protest, and bitterly too, against the power that injured, or appeared to injure them; and rarely does an opinion appear that is not tinged with some sentiment or passion. Theories elaborately contrived, policies that attract attention, and sometimes experiment, have been constantly proposed since labor was first bought and sold, but nothing has ever brought the satisfaction that was anticipated, or welded the employer and employee into an indissoluble union of interests, such as man has ever hoped for.

There are reasons for this, and ones that we fear will never be entirely obliterated. The wealthy look upon life, business, and progress from one point of view; the poor from another; and the middle class, those who live well and enjoy at least the necessaries of life, usually receiving a good education and having a liberal prospect of rising in the world, — those who are regarded as safe guides to follow

[1] The three articles which follow have been sent to THE ARENA by their respective authors without solicitation; they are purely voluntary and independent contributions to the discussion of the labor question; and their authors are, as they purport to be, members of the so-called working class, the first of them being a "laborer," the second a "workman," and the third a "farm hand." — EDITOR OF THE ARENA.

because they are neither rich nor poor, — look in a still different manner upon the problems of life, existence, and the hopes of their posterity. This class is better provided for; they are several steps nearer to accumulation, to wealth; and their energies are devoted more in that direction. The sentiment of all classes differs, and it is well-nigh impossible for an occupant of any to not become imbued with the atmosphere in which he exists.

But our greatest trouble arises from the extremes, the rich and poor, the smallest and largest classes of society. They are most widely at variance, and largely through misunderstanding of the motives that cause the conditions they fight; and it is the intention to show how the laborers, the poorest class, feel; how their condition appears to them; what the future promises, and why they fight; what they consider the encroachments of capital, invention, and we might say progress, upon the ground regarded as theirs, and the fear they possess of the result. We trust this will be done in as dispassionate a manner as possible, divested of prejudice, barring from our considerations the tyrannical rich, the vicious poor, for they constitute a small percentage of the great body of American citizens of whom we shall speak.

The condition of the American laborer, as it appears to him, is one of poverty; he measures his remuneration, his ability to purchase the necessities of life, by the middle class or the rich. He does not understand why his labor is ill-paid, the mechanic better, and his employer is placed beyond the reach of want or necessity. (By "laborer" I mean the great mass of unskilled labor, the largest portion of our population.) He sees men created to all appearance equal; they live, act, suffer, and enjoy the same, but their worldly conditions are different. One enjoys wealth, accumulated or inherited, while the other spends his days in the grinding mill of poverty. He knows that brains and ability are better paid, meet with more success; but why he is one of the common mass is a reason he often cannot fathom. His education may have been limited, and his advantages few. Probably he was the son of poor parents, and was required to toil as soon as age or physical ability would permit. Life to him

has always been a struggle for existence, for bread and butter, often without the butter. He has his joys, sorrows, and periods of happiness the same as every well-balanced individual; he does not become morose or sullen on account of fancied wrongs, but in his eyes poverty is man's greatest curse. It hems him in on every side, preventing his children from receiving as complete an education as he may desire, and himself from enjoying many things that others do, and it burns more deeply in his heart the distinction between the rich and the poor.

It is the environment that surrounds him against which he rebels, sometimes openly, sometimes in spirit, and sometimes unconsciously; but it is rebellion against his lot, be it in riot or secret regret. Wealth is distasteful to him when others hold it, but he would not hesitate to acquire the same himself if possible; it is a thing to be desired, yet he fears its power. He may profess that this is not true, that wealth is not regarded unfriendly, yet any demand upon his resources by the same, no matter how necessary or just, is viewed with alarm and apprehension. And this fear is not wholly without foundation, for capital looks upon labor as a commodity, labor upon capital as a taskmaster that is exacting in its requirements. But we know that men of wealth do interest themselves in the cause of labor, and to some effect; that much that the poor enjoy to-day can be traced directly to capital and its influences; but from a business point of view it regards labor as an article to be bought and sold.

What is the price of a man? — for his labor for an ordinary lifetime, for the devotion and expenditure of his vitality, his life? The ordinary laborer who received $1.25 per day for thirty or thirty-five years would receive about twelve thousand dollars. That is the price of a man, the price that millions wear out their bodies and expend their energies for, — twelve thousand dollars. Yet that amount of capital invested in a profitable business, yielding nine per cent interest, will furnish an income three times that of the laborer, and at the end the principal will remain unimpaired.

The laborer knows this is true, that capital exacts a toll from labor, that as years roll on and his ability or capacity

is decreasing, the power that his exertions have created and enlarged requires tribute from him. It cannot be expected that he will always judge rightly, that he will understand that it required capital to centralize industries sufficient to furnish him an occupation, and that the brain which guides and directs the manipulations of capital must be greater in resource and power than that which executes its demands.

The wealthy compare the lot of the laborer with that of those of the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century, to show how the laboring classes have steadily risen in education, remuneration, and the enjoyment of the necessaries of life. They point with pride, that to-day some of our section hands possess more knowledge and education than many a member of the English Parliament in the seventeenth century. They inform the laboring man that he is better off than ever before; which is true; and that he possesses more privileges, liberty, more prospects of a better condition, and more opportunities to rise. But how much attention will a hungry man pay to ancient history or modern philosophy? What effect will a long string of statistics have upon him, when he knows that at home his children are hungry or cold, or that his labor will not provide for them creditably, while he sees others comfortably situated? What will he care how much his forefathers paid for wheat, or whether they ever saw wheat, should his wages be reduced, — a reduction that means so much less clothing, fuel, or provisions? Reared in a struggle for existence, he regards every innovation, every cheapened product, as inimical to his interests. His education has been toil; his reward, a mere existence.

He has been often told that in this republic it is possible for every man to rise, that men are equal; but he knows all cannot rise to the top; he realizes, as those do that make such assertions, that the great mass of humanity must remain at the bottom. It is well to brighten the prospects of man by his possibilities; it were well to give him hope in the future, and that we all possess; but the probabilities are he will not rise. It would be strange were every man a millionaire, and were there no servants for him. What he regards

of most vital importance is his present condition. He may hope and work for a happier future,—what man does not?—but he expects to build it upon the position he occupies at present. He does not seek to advance the cause or salary of the individual a step above him, but in his weak manner he devotes his energies to protection of his present possessions.

The trials and hardships of his life serve to stimulate his fear and often hatred of the rich; he does not consider his toil so much a matter of business as a matter of necessity. The heart of a true man will often swell with bitterness and anger at the rich because of the manner in which his toil is regarded, simply a business transaction, while to him it is a means of existence, a part of his life, sentiments, and expectations. It is useless to say capital treats all her employees alike or with the same consideration, for as a man advances in ability or value to his employer he is treated with greater leniency. Rules that a poor laborer would instantly receive his discharge for breaking may be transgressed by the valuable man with impunity. The more valuable a man, the more difficult he is to replace, the more attention will be paid to his wishes, not because he is more worthy as a man or a better companion, but because he is worth more dollars and cents. There are more devoted employees to-day than devoted employers; more men who, amid our strikes and various labor difficulties, would fight for the power that supports them, than employers who would fight for the power that created capital, numbers compared. The employer can ingratiate himself into the hearts of his men by kindness and sympathy, by assistance in times of need, and be considered a friend and benefactor; but the laborer can only gain the favor of his employer by service, superior ability or workmanship,—by his actual value. With one it is cold, calculating business; with the other, bread, consideration, and kindness.

The laborer is more dependent upon sympathy, upon support; his services must be sold and purchased, and he offers for sale the best service a man can render, his toil. He rarely traces results to their true cause. When pay or hours

are reduced, he does not turn his reproach against his own employer, except possibly when the blow is first struck; he blames the government, the millionaires, Wall Street, trusts, and shows an involuntary disposition to excuse his individual employer, and condemn some other power. So it is, the country over. His daily dependence upon his employer has taught him to regard employers with a more kindly spirit. Does capital always regard labor thus? By association the workman's labor becomes part of him. Be his tools the pick or hammer, they grow into his nature, the same as money grows into the nature of the wealthy, — a means of livelihood. He regards his labor with the same feelings the employer does his entire establishment, and he cannot conceive why the things that are so closely interwoven in his very existence, the things that are associated with his family and all he holds dear, should be treated like grain or cattle, and sold in the market, subject to the laws of supply and demand.

We know it is natural that capital should act so, and that humanity is alike; that the poor buy where they can the cheapest, take advantage of forced sales and of the inevitable laws of supply and demand. They will haggle over prices with their grocer or landlord with little consideration for what benefit they derive, yet when the labor market is overstocked, and capital takes advantage of it in the same manner that workmen take advantage of the farmer when potatoes are plentiful, cries of fear and alarm swell up in the throats of the poor, even though never uttered. The laborer feels that his toil is part of himself, and that capital should be a simple instrument to purchase and employ it; while capital regards labor as a means for its inflation or growth.

The American workmen enjoy more advantages than labor ever did before, yet they have trials that breed discontent. Think of men doing hard labor for seventy-five cents to $1.00 per day, and not regular time then. Witness our coal miners, delving deep in the bowels of the earth, risking life and limb in pursuit of the coal that develops the energy and life of the nation, for wages that will not give them the necessaries of life. See our men in factories, mills, and everywhere, the producers, the creators of the wealth of the nation, receiv-

ing barely sufficient to keep hunger and cold from their door, and decency to their apparel, and imagine, if you can, a reason why discontent will not arise.

The prospect of the laborer, as it appears to him, is dark. He looks forward and judges the future by the past few years. Wages have been reduced recently, sometimes often in the past ten or twenty years, and the laborer views the movements of capital with distrust. His world does not extend to gigantic enterprises, except where he feels they will oppress or relieve him. It cannot be expected that he will view the reasons of depreciated wages in their true light, and realize that the great war which laid waste our country and depleted our stock of labor had its influence; that enormous enterprises, requiring years of toil, have been completed; and that our supply of labor is gradually increasing. With reduced incomes, labor often unemployed, and all the ills he is heir to, he would not change the country's condition for the one that existed, and the causes of its existence (if he possessed the power), when his wages were higher and his services were in greater demand, should he realize what such a change would mean.

He regards the labor-saving machinery, the inventions of our day, with no very pleasant sensations. And who would not if similarly situated? A machine is devised that he knows will do more and better work at less expense than he could ever hope to, and the business that he has followed for years is pushed from his reach by the inventive faculty. If the doctors and lawyers of the nation were to see a method devised to dispense with their services; if the wealthy were to witness some system adopted that would take the power from their capital, — the power to earn their livelihood by its use, — do you think they would be easily consoled by the explanation that it was done in the interests of progress, that the people would all be benefited by the change? Would not that system appear to them detrimental and incur their displeasure and opposition? How would the doctor feel if his patients could attain perfect health by some other means than paying him two or three dollars a visit? Or the lawyer if justice could be administered without his well-paid-for ad-

vice? Do you believe they would receive and assist such methods to find a place with the public? Yet the laborer feels the same when machinery is invented that dispenses with his services, as it is doing with thousands every year, — machinery that drives him to new and untried fields of labor. Cheap shoes are a blessing to the poor, but if machinery supplants the man who makes the shoes, you have incurred the displeasure of the shoemaker. Progress has touched his capacity for earning a living. So it is in a hundred lines; yes, in every line. The inventive faculty has reduced the cost of manufactured goods enormously, but it has also reduced the amount of labor employed to a greater extent. Man may buy his clothing cheaper, travel for less, but if he cannot sell his labor, flour would be dear at ten cents per barrel.

When progress has crowded him from his accustomed channel, he is often told to find other occupations; that there are immense tracts of land in the South or West; that there are openings here or there that can be found to take the place of that which he was forced to abandon. Yet how would the lawyer or doctor feel if requested to change the profession he had followed twenty years? And so feels the laborer who has followed some branch of toil. The laborers have always regarded every improvement that abridged their toil, with disfavor; not as a whole, on any specified improvement, but individually when such injured them.

But in change of occupations capital has labor at a disadvantage. It can be directed into new channels with smaller loss than labor can change the education of a lifetime. The rich, when unfortunate, find assistance from their fellows, and rarely want; while the poor, when unfortunate, can expect little aid from others almost as needy as themselves. The rich have been educated in the business of accumulation, or deriving their livelihood from money, while the poor have been educated in some branch of toil to accomplish the same end, which cannot be turned from its habitual course with the ease that wealth can. Labor is confined to specialties, but money can find its way to any business that is transacted. Macaulay tells us that when the flying-coach was first used in England, a mode of travel that would carry pas-

sengers fifty miles per day in pleasant weather and over good roads, large classes clamored against it with obstinacy and invective. It was vehemently argued that the saddlers and spurriers would be ruined by hundreds, that numerous inns at which mounted travellers had been in the habit of stopping would be deserted.

Still with all the improvement of the world and of our country, with the wonderful strides we have made in progress, the laborer stands to-day in a better position than he did when people travelled on horseback, made bricks by hand, and were clad in homespun. In a seemingly mysterious manner his lot has been bettered, and his prophecies and fears, instead of being realized, have sunk out of sight in the steady progress of the people.

What the workingman fears is his future, or the future of his posterity. He looks forward to toil, and hard toil too, for himself and family. He knows that the inclination of our people is toward cheapened products, and that every nerve is strained in that direction. He witnesses the business in which he was educated as a boy sink into a practical state of disuse through improvements. He sees positions that formerly required skilled mechanics filled by cheap and unskilled workmen, and to him it appears that the opportunity for advancement of the man without capital is gradually growing less. His children cannot follow the business he has followed, and hope to realize as good a living, and his natural tendency is to view the future with apprehension. It cannot be expected that he will be philosopher enough to recognize that, while the business he has followed is dropping to a lower place in the mechanical world, or is supplanted by machinery, hundreds of other avenues are being opened to his posterity, and that progress has relieved mankind of the most laborious part of toil, and placed many necessities and even luxuries within his reach that formerly he knew not. But he feels that every innovation upon the domain he now occupies is a detriment to the future of the class.

The laboring classes also fear the centralization of capital, of industries, of corporations. They feel, and truly too, that this amassing of wealth in the hands of a few destroys the

possibility of their advancement. They regard corporations as soulless, as indeed those bodies often are; but they forget that the smaller the number of wealthy individuals there are, the fewer common enemies they have to meet. They forget, too, that a trust or combine which proves itself inimical to the interests of the people will surely go down in ruin.

It is probable that these thoughts will meet with the entire approval of but few, but they are recorded, as felt, by a laborer. The vast mass of humanity never trouble themselves about how their neighbors feel; the greatest thought is, what can we do that will benefit us, and be lawful and legitimate in the eyes of the world? A spirit of selfishness predominates and controls the human race. The progress of the age is dependent upon it. Go where you will, in the shop, in the mill, or on the farm, in our schools or colleges, in every business, and you find that this spirit pervades the atmosphere. We cannot say it is wrong or unjust, but we can say that there will never be perfect unity between capital and labor, no matter what laws may regulate them, until man learns to regard man as his brother in the fullest sense of the word; and that will be — when?

We know there are oppressive employers, who seek to trample down all beneath them, but we also know they are in the minority; that the wealthy, as a rule, if they do oppress, do it from a motive of self-interest or self-preservation rather than from one of tyranny. We know there are vicious employees, men who would strike down the hand that has supplied them with bread, who regard capital as a thing to make war upon and plunder, but the majority of American workmen stand on the side of right and justice, honest, devoted, and reliable; sensitive of their future, clinging to that which they possess with a tenacity that would cause a belief they were opposing progress, while in reality they only cling to that which from their point of view is their means of an honest subsistence.

Wise legislation will do much, education more, but a more thorough feeling of brotherhood, not between individuals, not between individual employers and their employees, but between man and man in all stations of life, will solve the problems that confront us daily in a hundred forms.

SPRINGFIELD, MO.

II. UP OR DOWN?

BY W. EDWARDS.

In looking over the different comments of the press in regard to the last election, I found little to encourage the man whose capital consists of muscle, with more or less brains, and the ability to apply them in the production of the various necessities of modern life. Setting aside the arguments for or against "free silver," or the single gold standard, — if indeed the "gold-bugs" ever had any to set aside, — we were promised prosperity through the return of confidence, with, perhaps, the addition of an increased tariff.

Mr. McKinley informed us, in one of his preëlection speeches, that it was better to open the mills than the mints. By this I presume he meant us to infer that, if confidence were restored, the capitalists who owned the mills would open them. There is little doubt that, if the operatives only had been consulted, they would never have been closed so long as wages were forthcoming. But will confidence in any amount induce a manufacturer to produce goods to place on a falling market? And will any amount of confidence enable the man who is "broke" to buy what he needs and all he needs, and so assist in raising the market? The melancholy fact is, that there is a continually increasing portion of the people of this country who are "broke," or very near to it, and are therefore unable to do their share of the consuming process. These, in their efforts to get a share of the purchasing medium, either take the places of those at work, at a lower wage, and force them on to the "broke" list, or else the wages of the employed are reduced, and their consumptive capacity lessened.

No one who is acquainted with the condition of the mass of the American people now and in the past — not the glorious prosperity of '92, but further back — will believe the oft-repeated stump assertion that their condition has improved; at least in proportion to the increase of wealth in the country. Statistical legerdemain will not do for a thinker, as Professor F. Parsons showed in his article in THE ARENA for October, 1896; and though I do not find fault with

raw statistics, I object to their being cooked. The fact is, any mechanic knows that he has to produce a greatly increased amount of work, at a wage which does not procure him a greatly increased amount of necessities. And in unskilled labor the condition is intensified, the grain-elevator, the steam-shovel, the ore-carrier, and other similar machines doing the work of thousands, without employing in their production a tithe of the men they displace; if they did they would not be made. Any mechanic knows that protection does not protect him from an influx of foreign labor in case he makes an effort to get a fairer share of his production; and I don't think anyone knows of a capitalist who inquired as to the fitness for citizenship of an imported workman. Cheapness is the sole desideratum. I do not agree with those who favor laws to prevent immigration; but I believe that the capitalists who were so solicitous about our national honor during the campaign, should have exhibited some themselves when they selected their agents to assist them in their industries. The man whose standard of living was the lowest was the man they wanted; and, so far as I can see, the tendency is downward all the time.

What is the future of the American "workingman"? (I do not like the term, but I use it in its commonly accepted sense.) If downward, how far down? And if upward, how is the raise to be accomplished?

Under modern industrial conditions, every industry is concentrated. The general shop and the all-round mechanic is getting scarcer. The old-fashioned millwright who was handy at the wood-bench, the forge, or the lathe, and, with his hammer and chisel and file, could roughly accomplish the work now done by the planer or milling machine, has passed away or become the pattern-maker, the turner, the machinist, or the erector. The various parts which he used to fit one to the other by hand are now made in duplicate and interchangeable, by mechanical appliances, almost doing away with manual skill, and reducing the mechanic to the condition of a part of the machine; in some cases scarcely a necessary part, as machinery is constantly being made more and more automatic.

The object of machinery, or rather the object of its purchaser, is to save labor; and the man with his labor to sell finds himself, at least temporarily, without a market; his income ceases, and he is, against his will, obliged to reduce his consumption to its lowest possible limit. Here is the secret of the overproduction of which we hear so much. As socialists often point out, our children run barefoot, and many men and women nearly so, because of an overproduction of shoes; our Western farmers burn corn because of an overproduction of coal; our miners go hungry because of an overproduction of corn; and so on through the whole ridiculous gamut.

The remedy frequently suggested to the displaced workman is to adopt a new calling, — to do something else; but we are not often told what. We are told that every calling has plenty of room for the best men — at the top. Granted. But what about the good man who is not the best? Go at something else! He goes. He tries one thing after another, and finds that there are no uninhabited islands or unsupplied labor markets in his neighborhood; so he concludes to go somewhere else. He finds several thousands engaged in the same business. After a while he finds his supply of sound money exhausted, and he resolves to do as he sees many others doing, "beat his way" from place to place. Finding himself hungry and without money, the alternatives are left him of dying of hunger or something else, or of getting food either by begging or stealing. If he chooses the former, as hundreds do, of course that ends his earthly career. If the latter, his hunger is relieved at the cost of his self-respect. I am not sure whether begging or stealing has the greater effect, but I rather incline to the former. In any case you have an "entered apprentice" to the great craft of tramps; and a few months will make him a first-class model for the illustrated society journal, a butt for the ridicule of people whose useful work would not be worth enough to keep them in cigarettes, a source of wealth to the humorist and the comedian, a subject of alarm to the man who tries to read the history of his country ahead.

If he chooses to stay at home and do the best he can, he will find his income reduced, either by lower wages or by

longer idleness or both. He is obliged to depend more upon his credit in order to live up to his accustomed standard (and probably become a "dead-beat"), or to reduce his expenses by cutting off, one after another, the items he used to consider necessities. He is obliged to give up the idea of giving his children as high an education as he had intended for them, and, taking them from school, set them to earning their own living — if the opportunity offers. The payments on the home he has been trying to provide for his family become irregular, and finally the real-estate shark devours it. How much farther down is the bottom?

Meanwhile the more "able" man, through the ownership or control of the machinery of production or distribution or both, finds himself in possession of an amount of wealth which a few years before he would have considered unattainable, and yet finds that he is merely on the fringe of the wealthy crowd; and the man who tries to combine humanity with business finds himself being driven to the wall, and obliged to discontinue one or the other. Generally he chooses to forego the former, and enters into the mad scramble for wealth in which so great a proportion of us are engaged, from the millionaire stock-gambler to the ward-heeler and floating voter, — from the Vanderbilts, Rockefellers, and Carnegies, crowding out their smaller competitors and driving them into the ranks of wage-workers, to the "scab" workman frustrating the efforts of his organized fellows to improve their condition, and dragging them down to a lower level — nearer to bed-rock.

If the tendency in the future is to be upward, how is it to be brought about? I confess that I can imagine no method but such as would be considered, by some, anarchistic, socialistic, anything but conservative. It is true that a protective tariff *enables* an employer to pay higher wages; but does it *make* him do it? He gets down to "business principles," and buys his labor in the best — the cheapest — market. It has always seemed strange to me that the most strenuous supporters of protection, with high-priced American labor, are almost always as strongly opposed to trades unions, who are trying their hardest to assist in the maintenance of high

wages. And, while they condemn the cheap foreign pauper labor, they are ever ready to hire the cheap foreign laborer. And the great American Sovereign usually expects just as much for the nickel he earned in five minutes as if he had been six times as long in earning it. An exception should, however, be made in the case of beer. Starting in with a glass, or probably a "schooner," he will, after a while, be found asking for a "pony." I don't know of any other case where a man asks for less than he is entitled to without intending charity. His employer does the same thing. His libations may cost several times more, but the principle is the same.

With this, I think, single exception, we are all engaged in getting, or making, money and getting as much return for it in necessities or luxuries as possible. Business, which knows no friendship, teaches us to take all possible advantage of our fellows. If a man, having a particular need for money, has something to sell, we expect to buy it for less than its real worth, whether it be labor, goods, or honor. This accounts for cheap labor, cheap goods, and cheap honor. If a man is greatly in need of articles other than money, we expect to sell to him at an advance over what we should consider a fair price if he were not in such need — taking advantage of each other's necessities in business, from the stock-market or produce exchange to the railroad lunch counter. The result is a tendency toward making us a nation of princes and paupers, which the framers of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution evidently did not intend. The man who has but his labor to sell has about one chance in a million of becoming a prince. His prospects of becoming a pauper are, under existing conditions, very bright. The man who preaches that competition is the life of trade will generally be found investing in a line of business which is, or promises to be, a monopoly; and the nearer his business approaches a monopoly, the more secure he feels of a dividend or profit.

Occasionally a man, in taking full advantage of his opportunities, renders himself obnoxious; and so we condemn a Vanderbilt, a Gould, a Pullman, a Carnegie, a Rockefeller,

an Armour, or an Astor, without considering that a Smith, or Jones, or Robinson may do the same thing by and by. And with the same opportunities and the same "shrewdness" or "business talent," why should he not? The idea of doing away with the opportunities seems to be generally condemned, even by those who condemn the offenders.

It is amusing to hear an American talk of the slowness of our British cousins in taking up new ideas, and then notice his righteous indignation at the suggestion of collective ownership. We can carry our mails of course, but we couldn't own the cars that carry them; and as to owning the engine that pulls them, and the rails they run on, — why! — ! — !

We can carry a letter for special delivery, but to talk of carrying a message by telegraph or 'phone, — why! — ! — !

We can print notes for National Banks so that they will be as good as the government; but if you suggest the idea of the government's establishing banks, taking deposits, and issuing its own notes, — why! — ! — !

A city can lay out, beautify, and keep in order a park; it can make roads and bridges through it; but if you suggest the idea of conveying citizens to it by street-cars, why! — ! — !

None of these things can be accomplished except by private enterprise; and private enterprise is quite willing to invest a dollar in a public convenience, providing the public will grant it, *gratis*, a franchise which it can sell for five or ten dollars. Private enterprise is not to blame; but it seems to me that, with the many examples before it, the American public should learn the error of its ways. If it can convey passengers from New York to Brooklyn with profit to all concerned, it can convey them elsewhere. If it can successfully conduct one monopolistic industry, it can another. There is no surrender of individual right in the postal service. We are not obliged to use the mails if we desire not to; and we are not compelled to work in the service if we can get employment more to our taste. (It is surprising, though, how many are anxious to sink their individuality and become part of a huge machine.) If our mines were owned and controlled by government, we should not have to be miners; and we should not have to pay exorbitant prices for coal.

And while the last proposition may appear to many to be going too far, I think the system might be carried, with advantage to the many, still farther. Any industry which can be monopolized under present conditions, could be successfully carried on by a municipal, State, or national government. The great difference between private enterprise and governmental service is, that the one is carried on entirely for profit, while the other is rendered at cost. In the one case either competition or greed for profit grinds the laborer down to a point below that which he should occupy as a unit in a great nation. The hours of labor are kept so long, in spite of improved methods, that there is always a surplus of labor, which becomes, to a greater or less extent, a charge upon the community, as proved by the regular and increasing attendance at the different relief departments. In plain terms, the community makes up the difference between what the laborer receives from private employers and a living wage.

Another item of public payments for private benefit should be taken into account. Capital, in its efforts to reduce the cost of labor, and labor, in its efforts to improve its condition, get into conflict one with the other. The public authorities are called upon to "preserve order," or, otherwise, to assist capital in degrading labor (I never heard of a strike against an advance of wages, or a lockout on account of men demanding a reduction), and a bill is presented for public payment, often greatly exceeding the amount involved in the private quarrel. It seems to me that the community would be wise if they hired their own labor to do public work, and avoided the necessity of supporting men in idleness. In every case where enterprises have been carried on collectively, the laborer's condition has been improved and the service has been rendered cheaper, in spite of the fact, existing in some cases, that an excessive price has been paid to the former owners of the plant, the charges of which must be added to running expenses. There is probably no railroad in this country which could not be duplicated for less than its capitalization.

I do not believe in any one panacea for the evils which afflict us, but I believe the way to improvement in the condi-

tion of the laborer, who forms the majority of "the people," lies through his employment "by the people," "for the people's" benefit. In conversations on the subject of public operation of railroads, etc., I have often been met with the objection that, while it might be all right in other countries, it would never do in this; there would be too much stealing. Can it be that the American people have become so dishonest that they dare not trust themselves to do their own business? I do not think it is as bad as that; if it is, it is time for a general housecleaning.

Capital would doubtless oppose all efforts to bring about such changes, but it would do well to remember that the drift of the time is to reduce the number of rich men. The small capitalist is getting into the condition of the mechanic who finds it necessary to "go to some other business." If the present fight between the big fish and the little ones continues, there will soon be but a few big sharks, unless we except a few pilot fish.

Of one thing I feel sure, and that is, that the price of labor is very near bed-rock. And I have an idea that the rock is not solid; — that there is a pocket containing gas which, if the capitalistic pick should happen to strike fire, might explode.

> Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

III. THE FARM HAND: AN UNKNOWN QUANTITY.

BY WILLIAM EMORY KEARNS.

(*One of Them.*)

The American farm hand is a pariah among the laboring classes of his own country, He is an unknown factor in all political and social problems. If there is any class that can be called the proletariat of our social system, that class is composed of the farm hands — the wage-workers of the farms.

As an element of the farming population farm hands are certainly entitled to some consideration, for they are almost as numerous as farmers themselves. And as producers, or

as an industrial factor, their worth to the farming industry and to society is absolutely beyond computation. More than half of the entire agricultural production of this country is produced by the labor of farm hands — hired men. Yet the wage-earners of the farm have never been recognized in any way whatever. People observe and study the social condition of the farmers and their immediate families. But the hired men of the field and the hired girls of the kitchen, having no opportunity of speaking in their own behalf, have escaped observation entirely. As a rule people know no more about them or their actual condition than they know about the people of a foreign country.

Farm hands are more widely distributed over the country than any other class of workingmen. They are found in every State and neighborhood. In bleak New England, with her long, cold winters, hundreds of farm hands toil daily. Farm hands must brave the snows and blizzards of the Northwest. And in order that our semitropical crops may be cultivated and harvested, thousands of farm hands must work in the enervating heat of the Southern summers. Wherever men strive to make "two blades of grass grow where only one grew before," they require the labor of farm hands. Farm hands compose an important part of the constituency of nearly every man elected to public office. In many States and counties they could hold the balance of power at the ballot-box. Yet candidates and politicians always refuse to recognize this class as a voting element. Of a truth they are an unknown factor.

Of the twelve or fifteen millions of wage-earners in this country, at least five millions are farm hands. But the labor movement fails to even take cognizance of their existence. They seem to be considered entirely beneath the notice of other workingmen, and are not reckoned as a part of the great body of American workingmen. In fact, the very name, farm hand, has become a term of reproach and a byword among other workers.

We have labor leaders, philanthropists, and reformers, but all of them neglect this class. In nearly all countries the most lowly and neglected classes have some friends and

champions. There always arises some noble and devoted soul to tell of the wrongs of the downtrodden and oppressed, in song or story. The "Song of the Shirt" has stirred millions of hearts to profoundest sympathy for the hard-worked, ill-paid sewing-women. Even the despised negro slave had his sturdy friends. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" dragged to light a nation's crime, and gave impetus to a powerful agitation that abated not until Emancipation was an accomplished fact. To-day hundreds of able men and women are pleading the cause of the debt-ridden farmers of the West and of the oppressed workers of the city. But as yet no immortal Hood has ever sung, no Harriet Beecher Stowe has ever written, of farm hands and their condition. No silver-tongued orator has ever told of the disadvantages, the injustice, and the wrongs that enthrall and bind down the wage-workers of the farming industry.

It is evident that we must help ourselves, that we must fight our own battles. I am a farm hand myself; and I have determined to speak in our own behalf — to plead the cause of my fellow farm hands and of myself. In doing this I know that I confront the prejudices and traditions of centuries. I know that custom and public opinion deny me the right to do this. We are only "hired" hands, *dependent* upon our employers for an opportunity to live, consequently, say the people, it would be entirely improper for us to make public demands of any kind.

Somehow the public expect us to occupy a different relation and a different position from any other class of wage-earners or employees. Because we are only farm hands, it is supposed that we are under some sort of obligation to submit without protest to the conditions that may be imposed upon us. The consequence is, neither the law nor public opinion offers us the protection they give to other workingmen. Even workingmen labor-leaders frequently argue that farm hands have no right to expect the same protection from special laws that other working people claim, and that it would be wrong to make employing farmers amenable to such laws. American people have placed the farmer on such a lofty pedestal, and have invested him with such extraor-

dinary attributes, that they seem to think it would be a sort of sacrilege, an unwarrantable reflection upon the farming community, to even talk about the farm hand's side or interests.

And so strong are the traditions, ideas, and sentiments that have been handed down from the days of feudalism, when farm hands were serfs or vassals, that they are still regarded as a sort of subordinate element of rural society. This is why employing and landowning farmers are supposed to represent the wage-earners and the non-landholding farmers, and why everything is seen through their eyes.

So much for the attitude of society toward farm hands. It is no exaggeration to say that our actual condition, our social status, is a reproach upon the American people. I am not prompted by feelings of animosity toward our employers. I simply protest against conditions that are detrimental to both employer and employed. I am proud of my government, and proud of being a free-born American. But I am conscious of great inequalities that are a menace to society and even to the government itself.

In most localities farm hands work harder, get less pay, and have fewer of the blessings of civilization than other workingmen. They are more completely at the mercy of employers than others, there being no fixed number of hours for a working day, no stated time to begin or to stop work. These and nearly all other conditions are arbitrarily fixed for them at the option and will of the individual employer. For he is supposed to *own* their time — yea, own their very selves, soul and body. There is never an hour they can truly call their own, or when they can be free and independent men.

Here in the extensive grain-growing region of the central West, where diversified farming is the rule, the condition of farm hands is very hard. I have, myself, worked, day after day, sixteen long hours each day, and for pay so small I am ashamed to write it down. Very long hours is the rule; and wages will average less than $15 per month for time actually employed. And the work is very exhausting. When night comes we are so worn and weary that we must immediately seek our beds in order that we may get sufficient sleep to enable us to perform the next day's labor. No time for recre-

ation, no time or opportunity for reading or for any of those enjoyments that elevate the man above the brute. Such a life is mere animal existence. Would it, then, be strange if we should sometimes feel that we are unable to fully exercise the inalienable rights and privileges guaranteed by our Constitution?

In the South, a strictly agricultural section of our country, the condition of farm hands is still worse. For years the people of those States have boasted of their "*cheap labor*." And the system practised in many localities is really a species of peonage. And generally speaking the industrial and social system of the South is such that to the farm hands political liberty is a mockery and a farce. We hear a great deal about the troubles that grow out of the race question. But the fact is, existing race prejudice is cleverly used to cover up and disguise the real and the deeper wrongs and evils that grow out of their social system, which is a remnant of a former age, when kings ruled, supported by an aristocratic class. The farm hands are regarded as a servile and menial class. It is customary in that country to speak of working people, of both sexes, and white as well as black, as a distinctively laboring class, and as an inferior and subordinate part of society.

And in the great West — the far West — that land of romance and intense reality, the condition of farm hands is far from desirable. In some localities they already are a sort of wage-working peasantry, the land being owned by wealthy landlords or great corporations. The public hears much about the owners of those vast farms. We hear all about their home life, the accomplishments of their wives and daughters, and of their social relations. We get minute descriptions of their estates and of their costly homes. We are told of the number of servants they employ, and of the number of horses in their stables. Our knowledge of the people of that country is confined to the very few rich landholders and their families.

Of the laboring masses of that country whose labor has transformed wilderness and prairie into wealthy States, of the men whose brain and brawn have improved those farms

and made them fruitful, the world hears nothing whatever. Neither does the world hear aught of the women and girls employed in those homes, whose labor and fidelity make possible the lavish hospitality for which those homes are famous. Their very identity is lost in the term "servant." These workers are known to the world only as *things*, as the employees of some rich person. These are an "unknown factor," though the most important one.

In that section of the country, conditions are such that farm hands merely exist — simply *stay* on the farms where they are employed. They have places to eat and sleep, something like the horses they drive. But those places lack all the true elements of home, as civilized people understand that term. They do not have such places as other workingmen expect to find in lodging-houses and boarding-places. Living in such a manner, they are unable to come in social contact with any other portion of the community; they really exist outside the pale of society. Practically they are not a recognized part of the community in which they are employed.

Herein lies a grave danger. Such injustice must eventually react against society. When men have no place that seems to them a home, and no social ties, they lack the attachments necessary to make them love some spot of earth and some community of people. Men thus situated cannot feel the love and respect for their country that American citizens should feel. And when it is observed that throughout this entire country important laws and measures that involve all of our interests and opportunities in life are adopted and carried into effect in utter contempt of our rights and wishes, it would not be strange if we should gradually grow to feel that we have no real interest in our government and the laws that support it. Such classes are liable to become a menace to society and to the government. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that farm hands are *the* American proletariat.

But the condition of the farmer's "hired girls" is even worse than that of the hired men. I know of no class of respectable people who are so completely helpless as these hired girls employed in farmers' kitchens. They are almost

entirely at the mercy of employers and employers' families. They have no "evenings off;" they know no conditions save the arbitrary will of the employer. And the public seems to think those girls are entitled to no encouragement or protection whatever. I do not exaggerate when I say that society and public opinion do not accord them any real rights at all. It is a well-known fact that girls will accept almost any kind of employment in city or town rather than work as hired girl on a farm.

It is a most unfortunate fact that the "Farmers' Movement," which has attracted so much attention during the past few years, has done almost nothing toward improving the conditions that are so intolerable to the wage-earning people of the farms. In fact, from the standpoint of the farm hand and of the workingman, that movement was objectionable from the very beginning. Its promoters claimed that it was a social as well as an industrial movement, and was designed for the benefit and the uplifting of the lower classes of society and of the agricultural people. Yet the lowest and the humblest class of the farming people themselves were entirely ignored. Not even a voice was raised in their behalf.

We were told that it was a labor movement as well as a farmers' movement, and that its aim was to help the laboring classes and coöperate with the established labor movement. Yet the most helpless and neglected of all the wage-earning classes — the farm hands — the one class most intimately connected with the farmers' interests, and the one class that should receive benefit from a farmers' movement, was wholly neglected. Again the farm hand is an unknown quantity.

But the real difficulty arises from the fact that all such farmers' movements as the Grange and the Farmers' Alliance have been economically wrong. They were based on erroneous ideas and false theories. The one essential sentiment, the motive force, of the movement was the very common belief, that landowning farmers, simply by virtue of the fact that they are landholders, are entitled to some sort of special considerations and to certain special rights and privileges. Even in this country landownership still carries with it enough of the old ideas and traditions to cause landholders to claim cer-

tain rights that only might makes. There is a disposition to claim concessions from society, or from the rest of the people, because they hold exclusive right to the land.

These things cause landholders as a class to lose sight of the rights and the welfare of their own employees and tenants. And if those ideas and the sentiments fostered by those farmers' movements continue to exert a controlling influence over the legislation of the several States and over our judiciary, it will not be many years until we find ourselves subject to an array of oppressive land laws and to a vicious system of landlordism, with its inevitable train of evils — its "rack rents" and its "evictions." If the present trend continues it will not be long before we are in the midst of an agitation of the land question that will try the stability of our institutions as it has never yet been tried. We have found that our republic has the power to withstand the rudest shock that may occur from a sectional rebellion. But the land question directly affects the rights and interests of every person living under our government.

The time has certainly come when all the economic questions of the day, including the land question, ought to be studied and presented from the standpoint of the wage-earners of the farming industry and of the entire non-landowning class of rural society. As a class, we, the farm hands, are just as much interested in everything pertaining to the labor question as any other workingmen. And all agricultural problems concern our welfare just as they concern that of the farmers themselves. And a study from our standpoint is very important because there are some phases of those questions that are scarcely discernible from any other. And it would seem that among the lower (?) classes of the rural people is the proper place to begin a thorough study of social problems.

Most people seem to think there can be no real land question in this extensive country of ours. But there are already laws upon the statute books of many of our Western States, that, under conditions now almost upon us, will become sorely oppressive, and give landlords, great and small, undue power over renting and wage-earning farmers. And we have sud-

denly come to a point at which the whole problem changes. The public domain is now practically exhausted. Somebody owns all the desirable land. The farm hand and the landless farmer can no longer become landholders by simply accepting farms from the government. Somebody now dictates the terms upon which the landless may become landholders. They must now pay tribute to some person or corporation if they would own farms. Heretofore the unoccupied territory of the West has given the landless class a ready means of escape from undesirable conditions. But now that their means of escape has ceased to exist, the farm hands and tenant farmers will be forced to strive to make conditions tolerable within the domain of established society.

Here we must notice a strong tendency to extensive landlordism that promises ill to this country. Heretofore we have hugged the delusion that farms become divided and subdivided as the country grows older. But now we see everywhere a tendency to increase the size of farms. Successful farmers buy all the adjoining farms they can; often they "squeeze out" their less fortunate neighbors in the most heartless manner. In the Eastern States, especially, rich persons are purchasing vast estates, closing public highways, and making other changes with an utter disregard for the present and future rights of the people. In other places large areas of land are purchased and held as investments. And in the West numbers of men own estates many miles in extent, some of them almost as large as our smaller sovereign States, others larger than some of the little principalities of Europe. And the owners of those estates rule over the people who reside on them with an arbitrary power that might be envied by the rulers of the European principalities.

In view of these things a few of our most thoughtful people are becoming seriously apprehensive. They do not fear a scarcity of land, but they believe that the existence of such vast estates is an evil, because they give the owners a degree of power that is incompatible with a condition of liberty and equality. It is easy to conceive the possibility of an entire State being owned by a very few men. In that case those men would practically dictate and control the affairs of the

State by virtue of actual ownership. Even now it is by no means an unheard-of thing for one man to own an entire county. And in some localities there are instances of two, or three, or a half-dozen men controlling the municipal affairs of a town by right (?) of ownership. They control because they happen to own enough of the visible property — that is, enough of the houses and lots which constitute the town — to give them such control.

Believing the theory which generally obtains among the landholding people, that the right of the landowner is absolute and subject to no "lord paramount," to no conditions, nor to the will of any existing power, such men naturally claim the right to entire control over land in all its relations. And whenever they have the power they dictate all measures affecting their property interests, without regard for the rights and wishes of the public. It is quite possible that entire States may at some time be controlled in the same manner.

But the majority of the class of people for which I now speak are not socialists or disciples of Henry George and his school of "Single-Taxers." Though we know that our system of land tenure is not founded upon any essential principle of equity or right, we have no desire to dispossess people of their farms, or to revolutionize the land system of this country. Its only foundation is our consent — the consent of the people. We know there is no such a thing as a real, absolute right of private, exclusive ownership to a piece of land. But as the people are agreed that, for the present, private ownership is the most satisfactory solution of the problem, we farm hands are not ready to rebel against that system.

But we do believe that all laws pertaining to land, and to the privileges and duties of the owners should take full cognizance of all the natural or personal rights of the people, individually and collectively. We demand that such laws shall be so adjusted that they will give the landless classes an absolute and unquestionable right to an abode upon the soil of our own country. At present we live here upon our native soil only by someone's consent, tacitly or expressly given. Under our laws, if they were carried to their logical conclusion, the landowners could compel us to move on and

on, — like the Wandering Jew, forced to move on forever, — finding a right to stop nowhere, unless we comply with the conditions which those owners have a legal right to impose upon us. But by another set of laws we may even be denied the privilege of moving on, for we might be arrested as vagrants.

On account of the influences and ideas already mentioned, the lawmaking powers have acted on the theory that the prime and exclusive object of all land legislation is to protect the landholders in the exercise of the widest possible range of rights and powers. In this as in many other instances the laws protect the strong against the weak. Those laws give landholders a power over their hired men and tenants that is absolutely unjust. Here in the State from which I write — a State that boasts of the protection it gives to labor and to poor men — there is no "exemption" in favor of tenants against landlords' claims for rent. A claim for rent takes precedence over everything, even a claim for wages. If my employer happens to be a tenant farmer, his landlord can take the entire crop and every visible thing he owns, if required to satisfy a claim for rent. And then he can evict us both, and send us out homeless and penniless — both robbed of our labor. America has her evictions as cruel as those of Ireland.

We can grant the landowner all of his legitimate rights, and then effect important reforms. For, according to a just and proper interpretation of our present land system, "the land is the heritage of the people." Considered as the territory of our government, the land is not the exclusive property of the persons who "own" the farms. Considered in that relation and as a public utility the land belongs to the government, or to the people. As it involves the interests, the rights, and the opportunities of all persons, the rich and the poor should have an equal voice in the public control of the land. All should have an equal voice in all questions of its relation to the common welfare.

I am aware that farmers themselves are now complaining of adverse conditions and poverty. I know that many people will argue that we are not justified in forcing an agitation in behalf of our class at this time, while farmers them-

selves, our employers, are forced to fight against such serious adversities. But we demand nothing that should make farmers any poorer. We believe that the evils against which we protest are detrimental to farmers as well as to ourselves. The one great justification of the labor movement is the fact that none of its essential demands would limit or curtail any of the legitimate rights and privileges of employers or of any other class of people. It is not to low wages and to subservience on the part of farm hands that the farmers of this country must look for a means of escape from the hard conditions that now environ them.

A discussion of the labor question on the farm at this time tends to simplify rather than complicate the great problem of *agricultural discontent.* By thus bringing to view the interests of all elements of the farming population, farmers are able to obtain a much more comprehensive knowledge of the real evils that confront them. With a proper understanding of their relations to other elements of the community and to other industrial classes, they will learn that former farmers' movements were failures because they were too self-contained, and were conducted in defiance of the real demands of the times. Though attempting political affiliation with labor organizations, those movements, in general trend and effect, have operated as a counter-current to the true labor movement.

It is not the purpose of this article to outline the reforms that may be necessary. But the enactment of a few disconnected, specific laws will not suffice. We do not need new laws so much as we need a change of the recognized principles and theories that underlie all law. The thing needed now most of all is to inculcate into the public mind a better scheme of political economy and a new social philosophy, for the guidance of lawmakers and courts.

The real purpose of this article is to call attention to the actual condition of our class. It is to be hoped that a better knowledge of the social condition of the farm laboring class will enable the people to discover some solution of the present *agricultural discontent* that will benefit and satisfy both farmer and farm hand.

TOPEKA, KANSAS.

PRACTICAL MEASURES FOR PROMOTING MANHOOD AND PREVENTING CRIME.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE capital lesson for us to learn to-day is that the interest of each is the interest of all, and that any society which is indifferent to the welfare of the weak and unfortunate will sooner or later pay bitterly for its selfish neglect. The solidarity of the race is such that the injury of a single unit affects the other units, and in a greater or less degree injures the society in which the wronged one dwells. A large proportion of the vast sums expended yearly for the protection of property and life and for sustaining prisons, penitentiaries, reformatories, and almshouses would be saved had society the wisdom and forethought to take steps to aid the weak and unfortunate to reach honorable paths of endeavor, and at the same time to place within their reach pleasant resorts where good music, ennobling art, and entertaining pastimes would give brightness to their few leisure hours, thus lending a new charm to life, while subtly educating and uplifting them by filling their minds with pure and morally healthful ideas.

Perhaps the importance of giving society's unfortunates bright surroundings during their leisure hours will be better appreciated if we consider for a moment how largely life is the result of that which environs the individual. And at the outset it is necessary that we keep in mind two great facts frequently overlooked by teachers and philosophers. Man is essentially an imitative animal, and is largely the creature of habit or emotion, or of both. Dull minds — dwarfed, blunted, or stunted mentalities — are frequently almost devoid of imagination. They pass through life for the most part creatures of imitation and habit. They do that which they see others do, or that which they have been accustomed to do themselves. They drift through life in an aimless sort of manner. If temptations are at hand, if degradation and evil are on

every side, they fall into evil ways because of their environment, because they are weak and imitative, and because doing wrong soon becomes a habit. Before they are conscious of it they do as others do, until habits are formed which in time become second nature. Of course degradation or evildoing is progressive, and the downward course of these weaklings is accelerated as they journey through life. But the greatest factors in their unfortunate careers have been environment, the propensity to imitate, and the spell of habit when once acquired.

Not so with most young people, and with persons of bright mentality. Here the imagination sways the sceptre in the thought world and draws its very life from the planes of emotion. If the emotions are stimulated on the higher or spiritual plane of sensation, the world of imagination is made luminous with high, refining, and altruistic ideals. If the lower planes of sensation are appealed to, the imagination is influenced and filled with sensual and essentially selfish emotions.

Hence we see at a glance how music, which appeals so strongly to the emotional nature, may be an inestimable blessing or an immeasurable curse according to whether it appeals to the higher or lower planes of sensation, according to whether it fills the world of the imagination with exalted and divine ideals or with pictures calculated to arouse the lower nature. Thus we readily understand how positively debasing the dance-hall songs and music are, and we can easily believe the truth of the following statement made by the eminent English clergyman and author Rev. H. R. Haweis: "I have known the oratorio of 'The Messiah' to draw the lowest dregs of Whitechapel into a church to hear it, and during the performance sobs have broken forth from the silent and attentive throng." Anything which strongly arouses the emotional nature on the spiritual plane clarifies the soul, strengthens all good resolutions, and gives life an upward inspiration. Society has not yet learned this great lesson; nor has it considered another fact of equal importance in its bearing upon social progress—the far-reaching and life-influencing character of impressions borne in upon the mind in the brief hours when the

brain of the toiler is relaxed and receptive and when his body is at rest. At such times the imagination receives and stores away images, pictures, and trains of association suggested by what has been given to it, and these become food for the mind or form conscious or unconscious ideals which engross the thought in future life.

When the emotional nature is profoundly stirred by splendid or inspiring music, impressions are frequently given to the mind which change the whole current of life. This also is frequently the case where the music or the object which appeals to the emotion awakens trains of association long buried but hallowed by holy remembrances of a happy childhood.

An incident illustrating this was related to me by Mother Pindle of the Florence Crittenden Home in New York. One evening some one was playing on the chapel organ of that wonderful home for unfortunate women. The piece was one of the familiar hymns so dear to the hearts of our people. Soon the little congregation joined in the hymn. Outside, a poor unfortunate girl who had been betrayed, and whose life from the time of her ruin had been a continuous descent, was passing. As the familiar air fell on her ear she started and then stood as if riveted to the sidewalk. At length she stepped into the service room, and before the hymn was over she had broken into violent sobbing. The attentive matron and her earnest co-workers surrounded her, and in answer to their kindly questions she gave them the story of her life, and related how the hymn, which had been her mother's favorite before she died, had overcome her, how it had brought up before her all the lessons her mother had striven to teach, and how she had resolved to live a purer life. All this had happened some years before the story was told to me, and the poor girl then saved by a hymn had developed into one of the most helpful workers for the unfortunates in the city.

Hundreds of similar cases could be recited, showing the power of good music in arousing the divine in the human clay and leading to spiritual supremacy. I emphasize music because of its influence on young and old, because it sings itself into the soul, because it stirs the emotions so pro-

foundly, and is therefore one of the most effective agencies for elevating human nature while it gladdens the heart.

It should be the concern of the state to overcome evil with good, to make it as easy as possible for her citizens to do right. Any practical measure which would promote manhood and prevent the spread of crime and vice should receive the serious consideration of economists no less than humanitarians. The beneficial results of parks, open squares, and public gardens are generally recognized, not only as being in a very real sense the lungs of a city, but also as giving pleasure and benefit to the dwellers in crowded sections by appealing to their love of the beautiful and filling their imaginations with bright and wholesome images. A well-kept public park-and-garden system such as that possessed by Boston is of inconceivable value in elevating the ideals of the people, giving them pleasure, and affording food for dull and tired imaginations.

Each fortnight during the past few months the people of Brookline have been favored with evening concerts by one of the finest bands in New England. These concerts were given in the open common in front of the High School. Here great audiences assembled around the platform, in large groups on the slopes leading up to Cypress Street, and around the railings between the common and the streets, while the streets were lined with carriages. A large proportion of the audiences were ladies. A great number of children were also present. There were many parents with babies and little ones, some old people, and persons who appeared to be from almost every station in life. The audiences stood or were seated in groups on the benches. The concert lasted an hour and a half. Popular airs were interspersed with selections from such masters as Wagner and Handel. The people not only preserved perfect order, but drank in the melody as thirsty plants drink in the raindrops. Rest, relaxation, pleasure, all were visible, and I thought while observing the beautiful spectacle how many brains were being filled with music which would ring sweetly through the coming days. Those vast audiences were also unconsciously being educated upward. Their enjoyment was

of the purest character, and it was elevating their ideals, tastes, and desires.

Motives of self-interest and economy second the higher incentives of ennobling humanity in calling for a liberal extension of measures which shall contribute to healthful pleasure while being broadly educational. During the summer season, on all days when the breadwinners have leisure, every city should provide for concerts or other fine musical entertainments in all the most popular parks, especially in those parks and squares near to the homes of the poor. There should also be short band concerts from seven to eight every evening in parks easily accessible to the dwellers in the slums and overcrowded districts.

But we should go beyond this. Situated in various localities throughout every city there should be large public halls in which, during autumn, winter, and spring, musical entertainments of a high order should be given free every evening, and at which some of the noblest creations of the great composers should be mingled with the thrilling heart-songs and hymns which ever exert such a strange spell over the minds of the people. In these great public halls there should also be rooms in which stereopticon lectures and other popular entertainments should be given free, public reading-rooms supplied with the best literature, art rooms hung with good works calculated to develop the artistic impulses and also elevate the imagination. Here the attendant should from time to time explain the pictures and give short talks on the great art masters, also on various methods of reproducing original works, such as lithographing, photogravure, woodcutting, etching, steel engraving, line drawing, etc. The pictures in one of these great halls could after a season be removed to another similar place, and thus the various sets could, during the year, be used at intervals in each of the public temples of education and entertainment. In these buildings there should also be rooms given to healthful exercises and innocent amusement; and in many places, especially in the slums of great cities, commodious coffee rooms should be attached, where wholesome lunches and nutritious temperance beverages should be served at a nominal cost.

Those who have visited the slums of our great cities at night have been impressed with the awful gloom which hangs like a pall over these squalid sections, save where the bright lights of saloon and dance-hall invite the multitudes who are housed in dark and gloomy quarters. The slums of our cities are recognized hotbeds of vice, degradation, and crime. Within their borders one finds men, women, and children huddled together in a manner fatal to those finer instincts of morality which are the priceless possession of refined and developed natures. There, in dark, squalid rooms in wretched houses, built without thought of health or comfort, exist thousands of our fellow beings. Frequently they are found in attics, reached only after ascending long, dark, and filthy stairs, or in damp cellars. In the daytime these herding-places present a sickening and repulsive spectacle, but at night there is something indescribably repellent about them. Dark, grimy, with air freighted with ill-smelling odors, it is not strange that the wretched inmates wish to fly from them if only for an hour. It is not strange that the brightly lighted saloon lures the tired workers. They are almost the only buildings not shrouded in forbidding darkness. They have a cheery exterior in the midst of the prevailing gloom. Let me repeat, man is a social animal, an imitative being, a creature of habit; he drifts into the saloon frequently more to escape the stifling quarters he calls his home, and because the saloon is bright and attractive and in it he will find friends with whom to chat, than from any insatiable craving for drink. In this I grant he displays selfishness, but at present we are dealing with conditions as they are, and are examining them in their bearings on society rather than considering them from an ethical point of view.

What is true of the saloon is true of the dance-hall, which is particularly inviting to the young, who love music and are hungry for some kind of entertainment to relieve the frightful monotony of their sunless lives. Insensibly, step by step, hundreds of lives opening into maidenhood and manhood are drawn each year into the web of sin, degradation, and dishonor. Insensibly the fires of death are kindled in the mind,

their feet take the downward course, and ere long they awaken to find themselves hideous wretches in every sense of the word. Even before the child reaches anything like the years of maturity his imagination, starving for nourishment as a plant in a cellar starves for sunshine, absorbs the moral contagion of its environment. Low, coarse, vile ideas and images come into the mind and become food upon which the imagination feeds. The child is poisoned long before he becomes a man. With grown people the case is somewhat different, but the results are much the same.

When the environment is such that the influences, agencies, and wellsprings of life are evil the result must be disastrous to the individual and to the society in which he lives. We have very wisely established systems of popular education on the sound economic assumption that the safety of the state depends largely upon the intelligence of her children, and yet, ignoring this accepted theory in regard to the importance of educating the citizen, we leave the most populous sections of our great cities practically given over to agencies which actively educate, or bring out, the worst instead of the best in man. They stimulate the animal plane of sensation instead of appealing to the higher emotions.

The time has arrived when it is vitally important that a vigorous agitation be inaugurated for liberally extending the sound ideas of true education and the correct theory of the true function of government as expressed in our parks, public gardens, museums, libraries, and common schools, by supplying places of public resort with the best music and entertainment and pastimes, which shall broaden the mental horizon, brighten life, and develop the best in the individual, and also in the erection of temples of popular improvement and entertainment in all thickly settled parts of our cities. This innovation, or rather this extension of a wise policy already inaugurated, is not, as some social reformers imagine, palliative in nature. It is not a charity measure, but a wise and beneficent extension of proper governmental functions for lessening crime, imbecility, degradation, vice, and pauperism, for saving vast expenditure for penal institutions, for elevating the standard of citizenship, for dignifying life, for

bringing ennobling pleasure into the lives of the unfortunate, for surrounding thousands with a healthy environment during the only time they have for leisure, and for unconsciously educating them upward; in a word, for curtailing crime and depravity by elevating the ideals and substituting pure and inspiring entertainments for vicious and degrading amusements.

That state or municipality will earn for itself a high place in the civilization of to-morrow which adopts a broad, liberal system of public educational entertainments in large, commodious, and attractive resorts, thereby reducing crime, pauperism, and animal excesses, while stirring the imagination on the higher plane of sensation, filling it with pure ideals and the sweet melody of lofty music, in which there should be no alloy of vulgarity or coarse suggestiveness.

Give the people temples of entertainment which will be in the truest sense grand educational institutions, which will fill life's leisure hours with a sweetness that will leave no bitter aftertaste, and which, night by night, will educate, purify, refine, and uplift.

THE DEMAND FOR SENSATIONAL JOURNALS.

BY JOHN HENDERSON GARNSEY, LL. B.

THE times, like astronomical phenomena, have their signs, but the most common trouble with the observers is that of mistaking the manifestations of events themselves for the signs indicating coming ones. For instance, it is often said that the world is growing worse, that the tendency of the times is toward materialism, and that the condition of mankind will be, some time, that of a machine, unrelenting, inhuman, and lacking in all the godlike attributes. This is not true. If the observer will take the trouble to analyze the times, it will be seen that it is only the present condition which is bad, the indications for the future being decidedly good.

One of these signs of the times is a loud and rapidly swelling cry of protest from the more conservative and level-headed portion of the community (which is really the balance-wheel that makes prosperity) against the sensational journal. This protest has reached such a volume that it must be met, and it is met by a majority of the editors and managers with the statement that "sensationalism is what the people want." They maintain that they cannot sell their publications unless their pages contain catalogues of crime, column-long descriptions, with pictures, of the collars of noted and notorious men, facial characteristics of great malefactors, chapters from the private life of some one dead and defenceless, slurs upon them that sit in the high places, or more or less wild rumors of possible political conspiracies. The President is photographed and described in all possible and impossible places and positions, dignified and otherwise, and his family are pictured in detail, mostly from imagination. Not content with telling what high officials have done or will do, columns are devoted to telling what they have not done or will not do. The correspondents in foreign capitals cable us a rumor one day, and deny it in half a column the next; and the position of war correspondent has become one with that of

advertising agent, possibly more entertaining, but not more reliable. Courts of law are censured for their decisions according to the whim or sympathy of the writer, who is frequently incompetent to judge of the matter at all; and the guilt or innocence of a person charged with a crime is laid before the people, in accordance not with the facts, but with the political situation or the influence of the accused's friends.

And all this in the news columns of the journals. The editorial page, once the forum where public opinion was expressed, — where the voice of the people was ably crystallized into forcible phrases, — has become a little-read and insignificant part of the average paper. True, there are some notable exceptions to this rule, but they are among the papers of smaller circulation, the papers to which the term "conservative" is applied in its new meaning, synonymous with contempt. The editor or publisher of a great journal too often uses his news columns, as well as his editorial pages, as vehicles by which to carry on a campaign against his personal enemies or political opponents. The personality of the editor, publisher, owner (almost synonymous terms to-day) is set forth in every account of any occurrence, public or private, which takes place anywhere in the world. If the editor believes that Turkey ought to be dismembered, his despatches will be edited to that effect. If he believes that Cuba ought to be free, his news from the Antilles will be tinctured with that sentiment. The journals of the day, so far from moulding public opinion, have now the questionable honor of manufacturing public prejudice. In their struggle for supremacy public opinion has been throttled by them, and such a thing as a fair and impartial judgment on the merits of a case, as conveyed by the papers, is impossible. They have acquired the power of giants, and have become tyrants in the use of that power. They indulge in the open boast that they can make or unmake any man or woman, any set of men or any institution, any line of thought or any reform; and they are pretty nearly right. It was the newspapers that made the Coxey movement possible; it is the newspapers that fight our political battles, as in the campaign just past; and it is the newspapers that make good business

men so averse to taking offices of public trust. They have the power to accomplish great good, but they too often accomplish great ills.

And against this influence the people have substantially no protection. By persistent and energetic lobbying the newspapers are effecting the passage of libel laws which practically free them from any liability whatever. In Pennsylvania the truth is no defence to a libel, and a vigorous effort is being made to change the statute. In Illinois the statute reads that the truth shall be a defence "when published with good motives and for justifiable ends." In Massachusetts an act is prepared, and is being pushed before the general assembly, which practically makes the publication of a retraction a good defence. In Maryland they have a statute making the most irresponsible tramp reporter a privileged person in the matter of communications, the same as doctors and lawyers. If the Massachusetts law passes in other States where it is being urged, libel suits under it will be twice as expensive to try, because twice as complicated, and the decisions of the courts will never be satisfactory, as so much is left to the particular circumstances in each case. The result will be that there will be less inclination to institute these suits, and the press will be rendered still more free from responsibility.

Practically the libel laws now extant, instead of being severe, are almost powerless. The writer is able to recall but one case in his immediate knowledge where the plaintiff has succeeded in having the libeller incarcerated, and this incarceration was for thirty days only, while the newspaper which published the libel ran along at about the same gait as before. Every concession to the newspapers in this particular is giving greater license to the sensational press, while it is a mere superfluity to the honorably managed journals. The libel laws of the various States, as they now stand, amply protect the reliable, honest, and truthful newspapers; every relaxation is an encouragement to the unreliable, dishonest, and untruthful ones. If the latter can take their stand behind complicated acts and long statutes they are virtually free to do and say anything which strikes their errant fancy. We cannot have a press censorship; it would be a violation of the

constitutional principles of our country; but it is a perfectly patent fact that we need some protection from the flood of journalistic filth issuing from the great cities.

Yet, they say, the people want this sort of thing. They say the American people want opportunities to sneer at everything and each other. They say that slurs and jingoism and boasting and abuse are essentials to their existence. They say that their editors must show themselves in the "policy of the paper." They make it a rule that events which do not happen at a popular time and in a popular way, must be lightly passed over unless it suits the policy of the paper to notice them at length. They will tell you that news must not be given to the people as it is, but as the public wants it, and then they instruct their readers how to want it.

The people — the masses of the population of the country — are not given, as a rule, to doing their own thinking. There come occasions when they do think for themselves, and on these occasions some great national chance usually takes place. But in matters of daily routine they believe what the newspapers tell them, not because they have implicit faith in the papers, for if you call their attention to the matter they will say that the newspapers always lie, but because they do not care to take the time to reason about what they read. We are a busy nation; we are bent on our pursuit of business as intently as the bicyclist who rides the "slot" of a cable road is bent on keeping his narrow path. Our business men hire lawyers to do their thinking in the most ordinary matters of commercial procedure. Our "thinkers" are all specialists; the well-informed man is a *rara avis*. The consequence is that when an invisible and intangible oracle, such as the editor of a great newspaper, thunders forth a dogma, the people half-unconsciously take it for well-authenticated fact. The style royal, "we," is responsible for much of the weight attached to the utterances of the journals, for there is a popular delusion to the effect that behind the "we" lie the greatest erudition and the soundest judgment.

Therefore, when a newspaper cries out that the public is

depraved, the public believes it. When it announces that certain political doctrines are right, most of its subscribers accept the announcement. When it states that eminent men are really beasts by nature, the public reads and believes. And when it says to the public: "You want filth or sensationalism in your daily reading; you want to hear things as 'we' think you ought to hear them," the public meekly acquiesces in the edict. As a collection of integers, each member of the public family rejects personal application of any of these statements, but he reads to see to what depths his neighbors have descended. Give this collection of integers a chance, give each an opportunity to choose for himself what he really wants, and the mass of the results will be found to indicate radically different conditions from those now existing.

It is not argued that the newspapers do no good; it is not maintained that their total suppression would be of benefit. Quite the contrary. In a country of such vast territorial extent as this, newspapers are a necessity. Without them it is doubtful if there would be any harmony whatever between the North and the South, the West and the East. Whatever our national voice is to be, whether prejudice or opinion, just or unjust, it must be as one voice, or, at least, must speak on a common pitch in order to be heard above the clamor of nations; and without the newspapers to indicate this tone to the different sections of the country, the voice of the people would be so discordant as to totally disappear in the world's clamor. But it is claimed here that a newspaper which shall print the news as it is, and shall confine all of its expressions of opinion to its editorial columns, is the newspaper that the people really want.

There is in the city of Chicago a newspaper which approaches very near to the desired ideal. It is well-printed and well-illustrated with pictures having an immediate bearing on its well-written accounts of happenings. Its telegraphic service covers the world sufficiently. It is not devoid of special features; indeed, it has some of the best in the world. Matters of news are given as matters of news, without any coloring by the editor. It has a special corre-

spondent who is familiar with the whole civilized world, and who is instructed to write of matters as they are, and not as the editor thinks they should be. There are no sensations, no "scare heads" to increase the sale of copies; it wages war on no man or party because such man or party happens to disagree with the editor's private convictions, and it is regular in its size. With all these things, so contrary to the theory of the "great" daily, it prints all the news, so far as the present writer, who has served his apprenticeship on newspapers, can see. And yet this paper probably has a larger actual circulation than any journal in Chicago.

Now if the people really went blanket-sheet sensationalism, why do they buy this paper? The answer is, they want it. Being given the opportunity to get news free from sensational and unclean trimmings, they grasp the opportunity, and the paper which gives it to them, with eagerness. We do not want sensational journals; we are only made to think that we do. There is no real demand for putridity in the form of printed sheets of large circulation. The herculean efforts made to keep up these large circulations are evidence of their instability, and the vast sums of money spent by the "great" dailies in advertising themselves show that the demand for them is fictitious. These journals, in their vaulting ambition for greatness, have o'erleapt themselves and fallen into the ditch. There is a time in the future when the expenditure of money and the utterance of dogma will fail to keep up the circulations which constitute the sole value of these "great" dailies. When that time comes, and not until that time, will the public get what it really wants, and it will not secure such a prize until it begins to think that there is no real demand for sensational journals.

IS HISTORY A SCIENCE?

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

THE phrase "Science of History" has entered into the philosophical language of the age. Whether such a phrase and the notions which it suggests are warranted in the present stage of inquiry is one of the profound questions which still remain unsolved at the end of a great and progressive century.

James Anthony Froude, in one of his historical essays, referring to this question of a possible science of history, says:

> It is a dry subject; and there seems indeed something incongruous in the very connection of such words as *Science* and *History*. It is as if we were to talk of the color of sound or the longitude of the Rule of Three. Where it is so difficult to make out the truth on the commonest disputed fact in matters passing under our very eyes, how can we talk of a science in things long past, which come to us only through books? It often seems to me as if History is like a child's box of letters, with which we can spell any word we please. We have only to pick out such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say nothing about those which do not serve our purpose.

On the other hand, the profound Buckle, who may be regarded as the first, after Bodin, to insist that the subject-matter of human affairs may be treated as a theme in science, declares that history is the science of sciences; that philosophic history is the one great science which swallows up all the tributary streams of human knowledge, and that no other subject to which the intellect of man can be applied is so fit to be regarded as scientific in its nature. What, then, are we to believe? Is the history of mankind the science of sciences, as Buckle tells us? Or is it nothing more than a child's box of letters, out of which we can make any meaning we please, as Froude tells us? Is there or is there not such a thing as a Science of History?

To my mind it appears clear that in answering such a question we must first define science. What is a science? A science is a systematic arrangement of the laws by which any group of facts or phenomena is governed. The term "law"

used in the definition signifies no more than *the observed order* which the facts or phenomena hold constantly to one another. From this it is clear that we must have facts to begin with. Science begins with a fact; that is, with a thing, and not with nothing. It is folly to talk about the science of anything that is nothing.

In order that there be a science, there must not only be facts, but the facts must be associated facts. They must be in sequence or correlation with each other. They must be bound together by some common principle. They must have a logical and a chronological relation. They must be of such sort as to yield to classification and arrangement into groups and categories; for without this quality of association and relation, though the field of inquiry be piled with facts, even as the cañons of the Sierras are heaped with bowlders, there can be no science. If in the nature of things the facts stand apart, then the scientific principle cannot be established over them. If the facts be railroads, asteroids, and Mohammedans, we can have no science. If they be mountains, platinum, and wild-fowl, there can be no science. If they be ghosts, fortune-tellers, and dog-stars, there can be no science. The facts upon which science is built must be subject to classification under the laws of relationship, of causation, and of logical sequence. Otherwise there may be chaos and force, but no science.

It is not enough that we have facts and a gathering of the facts in groups under the laws of logical association. There must also be an *interpretation* of the facts, else there is no science of them. This interpretation constitutes one of the essential principles of science. The old world was as full of facts as is the new world, but not as full of science. It was as an interpreter that the man of antiquity was so great a failure. Nature was as rich then as now; the seasons were as regular; the tides as endless; the constellations as inviting. But there was no interpreter.

The interpretation of facts and phenomena out of the unknown into the known is the very substance of science. Science explains in terms of the known the thing that was before unknown. She discovers the law by which the things

are bound together. She reveals the hidden relation which *A* bears to *B*. She gives us a clew by which to thread the chamber of the labyrinth. She puts into our hands the endless chain of causation, and teaches us to follow it link by link. Science uncovers the living principle of things; so that the facts around us which before seemed dead, inane, and chaotic, become quickened into a dramatic and beautiful life.

Interpretation, however, is only one of several principles that enter into science. It is not enough that we have facts, that they be associated under the reign of law, that the vitalizing principle be discovered which binds them into a whole of symmetry and beauty, and that we interpret out of the unknown into the known the facts and the laws which govern them; for if here we stop, we have only the half of science, and that the poorer half. Science demands that we shall also be able to tell *what will come to pass hereafter*. Interpretation looks only at the present and the past. It is the office of interpretation to look around; to see and to record what is; to look behind and to see and record what has been. There the office of interpretation ends.

If science stopped short with simple interpretation she would hardly be worthy of praise; but she also adds the gift of prophecy. Science understands the mysteries of the future. She reveals, at least in part, what is to be. Not satisfied with making plain the present and the past, she lifts the veil and reveals the secrets of the things to come. She sees, as if with prophetic eye, the facts of the universe, instinct with inherent forces, approximating and entering into union, or repelling and flying asunder. She sees collisions and catastrophes, the marriages and births and deaths of nature. She marks the waxing and waning moons of a thousand cycles. She sees the falling of next winter's snows, the coming of next year's Mayday, the blushing of next June's roses. She sees all the slow-shifting changes in the secular order of the world, until the final cataclysm, when, the floods of water having retired into the caverns below and cold having taken the throne of nature, the earth shall become a dead and icy clod in the silent orbit where once we travelled with our hopes and loves.

Science is both an interpreter and a prophet. She lives in all three tenses: the past, the present, and the future. She reveals what has been, what is, and what is to be in the order of the natural world. The laws and processes which have prevailed among the phenomena of the past order furnish the unmistakable analogies by which the present is to be understood and the future revealed. If a given acid dissolved a given metal a year ago, we know that it will do the same to-day and to-morrow. This knowledge is science. If the positive end of a suspended magnetic needle turned poleward in the fifteenth century, it does so yet, and will do so in nineteen hundred. If the black powder discovered by Roger Bacon exploded by ignition in the laboratory of the philosopher, the same compound will explode to-day, and explode always. If the forest of fir gave place to a forest of oak in the prehistoric woods of Denmark, and the forest of oak to a forest of beech, the same metamorphosis will occur under like conditions to-day, — and so on forever. It is the very nature and essence of science to discover not only what has been and is in the order and progress of the natural world, but also to discover by analogies and laws and tendencies and the uniformity of nature what is to be hereafter.

This brief outline and these definitions and limitations may serve to show what science really is, and inferentially what it is not. The next question is whether under these definitions and limitations we may in the present state of man's knowledge properly apply the word science to any of the branches of human inquiry. No doubt we may do so. In not a few fields of investigation the inquiry has reached that stage at which we may fairly summarize the result as scientific.

For instance, chemistry is a science. We have the facts in the elements of nature. The facts have been classified and arranged according to their peculiarities and tendencies. The laws of the facts have been established by demonstration and experiment. Induction faithfully performed has led up — to use Spencer's phraseology — from the heterogeneity of the facts to the homogeneity of the principle. The chemist has thus become the interpreter; he can explain in terms

of the known the chemical constitution of the materials of nature. In every drop of rain that dashes against the window he may recognize a globule of liquid ashes, the product of some combustion of oxygen and hydrogen in the far-off epochs before the coming of man. In the billowy ocean the chemist beholds, as the ship ploughs the fathomless fields of water, only the residuum of the great prehistoric conflagration. And in like manner, glancing into the future, following the plain chemical analogies which experiment and induction have drawn from the past and the present, we see the ever-busy and ever-varying metamorphosis of nature working on, under the processes of growth and decay, until the molecular forces of the universe shall find satisfaction and equipoise in some final catastrophe.

Geology is a science. The facts of geology are found in the strata of the earth, in rocks and metals and floods, in hill-crust, snow and avalanche, in fissure, volcano, and earthquake. What do the bowlders prove? The passage of the glacier. What do the coal-beds prove? The presence of a forest of ferns so rich, so green, so thick, so tall, so full of magnificence and vigor, that no imagination can paint, no art repeat it. How far, how far away! And yet beneath those ferns we live again in scientific thought, as though it were yesterday's ramble under the maples. Again we behold the monsters of the great pre-Adamic age. Again we see the wallowing reptiles, the flying terrors of the air, the woolly pachyderms of the pleiocene.

Astronomy is a science — the most perfect and sublime of all. Here the facts are no less than the great worlds that whirl in the stellar spaces. Do we understand these magnificent systems overhead? Certainly we do. We can draw them in a diagram. We can set up a pumpkin for Jupiter, with apples stuck in for satellites; and the children will understand it and think it funny! Science can explain the galaxy to a numskull. Barkis himself can be taught the phases of the moon! In these things we have scientific demonstration in its purest and exactest form. Interpretation and forecast are equally certain and universal. Give the astronomer only the present aspect, and he will reason you

backward to the fire-mist. Give him the same data again, and he will reason you forward to infinity.

Take the case of eclipses, transits, and occultations. Can we tell if they had an eclipse of the sun in August of 1754? Certainly. Can we tell whether the moon was eclipsed in the month when Charlemagne was born? Without the least doubt. Can we tell whether there was an occultation of Aldebaran on the night that Mohammed fled from Mecca? With entire certainty. Can we tell if Venus was in transit when Cæsar was crossing the Rubicon? As surely as anything in the world. Is there any doubt in these matters? None whatever. And as to the future, can we tell whether there shall be crescent or waning moon on the night of January 6th, 4001? Certainly. Can we tell the position of Mercury, which few of us have ever seen, and the aspect of the Pleiades for ten o'clock on the evening of April 13th, A. D. 94,695? Yes, yes; such things are the trifles of astronomy. And so on to the infinities.

From these instances it will be seen that science has not only a back-sight and a present sight, but a foresight also. She looks into the future as well as into the past. Besides, no kind of knowledge is worthy to be called scientific unless it has, in a measure, this double vision. There must be the power to say what shall be — else there is no science. It is true that the foresight may not reach very far; but there must be something of the ability to look forward as well as backward, to use the eye of the prophet as well as the eye of the interpreter, or else our knowledge relative to the thing considered is not scientific.

One thing else requires attention, and that is, that all science is based upon the recurrence of phenomena; that is, science, or the systematic arrangement of the laws governing any group of facts, is made possible only for the reason that the phenomena are repeated under like conditions. Without this repetition no law of nature, I believe, could ever have been established. A single example of anything furnishes no clew to the law which governs the thing. Unless it be repeated, there can be no demonstration of the cause. The observer must be able by noting the recurrence

to discover the impulse or force which brings the thing about, and then to test the accuracy of his knowledge by supplying the condition himself and producing the same thing over again.

But for this principle of repeating experiment and observation, no single law of chemical affinity or combination or analysis could ever have been established. The fact that a thing happens once is no indication of a law. With the second happening a tendency is intimated. With the third, the law is hinted at. With the fourth, scientific faith begins. With the tenth, confidence is established. With the hundredth, the law is demonstrated.

In the philosophical laboratory the same rule holds good. We turn on the steam twenty times over. When we have operated our bit of machinery two hundred times in private, then we call in our friends to see it run. It is a clock, perhaps, with epicycloid cogs. We point out its beauties, and assure our friend that a thousand clocks made exactly by this pattern will run precisely as this does; and our friend — if he be right in his psychics — is such a believer in uniformity, such a believer in scientific knowledge established by repeated experiment, that he accepts our assertion as true.

So likewise in the outer domain of nature. How many times has it rained since the days of the Aryan migration! How many times have the hailstones rattled on the abodes of men! How often has the thunder wakened the human race at midnight with its crash and roar! And yet with all these repetitions, the laws of meteorology are hardly begun to be established. But note this with care: the laws are most nearly established in those countries where the phenomena are most frequently repeated. Where it rains and rains, people have both opportunity and disposition to investigate the causes of rain. When meteors abound and seem to come about in stated showers, philosophy will be on the alert to know the why and the wherefore. In Egypt, where rain falls once in a lifetime, who will care to investigate the conditions of moisture or the character of cumulus and nimbus? Under the perpetual fogs of Iceland, who will study the phenomena of meteoric showers?

What makes astronomy possible? The revolution of the earth on its axis. But for this single fact, forever repeated with unvarying regularity and at a brief interval, we should know to-day no more about the philosophy of the skies than did the builders of Troy. But for the endless recurrence of this beautiful experiment, the superb skyland overhead would gaze down upon us like a dish-faced sphinx for ever and ever. Or suppose that the earth required a hundred years to complete a revolution on its axis. Should we then have had the science? No; for an experiment repeated at so long an interval as to throw the recurrence beyond the limits of a single human life is of but little value for scientific purposes. For this reason, the inhabitants of the more rapidly revolving planets are more favorably situated for astronomical inquiry than we are; and on the supposition of an equal degree of intelligence, they have doubtless surpassed us in a knowledge of the heavens.

This is all that need be said on the general question of science viewed independently of any particular subject. Thus much is sufficient to show what a science really is, and also the principal conditions on which it depends. Let us in the next place take up history, and test it by the principles already indicated, in order to determine the claim which that branch of knowledge may have to be ranked as a science.

What is history? It is the movement of the human race interpreted. It is the facts and events of human life arranged on the lines of the causes that produce them. It is a record of the thoughts and deeds and works of the human race considered as a rational product under the reign of law. Whatever man has accomplished with mind or hand, with tongue or implement, with voice or will, with pen or chisel or hatchet or spear or sword, with plough or keel or level, with fire or wind or steam or battery, — that is a part of history; and it is much. Man has cut down the forest and built houses. He has bridged rivers and made sailing boats. He has beaten back the hordes of savagery and digged up and fused the metals. He has peopled the islands and continents. He has crossed the illimitable seas, and scared the chamois out of

the fastnesses of trackless mountains. He has digged wells in the heart of the burning desert, and slept in ice-huts under the frozen pole. He has created states in the wilderness and kingdoms on the plains. He has reared high walls and obelisks and temples. He has wrought usages into institutions, customs into laws, manners into society. He has called up armies and put battle-axes in their hands. He has quarrelled and fought, and made campaigns, and conquered and been conquered. He has burned towns, and entered into conspiracies, and torn up senate-houses, and sacked and pillaged with violence and uproar the homes of both the living and the dead, until the traces of his madness and the stains of the blood he has shed have marked every square rood of the world! He has kindled the fires of philosophy under the silent canopy of midnight. He has written books filled with immortal thoughts. On the solitary shore he has heard the rhythm of the deep, the sighing of the infinite. He has made poetry. He has held converse with the unseen spirits. The wave and pulse of unspeakable emotions have gone over him. He has dreamed great dreams and sung immortal songs. He has given to stone and bronze the forms of life, to marble the inspiration of beauty, to canvas the splendors of creation. He has invaded the ferocious elements of nature, and they have quailed around him like the creatures of the menagerie before the lion-tamer. He has stroked the wind, and coaxed the steam, and smoothed the mane of the growling thunder. On plain and field, in hut and palace, by river-bank and ocean-shore, on mountain and desert, in all lands and on all seas, in all times and in all places are seen the traces and monuments of man's career, the marks of his hand, the shadows of his brain.

These things are the facts of history. They are things to be considered and interpreted. The facts are abundant and universal. I suppose that history is more richly supplied with fact than is any other field of human knowledge. On every hand and in every place the historical storehouse is packed to repletion with things demanding interpretation. The facts are as bounteous as the air and as exhaustless as the sea.

These facts may well constitute the basis of a science of

history. So far as the mere demand for facts is concerned — for something to begin with that is not nothing—history has as good a claim to be called scientific as any other branch of human inquiry. Indeed, whether we regard the mere abundance of facts which the annals of the world have supplied or the intense and lasting interest which the facts themselves possess in virtue of being the deeds and doings of our own race of beings, it is doubtful if any other field of knowledge has claims so great and interest so profound as history. Other sciences have for their subject-matter gases and rocks and imponderable forces, and for their vehicle earthen pots and test-tubes and air-pumps and coils of wire; but history has for her subject-matter the hopes and the follies, the tears and the struggles, the heroism and the sacrifice, the arts and the monuments of mankind. Wherever in all this world a human being has trodden, there he has left *something* for the historian of after times to consider. So far as the fundamental demand for facts is concerned, history, with her stores, so rich, so vast, and so varied, meets all the requirements of the most exacting science.

It is when we come to the classification and arrangement of the facts which constitute the basis of the history that the difficulty begins. Reflect for a moment on the nature of the facts or things which constitute the subject-matter of history. Observe the almost insuperable difficulties that they present in their own nature. These facts have plans and purposes for their origin — the secret plans and purposes of the human heart and brain. They have thought for their principal material. They have unmanageable passions and the capricious impulses of human nature for their initial forces. Besides, when the fact of history has once occurred, it does not remain to be scrutinized and examined under the vigilant methods of induction. On the contrary, it appears and vanishes. It stands forth a moment, and then glides from view. It flits across the sky like a meteor; and if it ever returns, it is at some unexpected moment and in a form and garb so changed that we hardly recognize it as the same phenomenon.

The facts of the natural sciences are constant. The time

element is not in them. It is their constancy that makes them so easy of management. A bit of old red sandstone lasts a long time. A trilobite will lie quietly in a museum for a thousand years, and never wince. Hydrogen has not changed its constitution since the appearance of man on the earth. Perhaps it has never changed from eternity. Alum is alum, iron is iron, aluminium is aluminium, gold is gold the world over and the world through forever. Steam had the same index of expansion, and electricity the same velocity through a copper wire when the cave of Elephanta was sculptured as they have to-day. But not so with the facts of history. These are so variable in their constitution, so seemingly uncertain in the times and places of their appearance, and oftentimes so transformed when they do appear, that the beholder is quite bewildered in his attempts to classify and arrange them.

We have in this regard the difficulties of meteorology repeated on a larger and more complex scale. What the capricious and whimsical variations of the winds and seasons are to the meteorologist, that in a greatly exaggerated measure to the historian are the seemingly lawless phenomena of human life. Have you ever seen a battle or a constitutional convention? Seldom, if ever. It may be that neither you nor your fathers ever witnessed such an event. Have you ever seen a mob, or an exploring expedition, or a colonization society? Probably not. Have you ever witnessed the founding of a city, a revolution of civil government, or the introduction of a new manual of arms? Rarely, if ever. Have you ever seen the spread of a plague, the death of an opinion, the origin of a religious ceremony? In all probability, never. Yet such things as these constitute the subject-matter of history; and just in proportion to the difficulty of apprehending, classifying, and arranging such facts or things as those here considered — just in proportion to the vagueness, caprice, and apparent lawlessness of the phenomena with which we have to deal — by just so much is the formation of a science of history retarded, hindered, perplexed.

Another difficulty is as serious as the one just referred to. The facts of history hardly ever tarry long enough to

be scientifically considered. They come and disappear. For this reason we are driven to the expedient of written records in order to preserve the story of what the human race has done. Some one must make an account of the facts or things, and that account has to be considered instead of the facts or things themselves.

Thus comes to pass the professional historian. He takes the matter in hand. He examines the annals and chronicles, the monuments and traditions, the songs and the arts of preceding generations, and having formulated the matter in his own mind, he proceeds to write. He classifies, arranges, distributes, and proportions, and presently we have before us what purports to be a record; that is, a sort of transcript of the things that have happened. This is all very well, and we might congratulate ourselves on the result — if men were capable and truthful. It is the misfortune of our kind that it is touched with weakness and mendacity. Many men aim to be truthful, but they rarely succeed. The prejudices and biases of human nature are so many and so great that very few are capable of rising above themselves and speaking the perfect truth. Historians are not exempt from the common vice; they are not exceptions to the general rule. While they are better than most in the matter of truthfulness, they are nevertheless prone to lie — sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously; but whether consciously or unconsciously, the result is equally destructive of that knowledge of the facts or things of history out of which only a science of history can be constructed.

It is true that in historical matters we can hardly trust anything implicitly. When we take up our supposed fact we are always in danger of seeing it become suddenly mythical in the midst of our induction. Is Hume to be trusted? Yes; provided the matter under discussion is not involved with his metaphysical opinions. Is Macaulay to be believed? Yes; provided the thing he writes about is not the character of Whig statesmanship in the reign of William III. Is Clarendon to be relied on? Yes; provided the matter at issue is not something connected with the reputation or policy of the English Jacobites. Was Dr. Johnson a truthful

man? Yes; provided he is not writing a tract on the manners of the Scotch, a biography of Milton, or an essay on the American Revolution. And so on and on to the end of the list.

Just in proportion as the historic page is disfigured with the personal prejudices, the errors, the conceits of the brain that gave it being — in proportion as the facts presented on that page are not the real facts, the veritable, unclouded, unexaggerated facts as they occurred — just in that proportion is the modern thinker embarrassed in his efforts to construct a science of history.

But suppose the facts to be granted. How about the interpretation of them? It is the business of interpretation to consider and explain the causes, relations, and tendencies of things. As applied to a fact in history, it includes all that part of the investigation appertaining to the forces which have produced the fact, — the laws of environment and association by which the fact is held in its present aspect, and the direction in which the fact is tending in obedience to the laws which govern it.

Here is one of the great obstacles in the way of the formation of a true science of history. When it comes to the interpretation of the facts of human life, the problems which confront us are rather too great for the stoutest genius of man. It is true that man is a cause-seeking animal. He takes great delight in getting at the inner philosophy of things. But suppose he cannot — what then? Suppose the matter is too deep for his plummet, what shall he do? No doubt if the mind were other than it is, we should give up the task as hopeless. It is not, however, in human nature to do so. The faculties, of their own impulse, return again and again to whatever is unsolved, to whatever is still mysterious. Like the caged bird looking with longing eyes through the bars of his prison upon the great possibility on the outside, the mind continues to beat against the bars of difficulty, and to strive for flight in a wider and freer element.

The interpretation of historical facts is indeed attended with almost insurmountable obstacles. Let us take a case well known in our classical history. Can anybody tell the cause of the attempted migration of the Helvetii? That

matter brought on, or at any rate preceded, the Roman conquest of Gaul. That conquest led to the ascendency of the Julian gens and the establishment of the empire. Out of these have come the greater part of the civil aspects of modern history. The Helvetians themselves said that they were cooped up in narrow territories and were already too thick to thrive. But this was clearly no more than an excuse. Helvetia had an area of 33,200 square miles. The population numbered 263,000. This was fewer than eight people to the square mile. In a country of hills and rivers and unbroken wildwoods, I cannot see that eight inhabitants to the square mile would suggest the necessity of swarming and flying forth. In the Ohio valley there are about fifty people to the square mile; and I have never heard that we are as yet too dense to flourish. I am confident that not one acre in five of the soil in the Ohio valley has ever been turned with a plough. Shall we say that the Helvetians, not knowing what their motive was, were moved by a wild and restless tribal impulse? What is a wild and restless tribal impulse? If the Helvetii gave an invalid reason and were unconscious of any other motive, is it likely that we at this distance of nineteen and a-half centuries can tell what force it was that drove them on to burn their own towns and villages and abandon their homes, for what they knew not? Moreover, if it was a wild tribal impulse that impelled the Helvetians to move, why did not the Æduans, the Tulingians, and the rest also catch the fever of migration?

The fact is that the question of any cause in history is beset with the greatest difficulty. Embarrassed with the perplexities of the problem, historians generally find a way out, and make a sudden end by assigning as a cause the thing which they themselves would wish to be the cause! If the fact under consideration is something good, and the writer is a Romanist, why then, Romanism caused it. If the writer is a Protestant, and the thing is bad, Romanism caused it; and if good, the Reformation caused it. If the writer is a Tory, then the bad things all arise from Radicalism. If he is a Radical, then all good is born of innovation, and all evil comes of reactionary Bourbonism.

The Civil War was caused by the State-Rights heresy, says the national Union man. It was the hideousness of slavery, say the good old abolitionist and his descendant. It was the attempted destruction of individual rights, the abrogation of local self-government, and the centralization of power in the Federal authorities, says the old secessionist. And so on and on, through the whole category, every man interpreting the facts before him according to his own bias and prejudice.

The effect has been that the world of history is filled with contradictions and cross-interpretations. The truth, whatever that is or has been, is hidden somewhere under the mass of irreconcilable records. The conceits and prejudices, and, in particular, the partisanship of the writers of history have in many parts so distorted the visage of the Past that she would not know herself if she should wake from the dead. The clear-headed thinkers of our own times, eager to see order arising out of chaos, anxious to understand the real facts or things recorded in the perverted annals of the world, are nearly always at fault in their endeavor, not only to determine the facts, but especially to make a true interpretation of them; that is, historians are put at fault in the attempted construction of a science of history. It is for this reason that historical philosophy languishes, and the world is permitted to go on and on under the supposed dominion of chance.

I fear that under the existing forces of society there is not much improvement in the disposition and habits of the men who feel called on to record the facts of history. You can generally tell what the author is going to prove by examining his first page. The first page will be determined by the author's affiliations and dependencies. To me it appears lamentable that such a man as Alexander H. Stephens, long after the Civil War was ended, should have appeared more anxious to make himself and the lost cause of the Confederacy stand well with posterity than to tell the truth. Indeed, wherever you go in search for the real causes of the facts of history, you are liable to be blinded and misled.

For the production of the commonest fact in the social life of men, you will hear a thousand causes ascribed and

vouched for. I asked a man what was the cause of crime. He was a preacher, and he said that it was original sin — that and nothing else.

I asked a doctor, and he said it was bad health — that crime is only a form of disease.

I asked a lawyer, and he said — defining in a circle — it was the violation of law — and he would like to attend to it. He gave me his card!

I asked a banker, and he said that it was the silver agitation. The silverities had destroyed public confidence!

I asked a teacher, and he said it was the lack of education — the ignorance of the masses.

I asked an astronomer, and he said it was spots on the sun.

I asked a biologist, and he said that crime is zymotic in its origin — that it begins with a bacillus.

I asked a politician, and he said it was the essential badness of the law. He was a candidate for the Lower House.

I asked a busy man, and he said it was indolence — that idleness is the mother of all vice.

I asked a nurseryman, and he said it was the lack of fruit!

I asked a man who had a phonetic alphabet, and he said it was the abominations of English orthography!

The endless contradictions of those who witness, or at least record, the facts of human life constitute one of the great stumbling-blocks in the way of scientific history. Until this obstacle can be removed by the adoption of more rational, truthful, and dispassionate methods on the part of those who chronicle events, and in particular on the part of those who attempt to interpret them, we shall hardly be justified in speaking of the science of history as though it were a thing accomplished.

We think, however, that the difficulty complained of will be gradually eliminated. We think that the time will come when with the steady progress and betterment of man, the extension of his knowledge, the strengthening of his moral principles, and the abatement of his prejudice and fear, he will get the unsullied truth in his heart, and speak it with his lips and pen. There is no insurmountable difficulty in the essential complexity of historical facts. These, like all other facts,

are governed by law. Caprice and irregularity in the affairs of men are only appearances on the surface. The deeds and doings of the human race are just as certainly under the dominion of law — that is, they are just as certainly bound together in an invariable sequence — as are the facts of the laboratory.

As yet, the far-reaching and occult principles of history, stretching so many thousand leagues beneath the surface of time and place, have not been revealed in the form of established laws; but the time is surely coming when historical processes will be as well understood and as easily elucidated as are the freaks of electricity or the principles of combustion.

In regard to the interpretation of historical events, though history may not yet be truly called a science, still the tendency is favorable and the outlook auspicious for the establishment of such a science, and for its wide cultivation among the civilized peoples.

We now come to the last and hardest test. To what extent, if at all, is history able to predict the future? Knowledge, in order to be scientific, must have this capability. Is historical knowledge so capable? Can history, being in possession of the analogies and tendencies of the present, lift the curtain and reveal anything that is to come? The geologist knows that the cataract of Niagara was once down at Lake Ontario, and that by and by it will have worn its way back to Lake Erie. The past fact is no more certain than the future fact. The astronomer knows the precise aspect of the planets at the accession of Octavius; and he also knows that the earth will gradually cool down and harden and contract until we shall pass out of the epoch of life into the epoch of death. But what does the historian know? Is he in any measure able to point out the things that shall be hereafter?

With one or two important exceptions, we must confess that history knows nothing whatever of the future. The exceptions referred to are:

1. The nation that is vicious, unjust, luxurious, and effeminate will certainly and speedily fall into decay and end in ruin and overthrow.

2. The nation that is vigorous and free will just as certainly and speedily take possession of the high places of civilization and inherit the earth.

Such principles as these we may accept as certain in their results. These are high and general laws that are written with an iron pen and lead in the rock forever. In this world there is for men and nations one law that cannot be evaded, and that is, "Good for the good, and bad for the bad."

The old kings used to write *Bona bonis, mala malis* on the blades of their swords. Doing so, they wist not that they were writing the primary law of all history reduced to an aphorism. But this law is about the only one which has thus far been made out from the eternal code. That is, it is the only law which enables us to discern historically what shall come to pass hereafter. We are able to say what we know, that people and nations will rise or fall, will become great or become nothing, just in proportion as they are free or not free, independent or not independent, virtuous or not virtuous, and I had almost said, as they are poor or rich. If excessive wealth and luxury can coexist with perpetuity, it has not yet been shown by a single instance in the history of mankind.

For the rest, history is blind — stone blind — as it respects the future. She gropes in the thick darkness, putting forth her hand and touching whatever she can. Certainly there are mountebanks all over the world who will tell you elaborately what will come to pass hereafter. They are fools. There is not a man in the world who can tell you, on historical grounds, the probable fate of the present French Republic. The wisest of all the wise cannot, with good reason, predict the destiny of the Church of Rome. There is not one man in the world who can foretell in a manner worthy of acceptance what shall befall the Ottoman Empire. Of German socialism there is no man living who can write a history that will reach five years, or even five months, into the future. Of the present wide-awake and progressive tendencies of the Japanese, not the profoundest scholar in the world can point out, from the historical basis, the probable results. Neither Gladstone nor Salisbury can foresee the relative strength of

parties in the very next Parliament. There is not a man on this side of the sea — though he may have studied the question in the intense light of personal interest for thirty years — who can tell with approximate certainty the result of the next presidental election in the United States! Everywhere the historical curtain drops to the ground, and whoever pretends to see under it or over it or through it is only a conceited deceiver of himself and others. In the drama of the stage we can usually foresee the event. We get the clew and follow on. But the historical drama cannot thus be divined by the profoundest intellect of the world. History strains her eyes in the direction of the future, but the shadows on that side are thick and dark — the mist is impenetrable.

The principal reason why history can predict nothing of the future is found in the fact that humanity moves so slowly that we have thus far been unable to determine our path through space. It is like finding the orbit of the sun or of the galaxy itself. The likelihood is that the part of the path which we as a race have already described is only as an inch to the ten billions of miles of the whole orbit. Perhaps when we have moved forward for a hundred thousand years, carefully recording our course and position in space with each remove, we may then be able, from the small arc already described, to determine the rest of the circuit of our destiny. If we as a race, like the globe which we inhabit, should perform a revolution in each twenty-four hours, we should, I doubt not, be as wise in the lore of the future of human affairs as are the astronomers in the lore of the skies.

As to whether history is or is not a science, I therefore deduce the following summary of results and conclusions:

1. So far as the *facts* prerequisite in a science are concerned, history has an adequate basis of subject-matter. The facts, or things, of history are as vast, as complete, as full of living interest as are the facts, or things, on which any other science is founded. To this extent history is as much entitled as any other branch of knowledge to the scientific claim.

2. As to the *classification and arrangement* of facts, their grouping together and the establishment of their connections on the grounds of common features and homogeneity, history

has encountered peculiar difficulties, owing to the complexity and intricacy of the things with which she has had to deal; owing also to the fact that historical events, if they recur at all, recur only at long intervals and under changed conditions. For this reason the progress of history towards establishment in the form of a science has been slow and unsatisfactory; but nevertheless a progress.

3. As to the *interpretation* of historical facts, still greater difficulty has been encountered, a difficulty aggravated by the narrow-mindedness and prejudice of those writers who have assumed the office of historian. By reason of such prejudice and personal equation in the record of facts, historical interpretation is very imperfect and unsatisfactory; and to this extent history has only a feeble and imperfect claim to be regarded as a science.

4. As to the ability from historical data *to indicate the course and tendency* of things, the ability to predict the general and special aspects of the future, historical inquiry has made so little progress that no substantial claim may be advanced to regard history as a science. One or two general laws, however, namely, that it shall go well with the people who are virtuous and free, and go ill with those who are vicious and despotic, may be confidently declared as historical principles from which there is no deviation.

Finally, we may be certain of this, that the reign of law does extend over all the facts of human life with as much regularity and certainty as over the facts of material nature. We may also be certain that the human mind is not going to be satisfied with its present attainments in a knowledge of historical laws. On the whole, the outlook in this field of inquiry is auspicious for rapid progress and for the complete establishment of what we are as yet constrained to disallow, namely, that sublime and beautiful department of human knowledge which will then — if not now — be truly called the Science of History.

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

OUR BROTHER SIMON.

BY ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

Our Brother Simon, with a soul to save,
  Sought doctors of divinity, and found
  That he might make investment, safe and sound,
And sure to stand at par beyond the grave,
Where he must render, without stay or waive
  Of execution, at the Final Day,
The sum of his accounts on earth, full-told,
  And find his pleasing promises to pay
Promptly redeemed in gold.

The saving fund in which he would invest
  Was one that his shrewd intellect could span.
  He asked salvation on a business plan.
The firm foundation of his hope must rest
On such sure basis as would bear the test
  Of worldly winds and rude financial shocks.
No pious dreamer he, with addled brain,
  To put his trust in visionary stocks
And miss the present gain.

Faithful upon the formal Holy Day —
  To hear what dividends were falling due —
  He sought sedately his shareholder's pew,
And bent his head in rapt attentive way,
Stood up to praise, or humbly bent to pray,
  Made his responses with an air devout,
And, prompt in all external rites to join,
  Plunged deep his hand and pompously drew out
And dropped his sounding coin.

Such was his duty. Thus he served the Lord.
  And from the service forth he went again
  To bind more grievous burdens upon men,
For love or Lord relaxing not a cord.
The Deity whom he in works adored
  Winked at dishonesty and saw no smirch
Upon the hand that gripped another's right, —

To give to missions or to build a church
Would make his record white.

But, though he builded churches, none the less
God's church sat homeless at his very door,
And drew no portion from his hoarded store.
What power had Love to enter and possess
The man's dull soul with living tenderness
Till he himself was conscious of his need?
And, satisfied with bare externals, he
Knew not that in the spirit of his deed
Dwelt all that God might see!

And while men lauded his religious zeal
And service of the church, still at his side
The *True Church* walked unrecognized, denied;
His soul untouched by her divine appeal;
Her highest law, commanding him to deal
In love and justice, daily disobeyed;
Her tenderest faith and charity reviled;
Her truths profaned and sacrificed to trade;
Her very name defiled.

Still, still,— God love us! — while we spy the mote
In Brother Simon's eye, let us not slight
The beam that blinds and baffles our own sight.
In our self-righteousness we may not note
How we, sometimes, slip into Simon's coat;
How, holding to the *letter* which doth kill,
We lose the *spirit* wherewith it is bound;
How, serving in the Temple, we may spill
The wine upon the ground.

THOU KNOWEST NOT.

BY HELENA MAYNARD RICHARDSON.

My love goes out to thee the whole day long
Like one unbroken and low-chanted song,
But thou — thou hearest not!

And when in peaceful trust thou drawest nigh,
To breathe the silent song I dare not try;
And so — thou knowest not!

OPTIM: A REPLY.

BY GEORGE H. WESTLEY.

The reek and din of press and car,
Serfdom of distance, sky-fire, steam —
Are these more than the early dream,
The joyance of the morning star?
John Vance Cheney, in September Arena.

What would you then? Revert to Pan,
The nymph, the satyr, and the faun,
The savage rampant in the man,
The bacchanalia, Babylon?

"The early dream" — a sensuous bliss!
"The joyance of the morning star,"
Wood revels, saturnalian kiss,
From brute-cub gambolling how far?

'Tis all well past; no more to be
The young world's orgy, Circean feast;
Man to his noble destiny
Moves onward, "working out the beast."[1]

THE MURDERED TREES

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

I walk across the barren fields and weep,
In melancholy madness, for my trees,
The great, potential trees that, rooted deep
In this brown soil, were priests and prophecies
To my waked youth, when, in their centuried morn,
By axe unscarred, untouched by red fire-blight,
They cast long shadows where glad things were born
To life's perennial drama of delight, —
Complacent genii that through sun-kissed leaves
Smiled on the cabin's children at their play.
Trees, children, dreams! how outraged nature grieves
Because they are not! Yet my steps delay,
And, lingering, I recall the happy scene
Where they supremed it o'er a world of green.

[1] Tennyson.

THE HIDDEN FLUTE.

BY MINNA IRVING.

'Twas just before the end of day,
And after sudden rain,
When from the wet and shining wood
Arose the silver strain,
And, stumbling over tangled vines
And many a twisted root,
We ran along the narrow path,
To find the hidden flute.

We heard him practice o'er and o'er
The same melodious air,
And traced the music to its source,
And found no player there.
But while into each other's eyes
We gazed with wonder mute,
Above us rippled out again
The rapture of the flute.

The sun upon the tallest tree
A shaft of glory threw,
And tilting on the topmost bough,
Against the breezy blue,
We saw a lark with spotted breast
And sober russet suit,
And swelling in his little throat
Beheld the hidden flute.

RETROENSETTA.

BY CURTIS HIDDEN PAGE.

"Where go the dying flowers?
Where does the old love go?"
"Nay, where went the winter's snow
But to make the summer showers?"

"But will not the showers go
(While the greedy earth devours)
Not in days, but in hours?"
"Alas, and it may be so."

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

Tantalus and His Opportunities.

TANTALUS is regarded as the supreme type of misery by deprivation. His punishment seems to have been cruelly invented so as to add diabolical refinement to the usual pangs of immitigable hunger and thirst. To stand chin-deep in an everlasting lake and yet suffer for drink is sufficiently horrible. To be hungry unto death with the fruit-laden bough dangling before the face is the acme of physical anguish. Ordinarily it suffices to cast a criminal into a desert and let him perish without the mockery of succor at hand. The distant mirage of shining lake and date-palm may be borne in the vision of a dying wretch; but Tantalus could splash his very hands in the water; he could smell the fruit, and yet must die (or *not* die) of exhaustion.

The tale of Tantalus betrays the cold and glittering ingenuity of the Greek mind. Homer did not make the story; he found it. What I remark is the injustice of the punishment to which Tantalus was subjected; and what I suggest is that, after all, he may have had a good time while engaged in the otherwise unpleasant work of starving to death without dying.

The old myths do not agree as to what Tantalus had done. Some say one thing, some another. The most probable story of his misdeeds is that he gave away certain secrets of the State Department on Olympus. Zeus and his cabinet had been devising plans to better the civil service of heaven, and like all such matters of diplomacy the plans were secret. It is the peculiarity of statecraft that its profundity is guaranteed with lock and key.

If there be any one thing which the gods have never been able to bear it is the revelation of their secrets. Earth-government is generally of this kind also. But the deities are peculiarly jealous. The old myth furnishes some conspicuous examples. There, for instance, was Prometheus, whose only fault was that he went boguing around Olympus fool-

ing with fire and lightning — like Thomas A. Edison. His laboratory experiments cost him dearly; and by all accounts his torn liver has not healed to this day. Sisyphus, son of Æolus and founder of Corinth, though he was a man of enterprise and genius, suffered in like manner. He, too, found out some of the plans of the deities and gave away his knowledge. He thus incurred the hostility of the scientific syndicate on Olympus, and as soon as the gods had him he must roll the eternal stone.

Tantalus, after the betrayal of the Olympian secrets, was thrown down, just as Benjamin Franklin would have been thrown down under like conditions; for Franklin also snatched the fire from heaven. The French Academy produced a fine hexameter in which this truth is declared:

Fulmen nubibus eripuit sceptrumque tyrannis.

That is, "He wrested the lightning from the skies and the sceptre from tyrants" — a very true thing to say of Poor Richard.

But I was going to aver that Tantalus, notwithstanding the hopelessness of his situation, may very well have had a good time *ad interim*. In the first place we may suppose that the water was neither too hot nor too cold. The Tartarean lake was no doubt in a temperate zone. Therefore Tantalus might enjoy his long bath. Whoever has stood tiptoe in the sea knows how pleasing it is to be borne along with the upward pressure of the grateful water. Neither had Tantalus any need of insurance against drowning. That were impossible without his first getting one long draught. The freedom from dust in such a situation is not to be overlooked by anyone living on Huntington Avenue. Tantalus might well reflect all day long that whatever his hunger and thirst he could neither absolutely starve nor finally famish.

It is an excellent thing to be assured against starvation absolute. To possess such a guaranty would produce a pleasing confidence in the mind, with entire absence of care and anxiety. A man in such a position would have little concern about the prices of products and the rate of wages. Perhaps, after a season of starvation, the sense of it would

become so mild that, like the forty-day Tanner, Tantalus would have little anguish from his condition. He might even contemplate pineapple with equanimity.

It must be remembered that starvation comes down to the horizontal life-line like the descending coördinate curve of a hyperbola; it approaches the life-line forever, but never reaches it. That is, the starvation line does not reach the life-line until it becomes parallel with it; and it cannot reach it when it *does* become parallel with it! Therefore actual starvation is *infinitely gradual.* Tantalus may have found it so. He would get half-way to starvation on the first day; one-half of the remaining distance the next day; one-half of the remaining distance the third day, and so on *ad infinitum.* The pain would diminish in like ratio. By and by Tantalus would come to the parallel of indifference, and would hardly go out of the water to eat if he could, or stoop to drink if he might.

Meanwhile he would have abundant time for reflection. Reflection is the basis of philosophy, and philosophy is the only proper mode of life. I cannot see, therefore, how any one can live philosophically *except* in such a situation as Tantalus occupied! The Owl, in his conversation with the Cat one day, insisted that to be a philosopher one must have *time*, and be *otherwise unoccupied.* This truism seems to have been fully verified in the case of Tantalus. Observe that all the other wasting and harrowing conditions of life must, in his situation, be unknown. He had nothing to do except to think; and to think is to enjoy one's self. There was no noise; there were no callers. Tantalus had no rent to pay and no interest; his account was never overdrawn; he was never in arrears with his correspondence. He never had to explain anything to anybody.

It was a clean, cool place where Tantalus lived. He had more solitude than Thoreau. What use he would make of his solitude would, of course, depend on himself. But he was clearly a man of genius and of philanthropic disposition. For our part, we do not see that he did not have quite liberal opportunities of pleasure and improvement. Tantalus could study the habits of waterfowl for days together. He

could rehearse an intended oration without danger that some intruder would overhear him and break his period. He could have his humor all to himself. He could enjoy his own jokes. He could avoid absolutely the criticism of his friends. Tantalus was never assessed in his life. No street Arab ever shook a nasty newspaper under his nose with an outcry of the latest scandal.

On the whole it would appear that the scheme of the jealous gods to wreak vengeance on Tantalus was wofully abortive. He may have been the most serene and happy philosopher of his age.

The Man in Bronze.

I went over last night into Commonwealth Avenue to commune with the man in bronze. There, in the broad central path, midway between Dartmouth and Exeter, he sits in the dusk on his block of gray granite, looking to the east. The sun will rise there to-morrow.

To the man in bronze the seasons of earth are now all as one; the years steal on and over; time beats with rhythmic touch of invisible fingers on the historic shingle of the seas. But William Lloyd Garrison heeds not the flow of the ages or the tapping of Saturn's fingers on the window-sill. He belongs to the spheres where there is a great light by day, and where there is music preceding the silence in the night. Our puny goings in this poor round of sense do not disturb *him.*

There, in the Avenue of the Commonwealth, in his old, square chair with the big book beneath, and with bare forehead under the azure, sits the Liberator of men. The electrical lights, not far away, flash through the green leaves of the maples; the great silent houses on either hand stand in rows, the abodes of luxury, the dumb walls of civilization. Many a star glances down in admiration at the uncovered head of the man in bronze.

What did he do? He went to prison; and for what? For saying that the slave trade was "domestic piracy!" He was fined a thousand dollars, and lay in jail for forty-nine days because he threatened to cover the abettors of slavery "with

thick infamy." He was a poor journeyman printer in this city of the Puritans. He slept in a dirty little printing-office, because he had no other place to sleep. He was threatened with assassination, and was "ferreted out in his obscure hole" by the posse of the mayor of Boston, bearing the honored name of Otis. A reward of five thousand dollars was offered by Georgia for the seizure of his person. By the leaders of the great political parties of the United States he was held in such odium as Eugene V. Debs has never known. At a public meeting in Boston where he was to speak in the interest of humanity he was seized by a furious mob, let down from a window with the death-rope around him, denuded of his clothing, and dragged through the streets. From the hall of Justice he *escaped into jail.* Only with the help of a few friends did the "disturber of the peace" get away with his life into the country.

Nevertheless with his pen and voice this man in bronze strove to do what old John Brown attempted in his blind way to do with the sword. For weary years the Liberator made his way through contumely and reproach until the storm broke, and the elements were purified, and the shackles fell, and light *began* to dawn after the darkness.

But the protagonist of liberty was never honored. The honors of Massachusetts and of the Union went to the time-servers and manikins who rose in legions on the crest of the revolutionary breakers and shouted to the shore, "Here we are!" The old giant did not shout. He did not rise on the crest. He simply stood in his place; but he began to be seen of the whole world as a Titan. Gradually his heroic stature was discovered standing tall and majestic against the background of nations. Philanthropy and patriotism, unable to weave for him a crown of laurel, wove instead a garland of ivy and oak leaves, and crowned him as the first American of his age. Now he reposes in bronze in the centre of the most beautiful avenue in the New World; and his look is that of one who has seen the satisfaction of his soul. The bronze will last; the granite will endure; but neither the bronze nor the granite will abide to that day when the fame of William Lloyd Garrison shall lose its lustre on the high

hills of the centuries to come. Now in the dusk the stranger reads in the dim starlight or by the flash of the electrical torch, on the north side of the pedestal, this inscription:

I · AM · IN · EARNEST — I · WILL · NOT · EQUIVOCATE
I · WILL · NOT · EXCUSE — I · WILL · NOT · RETREAT
A · SINGLE · INCH — AND · I · WILL · BE · HEARD.

On the south side are the following words caught from the immortal lips:

MY · COUNTRY · IS · THE · WORLD — MY · COUNTRYMEN
ARE · ALL · MANKIND.

Was it accident or design that arranged in this manner the inscriptions? On the *north* side, which is the side of battle and victory, is the message of defiance and irrevocable challenge to the world. On the *south* side, the side of sun and sympathy, is the message of humanity and brotherhood. Under his feet, on the rounded front of the granite, are the words —

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

On the opposite end behind are the dates, "1804–1879." To commune with this man in bronze and to feel the overflow of tears in his presence are sufficient to make patriotism still worth while — even at the close of the nineteenth century.

Franklin.

We do no wrong to call this man the first
  Of all Americans! For he it was
  Who made the mould, in Freedom's sacred cause,
And cast us living ere war's thunder burst.
Ere tyranny with deeds and schemes accurst
  Struck our brave fathers, Franklin gave us pause
  With revelation of the hidden laws
Of Nature bounteous to Man athirst.

Lo, others took his birthright! Others stood
  In the high places of the State; and some
    Had more applause from fame's distorted mouth!
Now the Old Printer overtops the brood
  Like Shasta looking from proud mountaindom
    On the Sierras stretching to the south.

BOOK REVIEWS.

[*In this Department of* THE ARENA *no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.*]

Critic, Bard, and Moralist.

MAURICE THOMPSON has unquestionably made for himself a worthy place in American literature. He has done this by talent, by scholarly attainment, by vindication before the bar of criticism, and especially by his versatility in literary production. We dwell with pleasure upon the variety of Mr. Thompson's works. As Johnson said of Goldsmith, *Nullum fere scribendi genus non tetigit; nullum quod tetigit non ornavit.* That is (for the sake of our non-Latin readers), "He has attempted almost every kind of writing, and has touched nothing which he has not adorned."

Mr. Thompson's elegant and charming book, "The Witchery of Archery," caught the public unawares full twenty years ago. Then the bow was bent and the arrow flew, and the lassie and her sweetheart looked pretty facing the target. But we think Maurice Thompson does not greatly pride himself on "The Witchery of Archery." On his title pages he generally says: "Author of 'A Tallahassee Girl,' 'Sylvan Secrets,' 'Songs of Fair Weather,' etc."

Be this as it may, Mr. Thompson has tried many kinds of writing, and always successfully. He is a typical American man of letters. His essays are scholarly, and for style are hardly surpassed by any. His sketches and stories are as humorous and original as they are true to life and manners. His poems may be justly ranked among the high-up singing of our epoch.

For the present we have to consider, most briefly, his "Ethics of Literary Art." In this work Mr. Thompson well says that his subject covers the whole field of morals; "for life and literature cannot be separated so as to say that what is vicious in life is harmlessly delectable in literature." This prefatory remark is the key to all that follows. Mr. Thompson considers literary art under the three general heads of Conception, Composition, and Expression. He elaborates on each of these topics. He makes

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1 "*The Ethics of Literary Art.*" The Carew Lectures for 1893. Hartford Theological Seminary. By Maurice Thompson. One volume, small quarto. Pp. 89. Hartford Seminary Press, 1893.

a systematic attempt to apply, at least in outline, the principles of ethics to all three departments of literary creation. In doing so he produces one of the most readable and withal instructive little books which we have seen.

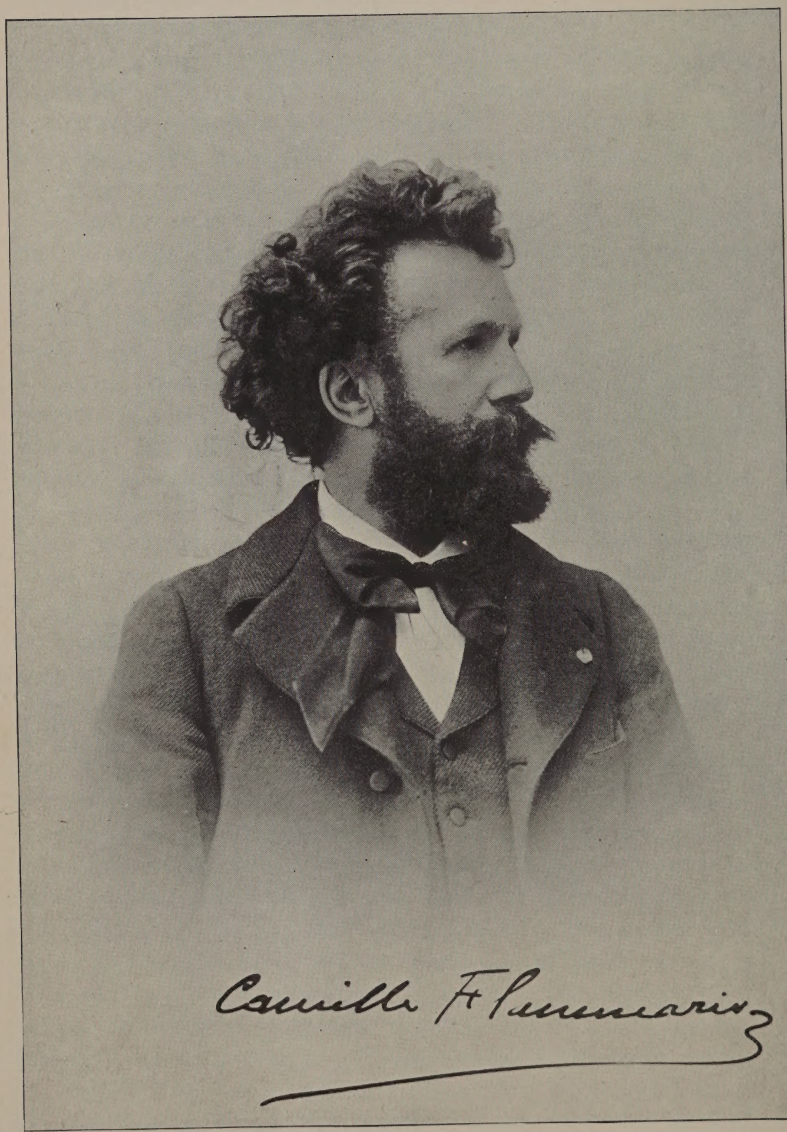
The underlying theme in "The Ethics of Literary Art" is that the common and eternal rules of morality, as the same have been determined in their relations to life and conduct, must be extended to every kind of artistic production. The ethics of Life is one thing, and the ethics of all Art is the *same* thing; the one is even as the other so far as bottom principles are concerned.

Space forbids us to enter elaborately into the consideration of Mr. Thompson's treatise. His book is essentially an outcry and argument for cleanness in literature and in all other forms of artistic production. It is a ringing protest against the universal nasty. It is almost denunciatory in its rebukes of all morbidity in letters. It is fire and carbolic acid to the draff and offal of diseased minds. I do not know another work, from Aristotle to Addison, from Addison to Macaulay, from Macaulay to this, in which a higher standard of literary virtue and exalted spiritualism in artistic production is more courageously advanced.

Mr. Thompson is careful, however, to draw the distinction between the sensational and the unclean. He shows that sensationalism is not only permissible, but in some sense desirable, particularly in fictitious literature; but that uncleanness is something which literature can never touch without defilement. The sensational he approves; the unclean he rejects and condemns.

The principle defended by Mr. Thompson is this: that the unclean may be *photographed*, if any be curious enough and morbid enough to do it; but that the unclean can never be reproduced — never *rightly* reproduced — in literary art, or in any form of art, without corrupting and destroying the vehicle which presents it. Indeed, it is to verify this one hypothesis and to make impossible any other that this work has been produced. The author perceives that all things of *interest* to the human mind, save only *morbidity*, may be admitted into letters, but that morbidity destroys. He perceives that dirt, however dressed and disguised, is always death-breeding to whoever is touched therewith.

This is the essential thread of "The Ethics of Literary Art," and the body is worthy of the nerve. I can only add in brief commendation of this work that in it is strikingly displayed the wholesome literary spirit prevalent among the writers of the Ohio Valley, among whom Maurice Thompson is a worthy leader.


Camille Flammarion

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IDYLLS AND IDEALS OF CHRISTMAS.

I. WHAT I WANT FOR CHRISTMAS.

BY ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

IF I had the power to produce exactly what I want for next Christmas, I would have all the kings and emperors resign and allow the people to govern themselves.

I would have all the nobility drop their titles and give their lands back to the people. I would have the Pope throw away his tiara, take off his sacred vestments, and admit that he is not acting for God — is not infallible — but is just an ordinary Italian. I would have all the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, and clergymen admit that they know nothing about theology, nothing about hell or heaven, nothing about the destiny of the human race, nothing about devils or ghosts, gods or angels. I would have them tell all their "flocks" to think for themselves, to be manly men and womanly women, and to do all in their power to increase the sum of human happiness.

I would have all the professors in colleges, all the teachers in schools of every kind, including those in Sunday schools, agree that they would teach only what they know, that they would not palm off guesses as demonstrated truths.

I would like to see all the politicians changed to statesmen, — to men who long to make their country great and free, — to men who care more for public good than private gain — men who long to be of use.

I would like to see all the editors of papers and magazines agree to print the truth and nothing but the truth, to avoid

all slander and misrepresentation, and to let the private affairs of the people alone.

I would like to see drunkenness and prohibition both abolished.

I would like to see corporal punishment done away with in every home, in every school, in every asylum, reformatory, and prison. Cruelty hardens and degrades, kindness reforms and ennobles.

I would like to see the millionaires unite and form a trust for the public good.

I would like to see a fair division of profits between capital and labor, so that the toiler could save enough to mingle a little June with the December of his life.

I would like to see an international court established in which to settle disputes between nations, so that armies could be disbanded and the great navies allowed to rust and rot in perfect peace.

I would like to see the whole world free — free from injustice — free from superstition.

This will do for next Christmas. The following Christmas I may want more.

II. CHRISTMAS, THE HUMAN HOLIDAY.

BY REV. MINOT J. SAVAGE, D. D.

Our Puritan ancestors looked askance at Christmas and discouraged its celebration, because from their point of view it "savored of popery." But as we have become better acquainted with it we find that it savors not only of popery, but of paganism as well. Not only that, it goes beyond what we ordinarily mean by paganism, and savors very strongly of humanity.

Most people whom we meet on the street take it for granted that Christmas originated with the birth of Jesus, and they go so far as to express their astonishment that anyone not holding their peculiar ideas of Jesus should claim to have any rights in Christmas or to take any interest in it.

As matter of fact, however, the day and its great deep human meanings were in existence uncounted ages before Christianity was ever heard of. Other holidays have a local significance, and some of them rise to the dignity of even a national meaning; but more than all others put together, Christmas is found to belong to humanity. This, of course, is true only of that part of humanity — which, however, includes what we call ordinarily the civilized world — which lives north of the equator.

Among the early peoples of the childhood world the sun was worshipped as the bright and life-giving deity. He was the bringer of light, of warmth, of flowers, of fruits, the giver of all that made life sweet and desirable. When he started on his southward journey, as the cold and the winter came on, to them he seemed to be going away and leaving them a prey to the malevolent spirits of the ice and the storm against which they had so little natural protection. Or, to put it another way, he appeared to them to become decrepit and old, to be losing his power, and to be in that dying condition which we figuratively speak of still as the characteristic of the "old" year.

But at the time of the winter solstice a glad change appears. He reaches the furthest point of his southern journey and turns toward them once more with all the promise of spring. This, then, to them was the re-birth of their sun-god. And they celebrated it with every kind of rejoicing. In Rome, for example, there was the Saturnalia, in which the people, as they believed, resurrected for a time the peace, the equality, the happiness of the golden age of the past. They exchanged gifts; they offered each other mutual congratulations and good wishes; they broke out in all the characteristic features and gladness of the Christmas time. A similar thing was true in the other nations of the north.

Turning to church history we find that Christmas was not one of the original festivals, and that even when it came to be celebrated there was no general agreement as to the time of year.

Nobody knew then and nobody knows now not only the day but even the month or the year in which Jesus was born.

Some contended for a date in May or April; others for January. But the Bishop of Rome carried his point at last, and somewhere near the middle of the fourth century the present date was practically agreed upon in the church.

This is simply another illustration of the "worldly wisdom" of the Roman Catholic Church in accepting and baptizing an institution or custom which was too deeply rooted in the popular heart for it to overthrow. Hardly a single feature of the Christmas season was originated by the church. The house decoration, the mistletoe, the yule log, — all these are contributions of nations outside of Christendom which have been adopted and at last become general.

It is apparent, then, as was said at the outset, that Christmas is a human institution, and not the monopoly of any nation or any religion.

Christianity has indeed in some quarters added to it a new and higher significance. It has always meant gladness at the birth of new life, beauty, cheer, hope. It has always meant home happiness and rejoicing. It has always meant goodwill. The heart of it has always been unselfish joy in the welfare of others. Christianity has added to these in some cases the thought of a higher life and a more spiritual hope.

In view of its origin and past history, what is the ideal of its celebration to-day for us? What gifts ought we to offer to others, and what ought we to wish to receive for ourselves as the Christmas time comes round?

Robert Louis Stevenson was once asked what he would choose if he could have three gifts for the asking. It was perhaps because of the sadness of a lifelong invalidism that he said: first, health; secondly, five hundred a year (a modest competence certainly, in these days of abounding and increasing wealth); then, thinking for a little, musingly he added: lastly, friends. Health, a modest competence, friends. Certainly enough to make possible the attainment of the best things in life.

Assuming health, which carries with it the ability of at least a modest self-support, I have been accustomed to say that the three best things in the world are these: first, love; second, friendship; third, the ability to help. In the

light of these, which seem to me the noblest objects of human desire, it is apparent that no one can have a monopoly in this world of the good things of life. The things which can be monopolized are not the ones which are of the highest value or which are essential to the sweetest and truest human living. Even in the physical realm the air, the sunshine, the moon at night, the wide expanse of stars, the mountains, and the ocean, — all these are free to anyone who makes himself capable of appreciating them.

So human love is not denied to any who is willing to love. Friendship is shut out only from those who are not themselves friendly; and no one lives who has not the ability and the opportunity to share with God that which is divinest and most godlike, — the rendering some service to some body or soul which needs.

My Christmas wish then for all who read these words is that they may taste the sweetness of love, enter into the joys of friendship, and know the divine beneficence of helping some one at present less fortunate than themselves. In these words are we to find the living spirit of the human and the eternal Christmas.

At the end one suggestion: few are the people so selfish, so self-contained that they do not expand at least a little and open their hearts and their hands as Christmas time comes round. They might learn then, if they would think a little, that the universal gladness of Christmas is proportioned to the extent of its unselfishness. People are happy not in what they get, so much as in what they give. The atmosphere is joyous and alight with the pleasure reflected from a thousand faces, and each is glad because he catches the reflected gladness of all who are about him.

Strange then, is it not, that more people do not learn the lesson? Strange, is it not, that it does not seem to occur to them that what is sweet and good for the 25th of December might be equally sweet and good throughout the year?

III. SANTA CLAUS.

BY JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

Most tangible of all the gods that be,
O Santa Claus — our own since Infancy! —
As first we scampered to thee — now, as then,
Take us as children to thy heart again.

Be wholly good to us, just as of old:
As a pleased father, let thine arms enfold
Us, homed within the haven of thy love,
And all the cheer and wholesomeness thereof.

Thou lone reality, when O so long
Life's unrealities have wrought us wrong:
Ambition hath allured us, — fame likewise,
And all that promised honor in men's eyes.

Throughout the world's evasions, wiles, and shifts,
Thou only bidest stable as thy gifts: —
A grateful king re-ruleth from thy lap,
Crowned with a little tinselled soldier-cap:

A mighty general — a nation's pride —
Thou givest again a rocking-horse to ride,
And wildly glad he groweth as the grim
Old jurist with the drum thou givest him:

The sculptor's chisel, at thy mirth's command,
Is as a whistle in his boyish hand;
The painter's model fadeth utterly,
And there thou standest, — and he painteth thee: —

Most like a winter pippin, sound and fine
And tingling-red that ripe old face of thine,
Set in thy frosty beard of cheek and chin
As midst the snows the thaws of spring set in.

Ho! Santa Claus — our own since Infancy —
Most tangible of all the gods that be! —
As first we scampered to thee — now, as then,
Take us as children to thy heart again.

IV. THE ARYAN AT CHRISTMAS.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

The old devout Semite conceived of nature as buttressed with God. To his Oriental imagination it appeared that the universe *would fall* but for the eternal rampart of a First Cause behind it. This first cause seemed to blow matter out of a vacuum — something out of naught.

For these reasons the Asiatic investigation of nature has never been scientific, but simply teleological. The Semite has sought to find, not the *Thing*, but the *Beyond*. Hence his concept of nature has been mystical and obscure. Why it is that Semitic thought rests not on sequence and relation but on a causeless cause is a thing not easily apprehensible. At all events mystery is out of Asia; science is out of Europe and the West.

Unlike the Semite is the Aryan. The man of Arya has never much concerned himself with final causes. To him it has never seemed very useful or satisfying to find a cause that is causeless. For this reason the Aryan gods have always been inhabitants of nature. The Hindu and Iranian deities lived *in* the universe, not out of it. So also with the gods of the Greek. They, too, as much as Titans and men, lived *within* the universal sphere; they acted in place and time and in the conditioned manner. To the Aryan seers and poets it never seemed necessary to support and buttress nature with an uncaused cause *outside* of it. That is to say, the Aryan concept of the universe is fundamentally scientific and human, while the Semitic concept is mystical and deistic. Asia has contributed teleology to mankind; Europe has contributed the correlation of forces. The Semite has furnished faith; the Aryan has invented science.

To the philosophical mind that aspect of the civilized life which shows the superposition of Asiatic faith over European science, of Semitic theology over Aryan knowledge, of final cause over natural interpretation, is the most wonderful phase of the intellectual history of mankind. This is the precise phase which now prevails in the world. It is Europe against Asia. It is the old wrestle of Aryan with Semite.

It is the conflict of knowledge with belief. It is the sceptic crushing the believer. It is the tug of Indo-Germanic thought and investigation with Oriental mysticism and faith. It is the struggle of the knowledge-seeking intellect with that other intellect which places a single cause once for all and refuses to go further. It is the strife of Darwin with Abraham — the contest of California with Canaan. It is the audacity of that mind which yields itself to the dominion of a universe resting on nothing but itself, contrasted with the passive despair of that mind which is satisfied to support the universe with something that holds to it for support!

It is for these bottom reasons that we have in our New Atlantis a revival of old Aryan beliefs and sentiments and traditions. Ahura-Mazdâo shines out once more behind the sun. Brahma is contesting the throne with Jahveh. Almost, the gods of the Vedas begin to prevail again. Almost, Olympus with its hierarchy is set up once more on earth. Almost, the poetic fancies and rhapsodies of the Aryan singers and mythmakers of the dawn are felt again in the human breast. And so, on the other hand, the Semitic dominion is shaken not a little; knowledge begins to prevail over traditional belief — as it needs must sooner or later prevail — throughout the world.

How hardly do the old myth and tradition of Shem any longer in the absence of evidence survive! Strong, strong is the adventurous Japheth! He *was* the elder brother, and he *is* the conqueror! The Aryan mind, long under the dominion of the Oriental spell, freeing itself by littles, begins quite rapidly to substitute science for the unsupported dogma and dream of the East. In doing so it is aided and instigated by ethnic influences almost as old as the human race. Every myth and tradition, every mystical institution and ceremony handed down out of the vision of the Orient, is now attacked by the Aryan; it is put in a crucible and assailed with intolerable fire.

In this way the Christmas festival, deeply planted in the usages of all the West-Aryan races, is scrutinized and reinterpreted and held in new concept and purpose by the prevailing peoples. If the mythical anniversary of the birth of

the Christ be still regarded with fervor and celebrated with more than mediæval *éclat*, it is because of a certain ethnic fact and principle underlying the Christmas tide and giving thereto its significance and vitality. This fact is that Christmas itself is ultimately an Aryan and by no means a Semitic festival. It was in the first place a fact and feast of paganism, and only in the secondary intent a fact and feast relating to the birth and work of the Poor Man of Capernaum. Christmas was adopted out of paganism because as an already existing institution it, like Easter, seemed to the early church a necessary, or at least a most useful part of her own observance and ceremonial. The transplanted institution of Christmas was regarded for long by the ignorant folk of the middle ages as a peculiarly God-given part of Christian observance, having its significance wholly with respect to the Christ and his salvation.

With the dawn of modern inquiry, with the attack of knowledge on credulity, and with the rising prevalence of a larger view of history and of human life, the mystical and superstitious part of Christmas began to die away, but the poetical and human part has remained and still remains in the most flourishing and withal happy anniversary of the year. The Aryan concept of nature and man survives in the winter snows. Woden hurling his hail makes a holiday, and the reindeer of the snowy north come cantering with candies. The old Brahmanical and Teutonic notions and fancies come back out of the oblivion of ages, reviving in the human mind, rising like bubbles from the unfathomable springs of our old race life, and breaking on the surface what time the yule log is brought in, and the holly is hung, and the feast is spread, and happiness is rekindled on the common hearthstone of our humanity.

The new Christmas is a surviving aspect of ancient Aryanism inspired with merrymaking, flecked with laughter and hope, warmed with generosities, and only slightly reminiscent of the unknown date and mystical circumstances surrounding the birth of the poor outcast of Nazareth who has for so many centuries contributed the moral precepts without being able to control the conduct of mankind.

A SÉANCE WITH EUSAPIA PALADINO: PSYCHIC FORCES.[1]

To the Editor of THE ARENA.

SIR AND DEAR CONFRÈRE: You requested me to let you have, whenever the opportunity should present itself, an article on the subject of such psychic phenomena as I could bear personal witness to. After considerable delay, due in part, it is true, to the astronomical labors which constantly absorb my time, I am now able to respond to your request.

Quite recently, on the 27th of July last, at the invitation of an excellent and worthy family named Bleck, who were rusticating at Montfort-Lamauray, in Seine-et-Oise, I had the great satisfaction of being able to observe personally, and under the strictest test conditions, the celebrated medium Eusapia Paladino, who had already been made a subject of study under various conditions by MM. Lombroso, Schiaparelli, Charles Richet, the Comte de Rochas, M. Dariex, and a great number of other scientists. Owing to circumstances beyond my control, I had not hitherto myself been able to witness these manifestations.

Moreover, they had been described to me in somewhat contradictory fashion by different observers. Some had declared themselves absolutely convinced as to the extraordinary phenomena attributed to the medium; others had doubted them; others had denied them, accusing her of fraud and falsehood; several had stated that she had been caught in deception.

For my own part, during the past thirty years or thereabouts, I have studied nearly all the mediums whose manifestations have made the greatest noise in the world — Daniel Home, who, at the Tuileries, gave such extraordinary séances before the emperor Napoleon III, his family and friends, and who was employed later by Sir William Crookes in his careful scientific researches; Slade, who, with the astronomer Zöllner, produced those inconceivable manifestations wherein

[1] Written for THE ARENA: translated from the French by FREDERICK T. JONES.

geometry was able to preserve itself only by admitting the possibility of a fourth dimension of space; Buguet, whose photographic negatives bore impressions of the spirits of the dead; Lacroix, at whose voice spirits seemed to come in crowds; besides many others who strongly attracted the attention of spiritualists and investigators by manifestations more or less strange and marvellous.

I ought to admit that as a general thing I had been completely disappointed. Whenever I took the necessary precautions to put the medium beyond the possibility of trickery, I obtained no results. If I pretended to see nothing, I detected the trickery out of the corner of the eye. And, in general, such phenomena as were produced came during moments of distraction, when my attention was for an instant relaxed. Pursuing the investigation a little more closely, I have with my own eyes caught sight of the previously prepared negatives of Buguet; with my own eyes have detected Slade writing beneath the table on a concealed slate. As for this famous medium Slade, one day, in concert with Admiral Mouchez, director of the Paris Observatory, I handed to him two slates sealed with Observatory paper in such a way that if he had tampered with them the fraud could not have been disguised. He accepted the conditions of the test. The slates remained, not for a quarter of an hour, not for half an hour, not for one hour, but for ten consecutive hours under the control of the medium, and when he returned them to us they had not the least vestige of writing inside, such as he had produced by substituting prepared slates.

Without going into other details, it will suffice to say that, having been very frequently deceived by impudent, dishonest, and lying mediums, I had acquired from my experiences a reserve of scepticism, doubt, and suspicion with regard to Eusapia. The test conditions are in general so deceptive that it is easy to become a dupe. And men of science are perhaps the easiest to dupe of all men, because scientific observations and experiments are always honest, so that we need never be on our guard against nature, whether a star or a chemical molecule is in question; and we have acquired the habit of taking for granted facts as they appear.

Moveover, men of science for whom I have the very highest respect, and whose judgment has the utmost weight in my eyes, have been present during Eusapia's manifestations without having been convinced of their genuineness. In particular, my illustrious colleague M. Schiaparelli, director of the Milan Observatory, to whom astronomy is indebted for so many discoveries of the first order, has written to me a letter from which a few extracts are appended:

During the autumn of 1892 I was invited by M. Aksakoff to attend a number of spiritualistic séances, held under his auspices and through his courtesy, with the medium Eusapia Paladino, of Naples. I there witnessed some very surprising things, some of which, however, could be explained by very ordinary means. But there were others the production of which I was unable to explain in accordance with any principles known to physics. I add without hesitation that, had it been possible to exclude entirely all suspicion of trickery, it would be incumbent on us to recognize in these facts the beginnings of a new science pregnant with results of the very highest importance. But it must certainly be admitted that these experiences were produced in a fashion but little calculated to convince unbiassed men of their genuineness. Invariably conditions were imposed on us which prevented us from knowing what really took place. Whenever we proposed modifications necessary to give to the experiences the character of clearness and of needful evidence, the medium always declared that success would thereby be made impossible. In short, we did not *experiment* in the true sense of the word; we were obliged to content ourselves with *observing* what took place under unfavorable conditions imposed by the medium. Moreover, whenever this scrutiny was pushed a little, the phenomena either ceased to be produced or lost their intensity and their marvellous character.

Nothing is more disgusting than these games of hide and seek to which one is obliged to submit. Such things are well calculated to excite distrust. Having spent my whole life in the study of nature, which is always sincere in its manifestations and logical in its operations, it is repugnant to me to turn my mind to the investigation of a class of truths which a malicious and disloyal power seems to conceal with a perversity the motive of which is incomprehensible. In such investigations it is no longer sufficient to employ the ordinary methods of natural philosophy, which are infallible but very limited in their scope; it is neces-

sary to have recourse to that other method of examination, more liable to error, but more audacious and more efficacious, which is practised by police officers and magistrates when the business in hand is to disentangle the truth from a mass of testimony, and at least one of the parties has an interest in concealing that truth.

In view of these reflections I am unable to declare myself convinced of the reality of the manifestations which are comprehended under the extremely ill-chosen name of *spiritualism*. But I do not deem myself entitled to deny everything, because to deny with good reason it is not enough to *suspect* deceit; it is necessary to *prove* it. These experiments, which I have found so little satisfactory, other investigators of high ability and reputation have been able to make under more favorable circumstances. I have not the presumption to oppose a dogmatic and bold denial to such proofs, when scientific men of such great critical acumen as MM. Crookes, Wallace, Richet, and Oliver Lodge have discovered a real basis worthy of their examination, even to the point of devoting long study to it; and it would be a grievous mistake were I to believe that the men who are most firmly convinced of the truth of spiritualism are all fanatics. During the experiments of 1892 I had the pleasure of meeting several such men, and I was forced to admire their sincere desire to ascertain the truth; and in some of them I discovered well considered and most profound philosophical ideas, with a character altogether worthy of esteem. This is why it is impossible for me to declare that spiritualism is a ridiculous absurdity. I ought therefore to abstain from pronouncing any opinion whatever; my mental attitude on the subject can perhaps be defined by the word *agnosticism*.

I have read with great care all that Doctor Zöllner has written on this subject. His explanation has a purely physical basis, that is to say, the hypothesis of the objective existence of a fourth dimension of space; an existence which cannot be comprised within the limits of our intuitions, but the possibility of which cannot be denied merely on that ground. Conceding the reality of the experiences which he describes, it is evident that his theory of these manifestations is about the most ingenious and the most plausible that could be devised. According to that theory these mystical and mystifying phenomena occur in the domain of physics and ordinary physiology. They will necessitate a very considerable extension of these sciences, such that their discoverer should be placed beside Galileo and Newton. Unhappily, these experiences of Zöllner's have been obtained

with a medium of bad reputation. It is not sceptics alone who doubt the good faith of Mr. Slade; spiritualists themselves do so. M. Aksakoff, who is a high authority on such matters, has himself declared to me that he has caught him in trickery. You see, therefore, that Zöllner's theories thus lose their experimental support — all of them, very beautiful, very ingenious, and very possible, resting thereon.

Yes, very possible, in spite of everything — in spite of the non-success which I had when I tried, with Eusapia Paladino, to reproduce Zöllner's experiences. On the day when even *one* of these experiences can be honestly produced the question will have made great progress; from the hands of charlatans they will pass into the studies of physicists and physiologists.

Such is my confession of ignorance, and such are the reasons for that ignorance. I am, with the greatest respect,

Your devoted

J. V. SCHIAPARELLI.

This is what M. Schiaparelli wrote to me. I found his reasoning without a flaw, and it was in an exactly similar mental condition that I arrived at Montfort-Lamaury.

Eusapia Paladino was introduced to me. She is a woman of quite ordinary appearance, dark, a trifle under middle height, forty years of age, not at all neuropathic; on the contrary, somewhat sluggish in body. She lived in Naples, engaged in some small business, but had been recently invited to Paris by one of my friends, though he had not forewarned me of the fact. She is illiterate, can neither read nor write, and understands but little French. I talked with her, and it speedily became apparent to me that she had no opinion regarding, and did not undertake to explain, the phenomena produced under her influence.

The room in which our investigations were made was on the ground floor, rectangular, measuring six metres, eighty-five centimetres [22 feet, 6 inches] long, by six metres [19 feet, 8 inches] wide; there were four windows, one outside door, and another door opening on the hall.

Before the séance began I satisfied myself that the principal door and the windows were hermetically closed on the outside by venetian blinds with hasps, and by heavy wooden shutters inside. The door leading to the hall was merely locked.

Across one corner of the room, to the left of the outside door, were hung two bright-colored curtains, which came together at the middle and thus formed a small triangular cabinet. In this cabinet was a sofa, against which a guitar was leaning; beside it was a chair, on which were placed a musical box and a bell. In the embrasure of the window which was within the cabinet was a music-rack, on which was a plate holding a cake of glazier's putty, well smoothed; below this, on the floor, was a large waiter, containing a big cake of the same putty, smoothed.

Why this cabinet? The medium declared that it was necessary to the production of the phenomena.

I should have preferred its absence, but it was necessary to accept the conditions — taking them fully into account, however. In view of what followed, my impression is that behind this curtain the light, being at a minimum, could not have been prejudicial. It is curious, strange, and infinitely regrettable that light should prevent certain effects. Assuredly, however, it would be neither philosophic nor scientific to object to this condition. It is possible that the radiations, the forces at work, are invisible rays. Anyone who attempts to produce a photograph without a dark chamber will "fog" the plate and obtain nothing. Recent progress in physics has shown us that the waves which affect the retina are only a minute fraction of the total number. We may well admit, then, the existence of forces which do not act in full light.

But, accepting the conditions, the main thing is, not to be made a dupe of. Before the séance began, therefore, I carefully examined the small corner of the room before which the curtain was hung, and I found nothing except the objects already enumerated. Nowhere in the room was there any trace of any arrangements whatsoever, such as electric wires or batteries, either in the floor or in the walls. Moreover, it was hardly permissible to suspect the good faith of the respectable Bleck family.

The séance began in full light. I have indeed invariably insisted on obtaining as many phenomena as possible in full light. It was only gradually, as "the spirit" requested it,

that the light was diminished. But I obtained the concession that the darkness should never be complete. At the extreme limit, when the lamp was extinguished, it was replaced by a red photographic lantern.

At first I placed myself on the left hand, afterwards on the right hand, of the medium. No manifestations were given except when I held both her hands under mine and both her feet under mine; or, again, unless I had one hand on her knees (in the case of the table-raisings, for instance), and the other hand holding both of hers; or, yet again, unless I held one of her hands, while another investiagor, M. de Fontenay, who throughout faced me on the other side of the medium, held her other hand and also her feet. I feel certain that throughout the exhibition Eusapia was not once able to effect any trickery. I should also state that she submitted to our precautions with the utmost good-will.

Here are the minutes of the séance.

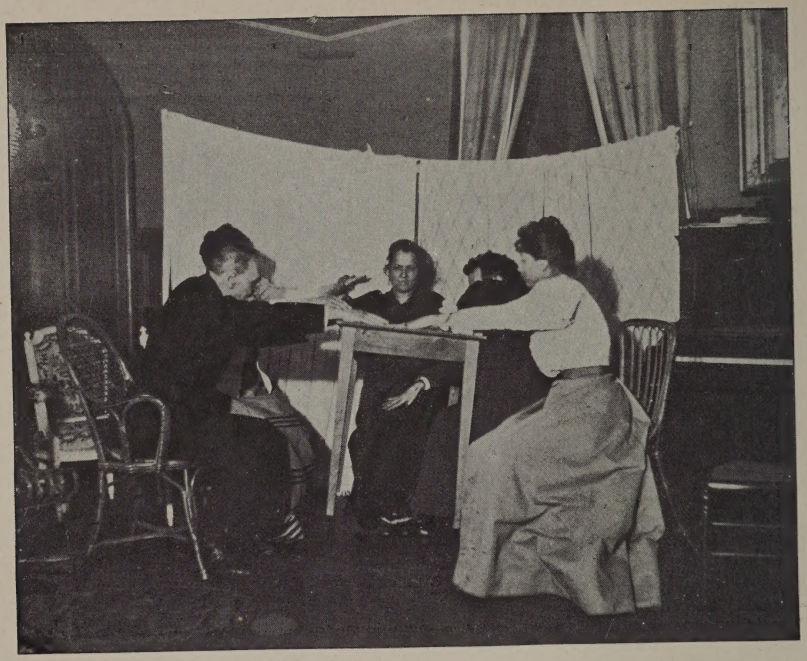
Medium: Eusapia Paladino.

Investigators: MM. Flammarion, de Fontenay, Bleck; Mesdames Bleck, Zelma Bleck, Aimée Bleck, René Koechlin.

The séance began at eight o'clock and ended at half-past eleven. Immediately preceding the séance, Mlle. Zelma Bleck attended during the toilet of Eusapia, who undressed and dressed again in her presence. She also examined the contents of Eusapia's trunk, which was, moreover, always open in her room.

The table around which we seated ourselves was a quadrangular one of deal, which had been brought in from the kitchen. The drawer had been taken out, and we satisfied ourselves that there was no possibility of any trickery about the table. It was, moreover, constructed simply of a board and four unpolished legs. It weighed seven kilogrammes, three hundred grammes [about sixteen pounds]; it could be placed anywhere, and its position was changed during the séance.

We took our places at the table, Eusapia at the very end, in front of the opening in the curtain; at her left M. Flammarion; at her right M. de Fontenay; beside M. Flamma-



FROM FIRST FLASHLIGHT PHOTOGRAPH, WHILE THE TABLE WAS IN THE AIR (See p. 737).

FROM SECOND FLASHLIGHT PHOTOGRAPH, WHEN THE TABLE WAS ON THE FLOOR (See p. 737).

[These two half-tones, from photographs taken by flashlight, show the visible facts in what was perhaps the most carefully conducted experiment thus far made in the way of testing scientifically the verity of the physical effects of psychic forces. This is, we believe, the first instance in which instantaneous photography has been applied as a test to this kind

rion Mlle. Aimée Bleck; beside M. de Fontenay Mlle. Zelma Bleck; M. Bleck between his daughters. Madame Bleck and Madame Koechlin were seated on a sofa facing the table, about five metres away. At the end of about an hour Madame Koechlin took a seat at the table between M. Bleck and Mlle. Zelma Bleck. Madame Bleck, being unwell, retired to her bedroom.

In full light: a large oil lamp with a big burner, having a bright yellow shade; also two lighted candles.

Although in full light, M. F.[1] took precautions against the medium raising the table with her knees, on which he kept his extended right hand. In his left hand he held Eusapia's left. His feet were placed on Eusapia's. The medium's right hand was held by M. de Fontenay, who also held with his foot Eusapia's right foot. The circle was carefully completed by all the other hands, Mlle. Aimée Bleck holding M. F.'s arm.

At the end of three minutes the table moved, swaying and rising, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left. A minute later it rose completely off the floor to the height of about fifteen centimetres [nearly six inches], and remained there for a couple of seconds.

In a second trial M. F. took both of Eusapia's hands in his. Under about these conditions quite a high levitation was produced. The same experiment was thrice repeated, so that during a quarter of an hour there were five levitations of the table, the four legs being completely raised from the floor to the height of about fifteen centimetres and during several seconds. During one levitation the sitters refrained from touching the table, forming the circle in the air above, and Eusapia did the same. M. de Fontenay got up and took two magnesium photographs of this manifestation. While this was being done M. F. held the right hand of the medium. The table was photographed, first while it was in the air, and then when it was on the floor. On superposing, by transparency, the two negatives, one can see clearly the difference between the two levels. [See illustration.]

[1] As my name frequently recurs in these minutes I have designated it only by its initial.

Still in full light, a small tripod stand at the right of M. F., without being touched, came towards the table and fell down. No one having got up or approached the curtain, no apparent explanation could be given of this phenomenon. The medium had not yet become entranced, and continued to take part in the conversation.

Five knocks on the table indicated, according to the usage of the unknown cause, a request for *less light*. The candles were put out and the lamp was lowered, but the light was still amply sufficient, and one could see quite distinctly everything that took place in the room. The stand, which M. F. had picked up and placed at a distance, again approached the table and made several attempts to get on top of it. M. F. pressed heavily upon it in order to force it down, but met with an elastic resistance, so that he did not succeed. The free edge of the stand superposed itself on the edge of the table, but, held back by its triangular pedestal, it was unable to swerve sufficiently to pass above the table.

The curtain swelled out and approached M. F.'s face. At about this juncture the medium fell into a trance. She heaved sighs and moaned, and spoke only in the third person, professing to be *John*, a spirit personality who had been her father in another life, and who called her "*Mia figlia.*" Five fresh raps requested still *less light*. The lamp was lowered almost completely, but at M. F.'s request was not extinguished. The eyes, on becoming accustomed to the feeble light, could still distinguish tolerably well what occurred.

The curtain swelled out, and through it M. F. felt himself touched on the shoulder as if by a closed fist. The chair in the cabinet, on which the musical box and the bell were placed, was violently shaken, and those objects fell to the floor.

The medium requesting *still less light*, a red photographic lantern was placed on the piano, and the lamp was extinguished. The check on the medium was rigorously established, and, moreover, she submitted to it with the greatest docility, begging continually for her authentication, so that no doubt could be raised as to her good faith or as to the impossibility of her having produced any movement, whether by the hands, the feet, or the head. It is absolutely certain

that the producing cause was outside her. But it is also certain that this force emanated from her in some way, for every one of the observed manifestations took place after considerable psychic and physical tension.

During several minutes the musical box played several airs behind the curtain, as though it were turned by hand intermittently.

The curtain again came towards M. F., who felt a hand take hold of his arm. He immediately pulled aside the curtain and put out his arm in order to seize the hand, but found only emptiness. He then held the legs of the medium between his own, and grasped her left hand with his right; and the medium, with her right hand, took hold of M. de Fontenay's left. Eusapia then moved M. de Fontenay's hand towards M. F.'s cheek, and with one of M. de Fontenay's fingers imitated on M. F.'s cheek the turning motion of a small handle. The musical box, which was one with a handle, played simultaneously. When Eusapia's hand stopped, the music stopped, the movements corresponding as in a Morse telegraph. This was repeated for five minutes, and the movement of the finger corresponded in every instance with the playing of the box.

M. F. felt himself touched several times on the back and side. M. de Fontenay felt a sharp blow in the back, which everyone heard. M. F. felt a hand pass through his hair. M. de Fontenay's chair was violently pulled, and a few moments later he called out: "I see John's silhouette passing between M. F. and myself, above the table, and hiding the red light." This manifestation was repeated several times, and M. F., being unable to verify it, asked M. de Fontenay to change places with him.

The change having been made, a ream of paper was placed on the table, with a pencil, in the hope of getting some writing. The pencil was tossed far away into the room, and the ream of paper, held by M. F., was violently snatched from him in spite of his efforts to retain it. At this moment M. de Fontenay, having his back to the light, saw a hand (white, and not a shadow), with an arm as far as the elbow, holding the ream of paper; but all the others declared that

they could see only the paper shaken in the air. The paper came to a rest on the table, and the medium, taking M. F.'s hand, imitated with it in hers the motion of drawing; light was made, and some irregular pencil marks were found on the paper.

M. F. felt several touches on the side of the head, and his ear was pinched hard. He declared several times that the experience was sufficient, and begged the spirit to stop; but his request was in vain, and throughout the rest of the séance he continued to be touched in spite of his protests. M. F. then saw what M. de Fontenay had seen, a shadow pass several times in front of the red lantern, but he was unable to distinguish any profile, whether human or other. This shadow moved at a higher level than the heads of the sitters above the table, going from left to right and back again, as though it came from a vertical line over the medium and then returned to it.

The stand, placed outside the cabinet to the left of the medium, approached the table, mounted it completely, and lay down sidewise on it. The guitar in the cabinet could be heard moving and giving forth sounds. The curtain swelled out, and the guitar was brought onto the table and leant against M. de Fontenay's shoulder; then it lay down on the table, the large end towards the medium; then it rose and moved above the heads of the sitters without touching them; it gave forth several sounds. This manifestation lasted about fifteen seconds. One could see the guitar floating quite plainly, as well as the reflection of the red lamp glistening on its polished wood. The touches continued. On the ceiling at the opposite corner of the room was visible a patch of light, quite bright, shaped like a pear.

The medium, being tired, asked for a rest. Light was made, and Mlle. Zelma Bleck replaced the various objects, ascertained that the cakes of putty were intact, put the smaller one on the stand and the larger one on a chair inside the cabinet behind the medium. The séance was resumed to the feeble light of the red lantern.

John requested, by four raps, that we should talk, and added that the speech-waves imparted power to him. The

medium, whose hands and feet were carefully controlled by M. F. and M. de Fontenay, breathed hard. The snapping of fingers could be heard above her head. The medium still panted, and she groaned and sank her fingers into M. F.'s hands. Three raps were struck; the medium said, "*E fatto*" ("It is done"). M. de Fontenay carried the small plate on the stand to beneath the light of the red lantern, and saw the impressions of four fingers in the putty, in the same position which they had taken when sinking into M. F.'s hand.

We reseated ourselves, the medium asked for a rest, and a little more light was made. The medium came out of her trance of her own accord, and remained Eusapia to the end of the séance.

The séance was resumed as before. In a moment Eusapia said that some one was behind the curtain. In another moment she said: "There is a man on my right; he has a long, smooth beard, divided in two;" and she caused the beard to touch M. F. twice.

Everyone asked, as they had done several times already, for the imprint of a profile in the putty. Eusapia replied that it would be difficult, and asked us not to think of it for a moment. Four raps requested that we should talk. The medium panted, groaned, and writhed. The chair on which the putty was placed was heard moving in the cabinet; this chair placed itself at the side of the medium, then it rose and placed itself on Mlle. Zelma Bleck's head, while the waiter was lightly deposited on the table, on the hands of M. Bleck, Madame Koechlin, and Mlle. Aimée Bleck. Eusapia cried out that she saw on the table in front of her a head and bust, and said, "*E fatto*" ("It is done"). This was not credited, because no one had felt any pressure on the waiter. Three heavy blows, as of a mallet, were struck on the table. Light was made, and a profile was found imprinted in the putty.

While covering the medium's eyes before making the light, Mlle. Zelma Bleck kissed her on both cheeks, for the purpose of finding out if her face had any smell of putty — glazier's putty having a strong odor. The check on the

medium had been carefully made, her head having rested on M. de Fontenay's shoulder.

After this we tried to get a photograph by the light of the red lantern, directing the camera on the medium and the opening in the curtain behind her, everyone making the circle. The photograph, however, showed nothing.

The wish was then expressed to obtain a photograph of a materialized hand in full light, — the hand which had appeared twice during the sitting in the form of a living hand in the opening in the curtain, above Eusapia's head, when the room had been lit up. The circle was made, the hand gave the signal by snapping its fingers thrice above Eusapia's head. A magnesium light was lit, but the hand did not appear, either to the sight or on the plate.

The séance was over, but M. F., desiring to see another levitation of the table in full light, the circle was made standing, with the hands lightly placed on the table. The table began to oscillate, then rose about fifty centimetres [nearly twenty inches] from the floor, remained there for five seconds, all the assistants standing, and then descended heavily.

We then went to partake of refreshments in the dining-room.

By way of amusing herself, Eusapia motioned several times to a teaspoon placed on the edge of a tray, to rise, saying, "*Vieni, vieni*" ("Come, come"). She succeeded twice. The spoon rose two or three centimetres [three-quarters of an inch or $1\frac{1}{6}$ inches] from the edge of the tray, and was thrown onto the tray. Her hands were placed on each side of the spoon, about three centimetres [$1\frac{1}{6}$ inches] away, and made at a distance the motion of raising the object. I need not add that there was neither thread nor hair between the two hands.

The above are the minutes of the séance drawn up on the following day by the experimenters.

I may state at the outset that the various manifestations just described have by no means equal authenticity in my eyes. I was not satisfied with all of them, for the phe-

nomena were not all observed under the same conditions of certainty. I can readily classify the facts in the following order of diminishing credibility:

1. Levitations of the table.
2. Levitations of the spoon.
3. Movement of the tripod stand without contact.
4. Blows as of a mallet.
5. Movements of the curtain.
6. Sensations as of being touched.
7. Opaque object passing in front of the red lamp.
8. Sensation of feeling a beard on the back of the hand.
9. Snatching of the paper.
10. Throwing of the pencil.
11. Movement of the stand onto the table.
12. Music of the small musical box.
13. Movement of the guitar above our heads.
14. Tracings with the nail.
15. Imprints of a hand and a face.

The first five manifestations, having taken place in full light, are incontestable. In the same rank I put 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. The last (15), having been produced toward the end of the séance, when the attention was necessarily relaxed, and being more extraordinary than any of the others, I confess I do not venture to accept with certainty, although I am quite unable to conjecture how it could have been produced by fraud. The other four seemed to be certain, but I should like to see them repeated. The chances are ninety-nine in a hundred that they were genuine. During the séance I was absolutely certain about them. But the vividness of the impressions has weakened, and cold reason influences us in spite of ourselves.

The first impression which arises on reading the report is that the various manifestations were quite trivial, altogether commonplace, and gave us no knowledge concerning the other world — or worlds. It certainly seemed to me that no spirit was at work. The phenomena were of an absolutely material character.

On the other hand, however, it is impossible not to recognize the existence of unknown forces. The one fact, for

example, of the rising of a table to the height of fifteen, twenty, forty centimetres [about six, eight, and sixteen inches], is not by any means commonplace. For myself, it seems to me indeed so extraordinary that I can scarcely conceive anyone admitting the fact without having himself seen it — seen it with his own eyes — seen it in reality — in full light, and under conditions which make doubt impossible. When one is perfectly certain of having verified this, one is also certain that there has emanated from the human organism a force comparable with the magnetism of the loadstone, capable of acting on wood, on matter, somewhat as the loadstone acts on iron, and counteracting for some moments the action of gravity. From a scientific point of view this is an important fact. I am absolutely certain that the medium did not lift this weight of 7,300 grammes [about sixteen pounds] with either her hands or her legs, or by her feet, and that none of the sitters could have done so. It was by her superior force that the piece of furniture was moved. Here then we are certainly in the presence of an unknown force, which emanates from persons present, and above all from the medium.

A sufficiently curious remark here suggests itself. Several times in the course of the séance, and at the levitation of the table, I said: "This is evidently a physical force, without spirituality; there is no spirit here." On each such occasion two extremely violent protesting raps were struck on the table. It may also be noticed that usually (though it was not the case at the present séance) one is compelled to admit the spiritualistic hypothesis, and to beg a spirit to act, in order to obtain manifestations. That is a psychologic circumstance which has its importance. Nevertheless, it does not seem to me to prove the existence of spirits, for it may be that this idea is necessary to the unification of forces, and possesses a purely subjective value. Those pious folk who believe in the efficacy of prayer are the dupes of their own imagination, yet no one can doubt that some of their prayers seem to have been heard by a beneficent deity. The love-sick Italian or Spanish girl who prays to the Virgin Mary to punish her lover's infidelity may have faith, and has no sus-

picion of the absurdity of her request. In dreams we ourselves converse nightly with imaginary beings. Still, there is something more in the present case; the medium really becomes a duality.

Placing myself solely at the point of view of a physicist who observes, I say: no matter what explanatory hypothesis you may adopt, there exists an invisible force, drawn from the medium's organism, which can leave her and act outside of her.

Such is the fact: what is the best hypothesis to explain it?

1. Is it the medium herself who acts unconsciously by means of an invisible force emanating from her?

2. Is it an intelligent cause, other than herself, a being who has already lived on this earth, who draws from the medium a force which such being needs in order to act?

3. Is it a member of another order of invisible beings? For nothing warrants us in denying that other invisible beings may exist in our midst.

Here then are three quite different hypotheses, no one of which seems, according to my own personal experience, to be as yet exclusively demonstrated.

There is also a fourth, which has been the most frequently applied in the annals of spiritualism, namely, fraud and sleight of hand; and we should all the less forget that all the observed phenomena can be perfectly well imitated, and indeed have been imitated. Nevertheless, I repeat that at the séance in question I took all needful precautions to eliminate this explanation. It is this séance alone which is in question here. To it I am referring exclusively, not concerning myself with any technical processes of analysis which I may have studied elsewhere. Without recurring to all the details of the foregoing report, the conclusions which may be drawn from it are, it seems to me, as follows:

There emanated from the medium an invisible force.

The sitters, by forming the circle and by uniting their sympathetic volitions, increased this force.

This force is not immaterial. It may be a substance, an agent, emitting radiations having wave lengths which do not affect our retina, but which are nevertheless extremely powerful.

In the absence of light rays this force can concentrate itself, materialize, even assume a certain resemblance to a human body, act like our organs, knock violently on a table, touch us.

It acts as though it were an independent being. But this independence does not really exist, for this evanescent being is intimately bound up with the organism of the medium, and ceases to exist when the conditions of its genesis cease.

In giving utterance to these scientific absurdities I am perfectly well aware that it is difficult to accept them. After all, however, who is to define the limits of science? We have all discovered, especially during the last quarter of a century, that we do not know a great deal; and outside of astronomy there is not one exact science, founded on absolutely settled principles. Then, too, remember the *facts* to be explained. Doubtless it is easier to deny them; but that is not honest. He who has seen nothing convincing has no right to deny them. What he should rather do is to say simply, "I know nothing about them."

It is obvious that, of the three above-proposed hypotheses, the first is that which I favor, so far at least as concerns the present séance. It must not be assumed, however, that I reject the other two. We are here on the threshold of a new and utterly unknown world. I choose the most simple hypothesis; but it is nothing more than an hypothesis. The hypothesis of the spirits of the dead leads to far more complex discussions; and, as for myself personally, I have never had any proof of identity; in every case the things said could always have been existent in a latent state in the brains of the persons present.

Quite recently I have seen three unpublished volumes written in 1853 by Victor Hugo, as the amanuensis of spirits dictating by means of a table. The spirits did not even trouble themselves to sign their real names; they declared that they were called "the Hour," "Time," "the Spirit of the Sepulchre," etc. Among these communications are some very beautiful poems, by Victor Hugo himself, and also, after a fashion, by Victor Hugo sublimated. On one occasion, indeed, after an altogether superior and quite arrogant re-

sponse, the poet left the table really angry. It was not he who dictated *consciously*. But he counted for something, for much, possibly for everything. Is, then, our spirit able to exteriorize itself, act outside of us? Once more, we are here on the threshold of an unknown world.

The third hypothesis, of invisible living beings in our midst, is equally defensible. But if so it must be confessed that in that region there are very inferior beings. Their manifestations are to the last degree banal. They have taught us absolutely nothing. Moreover, there is always a sort of reflection of the psychic condition of the experimenters.

To sum up, and begging the reader to excuse the length of this article, I believe we can go a little further than M. Schiaparelli, and affirm the undoubted existence of unknown forces capable of moving matter and of counteracting the action of gravity. It is a combination, difficult to analyze, of physical and psychic forces. But such facts, however extravagant they may appear, deserve to enter the domain of scientific investigation. It is even probable that they may powerfully contribute towards the elucidation of the problem — for us supreme — of the nature of the human soul. Unquestionably we have not yet the data necessary to define these forces; but for this one can hardly throw the blame on those who study them.

CAMILLE FLAMMARION.

THE INFLUENCE OF HEBREW THOUGHT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC IDEA IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY CHARLES S. ALLEN.

WHEN in the Declaration of Independence the fathers of the Republic enunciated the democratic creed that all men are socially equal, the doctrine fell upon sympathetic ears. The ground was already prepared for the sentiment to take root. The publication was not premature. These social conditions were not the work of a day or a year, but the culmination of a century and a half of growth on American soil.

The idea of the native dignity of man, which no accident of birth or social position could dethrone, developed more rapidly in the New than in the Old World. It was this divergence between the social philosophy of the colony and the parent country that made political separation more easily accomplished. The issue of taxation alone did not cause the rupture. Each had long been conscious that there was a difference in their theories of social as well as political institutions. In solving these questions, the child had progressed faster than the parent. The revenue acts and other grievances were the immediate cause of the Revolution, but there had previously existed a feeling that the two commonwealths had drifted apart, and were not in sympathy with each other. In the American commonwealth a new conception of the relation between the individual and the state had been evolved. Individualism was emerging. It had not escaped the attention of England that the social institution of an aristocracy had not taken root in New England. Nor was the cause unknown. It was plain that the social democratic idea was so deeply planted that aristocracy could gain no foothold. It had been proposed to found an order of nobility in the Massachusetts colony, and invest it with titles, but the suggestion met with no approval among the citizens.

Lord North, prime minister in 1766, had observed the development of this social democratic idea, so prevalent in the New England colonies, and had bitterly denounced it. His remarks came to the ears of the colonists and were commented on in the newspapers. The application was understood. The Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary for the Colonies, said in public debate in 1770, that the future policy of every administration must be to repress the "*republican spirit*" so prevalent in the colonies. The privileged classes of the home government could but view with disfavor the rapid growth of a powerful colony where such doctrines existed. It was a menace.

It is probable that English statesmen would not have regarded with such jealousy the political liberties of New England had they found its citizens in full sympathy with the social institutions of the home country, and the aristocratic principle firmly established. Self-government would not have been so obnoxious to them if the pernicious doctrine of social equality had not sprung up. The definite formulation of this idea in the Declaration of Independence revealed the breach between them that had long existed. It was only a public recognition of a doctrine that already had been privately accepted.

The forces that were to produce this divergence between the social theories of England and her colonists were at work when the Puritans landed. After they came, local causes coöperated to swell the current and accelerate its speed.

The founders of New England were the flower of the Puritan movement. They were men who lived and thought on an elevated plane. "Man doth not live by bread alone" was their creed. They believed that the higher life was worth the sacrifice of material comfort. Their conception of it was an austere and religious life. Measured by the standard of the nineteenth century, it seems narrow. But remembering that the child of the seventeenth century must be judged by the ideas of his age, the New England Puritan will always command our admiration because he resolutely stood for the doctrine that man has a higher destiny than to eat, drink, and waste his days in attendance upon the

monotonous round of trivial social affairs. His culture was not broad. He was ruled by one idea. That it is man's duty to develop all the faculties of his mind, and widen his horizon, he did not fully appreciate. He did grasp the fundamental idea that true satisfaction comes only with unconditional surrender of the lower to the higher instincts. He started on the upward round. The light he had, he followed.

A hostile government prevented him from attaining his religious ideal, and he gladly left his comfortable home, to brave the perils and hardships of the wilderness, that he might have the approbation of his own conscience.

Characters grounded upon the conviction that the ideals of inspired minds shall be wrought into daily life and conduct are a potent force in society. The institutions of custom cannot exact slavish obedience from such. They work revolutions, peaceful or violent. Social precedents do not hold and control them. Men who are intent on the higher problems of life naturally attach less value to customs established by those who live on the lower conventional plane. Thus the philosopher and the religious zealot tend toward the social democratic idea. They know that the lack of furniture or a pedigree cannot degrade a truly noble mind. Further than that, the conclusion is forced upon them that no social restrictions should impede the immediate recognition of individual merit.

The New England Puritan was thus in the mental condition in which it was easy to revise and re-form his theories of the social institutions of aristocracy and the underlying principle of special privileges and inequality. Having lifted himself out of the rut of conventional life, it was natural that he should apply the new standard to all things that affected him, and readjust his opinions. But his ancestors had been moulded for ages in the school of feudalism, and his inherited social theories could not be transformed in a moment. Custom and habit are not so easily overthrown.

The Protestant revolution, allying religion with political reform, stimulating national life, fostering education, bringing the Bible and religious instruction into every home, was

a movement that operated to break up class distinctions and lay the foundation for a social democracy.

It has been well said too,[1] that the Calvinist creed, which invested the moral government of the Almighty with such power and grandeur, tended to lessen the reverence for earthly kings and lords. It was a return to the conception of the great Hebrew prophets of the eighth century before Christ, to whom the administration of Jehovah seemed so immediate and direct that it overshadowed the petty dynasties of princes and potentates, whose thrones were hardly secure from day to day.

Physical separation also made it easier to throw off social precedents. The necessity of joint action in the founding and defence of the colony assisted to create a feeling of brotherhood. Each felt his dependence upon the other. The free play of local self-government and of economical forces exerted an influence.

But while these aided in the development of the social democratic idea, it is obvious that the social theories so clearly presented in the Bible, especially in the Old Testament, must have had a powerful effect. Here was a definite system formulated in a book that was their daily guide in civil and religious matters. In this were laid down the rights of the rich and poor, weak and strong, prince and subject. The Puritan must have perceived that the Hebrew prophet's idea of the privileges of classes was radically different from that upon which feudalism was founded.

A glance through the local history of the New England colonies suffices to prove that the civil as well as the religious theories of the Bible were incorporated into their institutions. It was the determination of the leaders of the colonies, who moulded its thought, to make the Bible the absolute rule of life. They sought to reproduce the type of society pictured therein. The influence of Hebrew thought appears on every page.

When the New Haven colonists assembled in 1636 to effect a political organization, the proposition was definitively formulated, that the Bible should be not only their

[1] Fiske's "Beginnings of New England," p. 58.

religious, but their civil creed. Mr. Davenport, their minister, was requested to preach a sermon on this occasion, and he declared it to be their duty to so accept the Scriptures. After he closed, this declaration was formally committed to writing, and read to the people for their consideration. By a unanimous vote they accepted it. Thus by its first public expression the colony said that the civil code of Israel should be the code of New Haven, and that Hebrew social theories were to dominate its institutions.

In the other New England colonies, the Hebrew laws and customs were not so literally adopted. Yet it is clear that they entered largely into their ideas of government and society.

In 1636 the Massachusetts colony began to perceive the need of a civil and criminal code, so that uniformity of judgments and sentences might be secured and the discretion of magistrates controlled. A committee was appointed to draft one. Gov. Winthrop notes in his journal that "Mr. Cotton did this court present a model of Moses, his judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further consideration until the next general court." Mr. Nathaniel Ward, another minister who had studied law, also drew up a code based largely on the common law of England. But the influence of the Bible is noticeable in many of its provisions. In the first section, wherein it is provided that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without the authority of some positive law enacted by the court, an exception is inserted that judgment may be pronounced "in case of any defect of a law in any particular case, by the word of God." In the 91st article it is enacted that "there shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage, or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in a just war, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves to us, or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doeth morally require." The Puritan had noted the humane treatment of the slave that the Mosaic law enjoined. He perceived its justice and gave it the force of positive law by legislative act. It will be observed that he even

followed the form of the Jewish law in drawing a distinction between strangers and his own people, a distinction that Chief Justice Sewell fifty years later criticised and attacked. The feudal institution of villanage is prohibited. It was becoming extinct in England, but there was no express law against it.

Passing to Ward's criminal code, it will be found that the capital laws are drawn almost entirely from the Bible. There are twelve capital offences, to wit: (1) Worship of any other god than the Lord God; (2) being a witch; (3) blasphemy; (4) murder; (5) manslaughter; (6) murder without violence; (7) bestiality; (8) sodomy; (9) adultery with married or espoused wife; (10) stealing a man, or humanity; (11) taking life by false witness; (12) treason.

Every one of these laws except the last has incorporated into it the Scripture text upon which it is based, and the Scripture language and phraseology are followed. The Puritan adopted the Hebrew idea that animals must be held accountable; that an unlawful act must be punished whether the perpetrator knew it was a violation of law or not. The Jew condemned the ox to death if it gored and killed a man. If a man accidentally killed a fellow-being, his innocent intention was not a complete defence, but he must flee to a city of refuge to avoid the punishment that the relatives of the deceased were seemingly permitted to inflict elsewhere.

The enactment of this code shows how strongly the Mosaic civil code influenced the colony. It virtually constituted its criminal jurisprudence.

As we have noted, the 12th section of the criminal code made treason a capital offence. No Scripture text was cited to support it. The horrors of anarchy and civil war, experienced for centuries, had most effectually taught the lesson that it was a high crime to subvert the government. The blessings of social order, personal liberty, and security were seen to be dependent on it. So strong was this conviction that even the Puritan did not think it was necessary to appeal to the Scripture for authority to punish treason.

The fact that the Massachusetts Bay colony, assembled together to enact a code of laws, seriously debated whether they should not discard all English precedents, and found a

civil and criminal code wholly upon the Bible, shows clearly that we must look to the Scriptures as a potent factor in shaping their political and social ideas. While their common sense led them to adopt the laws of England for the regulation of ordinary civil matters, they were guided by the Scriptures in legislating upon the personal liberty of human beings. The status of the slave should not be fixed by the harsh laws of feudalism. He must be treated as a fellow-being, and allowed not only all the liberties, but the Christian usages the law of God established in Israel. This Hebrew sentiment, enacted into positive law in the earliest days of the colony, must have assisted at least to develop the abhorrence of slavery that prevented the institution from taking a deep root in New England.

The idea of corporate responsibility for individual offences, so pronounced in the Hebrew philosophy, appears frequently. This theory was of course not peculiar to the Jews, but among no other people was it so sharply defined. The New England Puritan was completely under its spell. The proceedings of the general courts show again and again how strong was their conviction upon it.

In 1648 the Massachusetts general court declared that the hand of the Lord had been shown in many visitations, such as sickness, drouth, the political disturbances in England, and they appointed a day of "humiliation" upon which the people were commanded to abstain from labor and assemble in the houses of worship.

In November, 1652, this court set apart a "solemn day of humiliation to humble themselves, and seeke the face of the Lord, for these offenses following. In regard to ourselves. (1) For that his hand hath gone out against us in taking away many by an unwonted disease; (2) for his seeming to frowne on us by unusual storms; (3) a want of supply of meete persons for publick service in church and commonwealth; (4) in regard of too much worldlimindedness, oppression, and hard-heartedness."

These solemn days of "humiliation" were a very frequent occurrence. A drouth, the presence of witches, worldliness, were deemed sufficient to order them.

In 1675 the danger from King Philip's war had become apparent, and the colony was aroused and alarmed. The general court was convened to deliberate on the situation. The record of November 3 shows that they were convinced it was a special dispensation of Providence as a punishment for sins committed, and the following resolution was passed:

> Whereas the most wise and holy God, for several years last past, hath not only warned us by his word, but chastened us with his rods, inflicting upon us many general (though lesser) punishments, but we have neither heard the word nor rod as we ought, so as to be effectually humbled, for our sins to repent of them, reforme and amend our ways, hence it is the righteous God, both heightened our calamity, and gave commission to the barbarous heathen to rise up against us and become a smart rod and severe scourge to us.

In searching for the causes of this visitation, the practical English mind was not content with generalizations, as was the Hebrew. He desired to know the precise offences that had brought down the judgment. The court carefully considered this matter and made out a list. The offences were numbered consecutively and set out in the record. They are as follows: (1) Neglect in instructing children especially in religion; (2) pride manifested in men wearing their hair long as women did, and also the custom of women to plait, cut, and curl the hair; (3) excess in wearing apparel; (4) excessive charges of shop-keepers; (5) idleness. Still more practical was the resolution passed requiring the grand jury to indict all persons guilty of these offences, and the county court to punish them by fine or imprisonment or both.

To read this page without knowing where it was written one would suppose it was a Hebrew document, so peculiarly Jewish are the offences related.

When the whole commonwealth was so dominated by this Hebrew theory that they assembled together and legislated on the strength of it, that the Jewish idea had become a part and parcel of their mental stock is beyond question. So immersed in Hebrew philosophy was the New England Puritan that he reproduced Hebrew thought.

Cotton Mather, writing in 1698, says of this war:

> When the miseries of the sword are inflicted upon a people, it becomes them to consider what provocation they have given the Almighty God,

who makes peace and creates evil; for tis the Lord who doeth all things; the sword by which we have been so grievously harassed, hath been in the hands of God; and if our Father had not been very angry, would he have taken a sword in hand?

The Massachusetts colony also adopted the Jewish custom of a direct personal covenant with God. On Aug. 26, 1629, it formally drew up and entered into such a covenant. It reads like an ordinary civil contract:

We covenant and agree with our Lord God, and one another, to walk in his ways; (2) we avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves his people; (3) we agree to give ourselves to the Lord.

These formal agreements were renewed from time to time. It appears from Mather's "Magnalia Christi Americana" that it was the practice of individuals to formulate and sign such covenants. He sets out one that Nathaniel Mather made. (Vol. 2, 419.)

These historical records prove beyond a doubt that Hebrew thought had taken a strong hold upon the New England Puritan. What new conception of social problems would he gain from it? How would it modify inherited social theories, shaped by feudalism?

The Puritan was specially attracted to the Old Testament, perhaps because the Catholics founded their worship of the Virgin Mary and other rites on the New. It may be that the fancied analogy of their emigration to the Jewish exodus added a personal interest in the fortunes of the ancient Hebrews. Whatever is the reason, that they did emphasize the study of the Old Testament is clear. The texts of the ministers furnish ample evidence of this.

The Old Testament contained a complete civil code. It was full of observations upon the relations of the various classes of society. The Hebrew prophets had studied deeply the problem of social justice. They had noticed that society, as constituted, was divided into rich and poor, weak and strong, ruler and subject. Like the reformers of the 16th century they were on the side of the people as against privileged classes. These prophet philosophers were the first to define the principles of social justice on a scale as broad as humanity. Never before were these theories so distinctly formulated, so fully applied.

It seems not improbable that the experience of the Hebrews in bondage in Egypt made a strong impression on the minds of the authors of the Thora. For, coupled with the repeated injuction to treat the stranger and the poor humanely, is the constant reminder that they were once in bondage.[1] Whatever was the origin of the social idea of the rights of the weak and poor, the principle of social justice was paramount in the system of the Hebrew lawgiver. He had studied the question from the standpoint of the socially defenceless. He enters into and comprehends their feelings, and never forgets them. He is always conscious that the humblest person, the bonded slave, is a human being, who he believes his God intended should participate in the blessings of life. He thinks that social laws should be so framed that all may possess this rightful heritage. The institution of slavery, the brutal treatment of the servant, he saw, robbed life of its pleasures. So firmly established was the practice of slavery then, that he did not see that it could be entirely abolished. But he invented a restriction that was a near approach to abolition. In his ideal code it is enacted that bondage shall last but seven years.[2] The master is given the benefit of this limited service. Among their own brethren, the children of Israel, slavery is entirely prohibited.[3] Every child of Abraham is the child of God, and too high-born to be degraded by slavery.[4]

That the slave's life should not be rendered intolerable even during this short period, the law commanded that "he shall be treated not as a slave, but as an hired servant." He must be considered not as a chattel, but as a man. The Hebrew philosopher could not escape the consciousness that even a bonded slave was possessed of the dignity and worth of manhood. Consideration is due to him by virtue of his inalienable rights. His rank must be recognized. The things that go to make life joyous should not be denied to him.

In this ideal code the poor and defenceless command the protection of the law. They are entitled to share in the good things of life. As society is organized, the strong take advantage of them, and deprive them of justly merited

1 Deut. xxiv. 18. 2 Deut. xv. 3 Lev. xxv. 42. 4 Lev. xxv. 42.

comforts. Believing that they are worthy of the right to enjoy life, the law must provide that they shall be treated with scrupulous fairness and never oppressed. The rich and powerful are commanded under penalty of the law to treat them justly and humanely.

Seeing that riches and material comforts are distributed unequally under the existing régime, a year of jubilee is provided, in which every man who by misfortune has parted with his possessions may have them returned to him, and equality in material conditions may be restored. In the version compiled in Deuteronomy, every seventh year is made a year of restoration.[1] The creditor must then cancel his debt and return the pledge. This law must be rigidly enforced. The creditor is warned to "beware if in thy heart thou sayest the year of release is at hand." He is commanded not to make restitution grudgingly. He must realize that he is discharging a duty; that he is only giving what is due, and the poor are receiving merely what by right they are entitled to. The poor are the children of God, who invested them with a rank and dignity that merit a portion of the comforts of life. Society must not be so constructed that the unfortunate and defenceless shall be cheated out of their rightful heritage.

The authors of the law had observed that the custom of taking pledges from the poor frequently imposed a hardship. It is therefore commanded, "If thou at all take thy neighbor's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it to him by that the sun goeth down; for that is his only covering; wherein shall he sleep? And it shall come to pass when he crieth unto me, that I will hear him, for I am gracious." The lawgiver is still viewing the question from the standpoint of the poor. The thought, "wherein shall he sleep?" if his garment is withheld, haunts him. The creditor's right must therefore yield to the higher considerations of humanity. Man is not a chattel to be treated as the beasts. He is born to a higher destiny.

The creditor was absolutely prohibited from taking millstones as a pledge, for this prevented the owner from grinding

[1] Deut. xv.

his corn to make bread. This is the prototype of the modern exemption law, except that it is more sweeping, for the debtor is disabled from passing any right or title to the creditor by voluntary contract.

Ever mindful of the existence of the poor, a unique device to provide them with food is devised. The husbandman is commanded not to reap all the corners of his fields, but to leave the grain standing there for the poor.[1] Likewise the owner of vineyards must not pick his olives and grapes too closely. Again, it is made lawful when passing through grain fields or vineyards to take as much as one can eat. The right to appease hunger is paramount to property rights.

The hired laborer is not forgotten. Frequently he is cheated out of the wages earned by his toil. This is felt to be an outrage. So carefully does this ideal law guard against this wrong, that it requires that a day's wages shall not be withheld until the sun rises the next morning. Under this code the weak and defenceless members of society shall never be compelled to learn the meaning of the word oppression.

In enjoining the observance of the Sabbath, the lawgiver is mindful that it will enable the hired servant to enjoy a rest. Whatever may have been the origin of the custom, the Hebrew was conscious that it was a blessing to the laborer, and for this reason a just observance.

The year of jubilee, the seventh year of release, the Sabbath of rest, the minute directions as to the treatment of the slave, the hired servant, the weak, and the poor, show that the Hebrew social philosopher had reflected deeply on the question of social justice. He was impressed with the thought that these humble and obscure members of society had the same feelings, the longing for happiness, the dread of suffering, that he had. He put himself in their place and considered how hard a fate it was to spend all one's days in want and privation. All were children of the same God, who was no respecter of persons; it followed that a social organization must be effected in which no one is robbed of the enjoyment of life.

[1] Lev. xix. 9.

The great prophets of the eighth century before Christ seized upon these principles and made them a cardinal doctrine. Amos vigorously champions the cause of the poor and weak, and assails the rich and powerful:

> Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit? That we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes. . . . The Lord hath sworn, Surely I will never forget any of their works. Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein? . . .
>
> Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, . . . that lie on beds of ivory, . . . and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; . . . that drink wine in bowls, . . . but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph. Therefore now shall they go captive.

Amos teaches that the want of social justice, the oppressive treatment of the poor, shall subject Israel to the vengeance of the Lord. For these sins shall the people be sent into captivity.

In a loftier strain Isaiah declares the same doctrine. He keeps the same watchful eye upon the poor and distressed. They are constantly reminded that "the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of the people shall trust in it. For the terrible one is brought to naught, and the scorner is consumed." He strikes at the foundation of social inequality by arraigning the conditions which cause it. The aristocrat rests his pride, his claim to superiority, upon wealth, birth, or social position. "Woe to the crown of pride," says Isaiah. In the sight of God, the maker of heaven and earth, such petty arrogancy is abhorrent. The Lord looks upon his people as a democracy, and is equally pleased by the faithfulness of any child, no matter whether he be rich or poor, high or low. Social pride is declared to be a heinous sin, specially offensive to Jehovah.

The prophet draws a picture of the ideal social life that will be enjoyed when the sins of Israel are expiated and the "remnant returns." In that happy time all shall dwell together in peace as brothers; even the enmity of wild animals shall cease, and the helpless lamb may lie down in safety

beside the fierce lion. Weakness shall no longer expose man or beast to suffering. The proud and haughty are gone. There is no social aristocracy; a social democracy has taken its place.[1]

It thus appears that the idea of justice was highly developed in the Hebrew of the eighth century before Christ; it had been thought out and applied to the minutest details of life. Upon it the prophet constructed and elaborated his dogmatic theology. Reasoning from it, he could formulate no theory of moral government in which the bad citizen was not individually punished for every evil act, and the good rewarded for righteousness. The inquiry, why the overruling Providence is apparently "so careless of the single life," was troublesome to him as well as to moderns. Confronted with the fact that the evils of conquest, drouth, and pestilence fall indiscriminately upon the upright and the wicked, he reasoned that they must be specific punishments for sins committed by the people, and that when sin was eradicated, punishment would cease. He believed that Jehovah was just, and would ultimately make righteousness prevail; that he would raise up some leader who would expel wickedness. Only by such a theory could he satisfy his reason as to the problem of man. Thus grew up the idea of a Messiah. If every disaster was a direct punishment for specific sins committed, and God is just and desires to see his people happy, it must be that, when correction has at last taught man to walk in the straight and narrow way, evil shall entirely cease. Such was the theory of the Hebrew prophet. It was accepted as the solution. It finally developed into a dogma.

It was a grand conception. Still grander was the heroic determination to prepare the way for this kingdom. It is indeed inspiring to know that, so great is the human mind that, when it was aroused, even in those dark ages, by the perception of the beauty of the higher life, the passionate desire to achieve the ideal accumulated such force that it repressed the instinct of political self-preservation and the desire for commercial prosperity. The prophets would make

1 Isaiah, chaps. xi, xiv.

no political alliance with other nations as a defensive measure, because under the customs of those days such treaties required the recognition of the gods of such nations. Israel's God, the God of righteousness and purity, must not be dishonored by the slightest attention to heathen deities. Commercial expansion was frowned upon because it tended to establish luxurious habits and modes of living. These are condemned, since they destroy the desire for the higher life as it was conceived, and set up a standard making riches and sensual gratification ends of themselves. The simple pastoral life of the patriarchs was believed to be the best. The prophet saw that wealth and power, and their attendant class privileges, were used as instruments to oppress the poor and unfortunate. This is a wrong that he condemns. He believes that no social institutions should be permitted to exist which rob the poor of their inalienable right to happiness.

The lives of the great prophets endowed these ideas with a vitality that has triumphed over time. Their social theories were thus emblazoned on the historical canvas in imperishable letters. Such is the chemical change that theories take on when touched with life.

So potent is the effect of charging ideas of the human mind with emotion and enthusiasm, that the unreflecting orthodox Christian calls the mysterious force, conversion. Perceiving that principles cannot otherwise take possession, mould the character, and control the conduct, of man, he rightfully declares that conversion is the foundation of a religious life. But it is likewise true that what we call greatness of character is never achieved except by the same force. The physical must make a complete surrender to the psychic. Only thus can the artist climb the heights of Parnassus, and the scientist penetrate the secrets of nature.

The New England Puritan, aroused by the dynamic force of moral enthusiasm, was in the plastic condition to be moulded by the doctrines of the Hebrew Scriptures. The picture of society contained therein was far different from what he had been accustomed to see in Europe. Could he have read and studied Isaiah with that intense desire to

appreciate and understand his meaning, without observing that the sentiments expressed had a modern application? Was it not still true that reverence was due only to Jehovah, and that it was even a sin to servilely bow to earthly dignitaries? Did not that pride which the prophet so severely condemned largely spring from the aristocratic theory? Inspired by the grandeur of the moral government depicted by Isaiah, the Puritan must have reflected that class distinctions, the boasted superiority of the high born, are petty and insignificant. Nor could he have failed to note that modern society did not accord the respect and consideration to the poor and unfortunate that the prophets commanded; that it did not appreciate the truth that the humblest person is high born, because he is the child of God.

This duty toward those in the lowest walks of life was stated so clearly, its application was illustrated by so many special customs and provisions, that he must have been impressed with it. Reading the Bible as he did to discern its spirit and meaning, he saw that it was the Hebrew prophet's conception of social justice not merely to give the poor something to eat and wear. Perfunctory charity was not fulfilling the law. One must feel that the poor man is his brother, and entitled to *respect* as well as food. "When thou dost loan thy brother anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge. Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge unto thee." A man's necessities must not compel him to submit to humiliation. The rich shall not haughtily enter the poor man's dwelling even to take a pledge that rightfully belongs to him. In this minute direction, requiring the respectful and considerate treatment of the poor in all the business transactions of life, the Puritan saw that the Hebrew prophet and lawgiver placed a high estimate upon the worth and dignity of every fellow-being, however humble and lowly his outward circumstances. He observed too that it was the aim of the prophet to abolish poverty, provide for the just distribution of wealth, and secure equality in material conditions.

Remembering that it was the professed purpose of the Puri-

tan colonists to conform in their lives to the civil and religious doctrines of the Scriptures, it cannot be doubted that the social democratic theories elaborated so fully by these prophet philosophers exercised a profound influence. The Puritans believed that these ideal laws were real laws in force among the children of Israel, and binding upon all Christians.

In the earliest history of the colonists traces of the influence of the Mosaic code are perceived. In 1631 the question came up of founding an aristocracy, an hereditary rank and privileges. Lords Brooke, Say and Sele, having obtained a grant of land from the New England Council, made proposals to unite with the Massachusetts colony. They wished to preserve their rank privileges, and desired the colony to make some changes in their laws; they wanted two orders established, gentry and freeholders; a provision that the governor should be chosen from the gentry only; and that the church-membership qualification should be abolished.

The court drew up a cautiously worded answer respectfully declining to make the changes. They defended the church-membership requirement on the ground that the Scripture taught that they should select their rulers from their own number. As to the institution of aristocracy, they first admitted formally that there were two orders of society, and then practically combated the principle upon which these orders had been created. Their contention was as follows:

> Hereditary authority and power standeth only by the laws of some commonwealths, and yet even amongst them, the authority and power of the father is nowhere communicated together with his honors unto all his posterity. When God blesseth any branch of any noble or generous family with a spirit and gifts fit for government, it would be taking God's name in vain to put such a talent under a bushel, and a sin against the honor of magistracy to neglect such in our public elections. But if God should not delight to furnish some of their posterity with gifts fit for magistracy, we should expose them to reproach and prejudice, if we should call them forth whom God has not, to public authority.

This argument, carried to all its conclusions, is a radical attack upon the very foundation of aristocracy. In their

answer they went further and boldly declared that hereditary rank should command respect in their commonwealth only when those upon whom it was conferred possessed a moral character. Without that they should be accorded neither political nor social honors.

It is obvious that the writers of this document had reflected some upon the institution of aristocracy. They were determined that the nobility should be held to a rigid code of morals, and should suffer disgrace for immoral conduct, just as the common people. High birth should not command respect unless coupled with a pure life. Further than that, they had thought over the question of hereditary privileges. They saw that ability and character do not always pass from father to son. If these are requisite, as they believed, to entitle one to social and political honor, the theory of hereditary rights is false. Their conclusions were definite enough to lead them to refuse to alter their plan of popular elections. If the nobility desired to secure political power, they must acquire it just as others, by the consent of the electors of the commonwealth expressed by their ballots.

It is needless to say the answer was unsatisfactory. The lords were evidently nettled. Winthrop says it was believed they tried to injure the colony by inducing emigrants to go to the West Indies. He states that they afterwards became more reconciled to their form of government, "although they had declared themselves much against it, and for a meer aristocratie, and hereditary magistracy, to be settled upon some great persons."

In the "Model of Charity" may be found Gov. Winthrop's social ideas and theories. This was written on board the ship that brought the colonists over. His ideal seems to have been a social democracy in which all the members of the commonwealth should be closely bound together by the feeling of brotherhood. Inequalities in wealth he discusses and explains on Scripture grounds. On this point he says, in conclusion:

> From hence it appears that no man is made more honorable than another out of any particular and singular respect unto himself, but for the glory of his creator, and the common good of the creature man. God reserves the property of these gifts to himself. Ezekiel, xvi-xvii.

In his exhortation for brotherly feeling there is little place for class distinctions and privileges:

> We must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of each other's necessities. We must hold a familiar communion together, in all meekness, patience, liberality.

Winthrop was a leading spirit in the colony. From all his letters, writings, and conduct it appears that he thought little of social distinctions, and felt that every human being was his brother. It is evident that he derived his social theories from the Scriptures. His doctrine of the use of wealth and the duty of the wealthy, he founds upon a chapter in Ezekiel, and cites it as authority.

But whilst he was strongly inclined to the principle of social equality, it should be remembered that he vigorously opposed a political democracy. He had no confidence in the capacity of the people to govern themselves. In the fight between the deputies and assistants to enlarge the powers of the popular body and restrict those of the magistrates, he was against the deputies. So also were the clergy. The idea of a political democracy was developed later.

The general court of the Massachusetts colony adopted outright the Hebrew theory as to the abuse of wealth. Frequently, resolutions were passed condemning the gratification of luxurious tastes, and declaring that such practices were causing the displeasure of the Lord and the visitation of punishment. Prohibiting indulgence in the use of wealth is suppressing the growth of classes which base their claim to superiority upon the acquisition of such privileges. The court also followed the Hebrew doctrine that social oppression of every kind is a grievous sin in the sight of the Lord, and "days of humiliation" were appointed to alleviate punishment for such offences.

In Chief Justice Sewell's pamphlet on slavery, written in 1700, is found a clear presentation of social rights as the Puritan of that age viewed them. The argument is based upon the social theories of the Bible. "It is most certain," he declares, "that all men as they are sons of Adam are co-heirs, and have equal rights unto liberty, and all the outward comforts of life. God hath given the earth (with

all its commodities) unto the sons of Adam. Psalm cxvi. 16."

The "Body of Liberties" enacted in 1641 had provided that the Mosaic law should govern the practice of slavery in the commonwealth. The old Hebrew distinction between strangers and their own brethren had been preserved. Sewell argues that, as the law of Moses prohibited enslaving their own people, and the new dispensation made all strangers brethren, slavery must therefore be entirely abolished to comply with the teachings of the Scriptures. "These Ethiopians," he says, "black as they are, seeing that they are the sons and daughters of the First Adam, the brethren and sisters of the Last Adam, and the offspring of God, they ought to be treated with the respect agreeable."

In this declaration is clearly brought out the Hebrew idea of social equality: every human being is the child of God; by virtue of that birthright he is entitled to be treated with respect. He shall suffer no indignity. No misfortune can take away the rank with which God invested all mankind.

In Sewell's treatise the Hebrew theory is carried out and developed more than in any previous argument. The doctrine continued to grow until, at the period of the Revolution, social democracy became a formulated dogma. Without the force of positive law, slavery in Massachusetts succumbed to public opinion. The moral conviction that it violated the native and inalienable rights of man attained such force that it triumphed over the commercial instinct of gain. At this period, 1770, Samuel Adams reiterates the principles enunciated by Sewell. In the report of the committee of correspondence drawn by him, the argument is presented without Scripture references, for the righteousness of the principle had become so plain that it was felt that no authority need be cited to sustain it. The Hebrew idea is still found in his proposition: "The right to freedom being the gift of God, it is not in the power of man to alienate this gift and voluntarily become a slave."

So marked was the influence of Hebrew thought upon the New England colonies that they have frequently been called theocracies. This is hardly accurate. In form the govern-

ment was less of a theocracy than Catholic Europe. The clergy as a class performed no functions in the administration of public affairs. It was not the design to place the civil power in the hands of those who professed to act under the immediate direction of God. Nor was it intended that the magistrates should be controlled by spiritual advisers. The ministers were wise and pure men, and their opinions were frequently sought in public matters. But they were not consulted as a class, though as individuals they were esteemed for their learning and integrity.

When the controversy broke out over the removal of Newton, and the Governor, assistants, and deputies could not agree, and a dispute then arose as to their respective powers, Mr. Wilson was called upon to preach a sermon to reconcile their differences. Winthrop says he defined from Scripture precedents the rights of these political bodies, and declared the strength of the magistracy to be in their authority; of the people, in their liberty; of the ministers, in their purity. The preacher's functions are thus defined to be purely social.

The Massachusetts records show that on January 9, 1636, the general court discussed its authority "in things of concern to the churches." After consulting with the ministers, it was unanimously agreed "that no member of the court ought to be publicly questioned by a church for any speech made in the court without the leave of the court." This proves that their intention was clear that the church and its officials should have no control over the civil government.

On the other hand, the court exercised a strict supervision over such matters as the appointment of ministers. It prohibited all persons from preaching unless the magistrates or county court issued a permit. It frequently interfered in the selection of ministers. The reason assigned for such surveillance is that the stability of the church depended on the character of its religious teachers. They must be men of ability and learning. The people feared that errors and heresies would creep in if ignorant persons were permitted to instruct the public. They felt that religion had been rescued by men of learning in the Reformation, and that the church was only

safe in such hands. They believed therefore that the general court should interfere and prevent unfit persons from entering the ministry. This would seem to be an arbitrary exercise of the civil power over the spiritual, and the very reverse of a theocracy.

It is true that the colony made church membership a necessary qualification for a freeman. But this law was undoubtedly passed to prevent Episcopalians and other denominations not in sympathy with the Puritans from acquiring power in the civil government, and stirring up dissension and strife. Political safety and security were the objects in view. They had adopted the elective system of choosing magistrates, and there was no sure way of preserving the magistracy in the hands of the Puritan party unless the electors were Puritans. It would seem that this is the explanation of the church-membership test rather than any theory that religious converts have as such a special or peculiar right to the control of the commonwealth.

But while the form of government excluded the clergy as a class from political privileges, the Bible in reality, as we have seen, deeply affected the ideas of the people in social and political matters. Puritanism was a return to the standpoint of the ancient Hebrew prophet. It was a protest against religious formalism. It shook off ceremonialism, and studied the gospel in its purity and simplicity. The Puritan hated the English prayer book because it substituted man's word for God's word. He wanted the Bible itself. No liturgy could take its place. He believed that every Christian should study the divine message directly.

Holding such convictions, endowed with a titanic energy and resolution, this "body of picked men" studied the Bible as it never had been studied before. The entire commonwealth was infused with its doctrines, civil and religious. It was a veritable Bible renaissance. The Scriptures were discovered anew. The colony was free from restraint, strong enough to resist local enemies; there were no internal dissensions, and it was possible to live and realize the life they desired, undisturbed. Its leaders were idealists who longed to seize and retain the visions of beauty that the mind in its

moments of inspiration perceives; they hoped that these visions might dwell with them day by day.

But while they strove to make their inward life conform to the Scripture standard, as citizens of the commonwealth they retained their Teutonic self-government instincts. The old Germanic institutions sprang into existence the moment the colonists stepped ashore. The Puritan was a thorough Englishman, and determined to have a hand in making the laws that governed him. The records show that he was keenly alive to any attempt to place too much authority in the hands of the administration. From the organization began the struggle between deputies and assistants. In principle it was a contest between the people and the crown. In 1636 murmurings were heard that there was danger of oppression in the unlimited discretion vested in the magistrates in pronouncing judgments and sentences. Up came a demand from the popular body, the deputies, that a "Body of Liberties" analogous to Magna Charta be enacted. The Puritan of the seventeenth century, transplanted to a new country, did not forget the value of constitutional restraints as a safeguard of liberty. The deputies kept a jealous watch upon the magistrates and boldly combated every exercise of arbitrary power. The exclusive veto was wrested from them, and equal power and dignity as a legislative body. Though the magistrates might be veritable saints, the Puritan citizen felt more secure when he retained a hand in the control of the government. The records of the colonies show that the freemen, one and all, made the administration of government a chief concern. Civic life was highly developed. The life and thought of the people permeated their institutions. By the constant exercise of self-government the commonwealth learned its value. They demonstrated its stability.

The Puritan came over with only partly developed ideas of liberty and social equality. He was intolerant, bigoted, determined to permit no religious sect to exist in the commonwealth save his own. He persecuted Baptists and Quakers. But he was a child of his age. Where would he look for a precedent of religious toleration? In the struggle

out of which emerged the governments of Europe, it was found that unity and conformity were necessary to resist the centrifugal forces of existing society. Differing opinions then easily fomented wars and rebellions. A church quarrel was dangerous; it threatened the stability of society. In New England this same instinctive feeling existed, that schism would result in civil conflict and strife.

But the Puritan set in motion forces that were to clear the way for religious freedom. When he founded schools and colleges to educate his children that they might have the ability and skill to defend their faith against error, he builded better than he knew. With secular learning came a broader view of life. Culture, grafted upon this Puritan stock, so narrow and rigid in its orthodoxy, was to develop it until New England should become the home of intellectual toleration and freedom. It transformed the Winthrop of the seventeenth century into the Channing of the nineteenth. The writer of the "Model of Charity," spotless in private character, of a gentle, humane disposition, felt it his duty to persecute those who could not accept the established creed of the Puritan church. But his descendants in the nineteenth century have learned that charity has a wider application; that social justice requires that every man shall be permitted not only to live free from oppression, but also to think for himself, free from restraint.

The Hebrew prophet — the teacher of New England — did not appreciate the manysidedness of the human mind. His intellectual horizon was narrow. In his age general culture did not exist. But to these idealists who in the shadow of the barbarous hordes of Assyria and Egypt cast earthly security to the winds, lived in the spirit, and attained to a conception of social justice that gave to every child of God, high or low, personal liberty and all the comforts of life, modern social democracy owes a debt.

LINCOLN, NEB.

PRIEST AND PEOPLE.[1]

BY E. T. HARGROVE.

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"FOLLOW the middle path," taught Kwang-tsze, "avoid extremes, be moderate"; and the importance this Chinese sage set upon the precept may be gathered from the fact that Confucius had already enunciated it: and Kwang-tsze hated to agree with Confucius.

As every philosopher since his day has reiterated and emphasized the same teaching, it may be safely concluded that it is one which mankind as a whole has persistently ignored. Particularly has this been the case in the treatment vouchsafed to priests: they have been alternately adored and flayed, not only within the pale of Christendom — where these contradictory proceedings have frequently reached an acute stage — but wherever religion of any sort has swayed the destinies of the race.

In more recent times the flaying process has been modified in its expression; but it is still regarded as a sufficiently polite occupation so long as it is conducted after the more refined methods of the nineteenth century, with pen instead of scourge. The adoration also continues, but is spread over a wider area, so that we have lived to see the inauguration of sceptical-professor-worship, and even the possible canonization of priest-flayers. It is ever thus with human nature, which, it seems, must always exhibit extreme and opposite tendencies, and which at the last, I am inclined to believe, may be divided into two great hosts of divine men and human demons — the sheep and the goats of Scripture.

History forever repeats itself, but reappears on a higher plane, as it were. The crude weapons of earlier centuries are replaced with more delicate appliances, their purpose remaining the same. This is true of all departments of life,

[1] This article, with two earlier essays by the writer, will shortly be issued in pamphlet form under the general title "Some Modern Failings."

so much so that in many cases the mind has become the sole arena of events which were formerly enacted physically.

"Water may be transformed into vapor; but in essence they are the same."

Theosophy, insisting as it does upon the importance of Kwang-tsze's precept, in that or some other form, treats the whole question of the relation of priest and layman from a standpoint that may now be almost looked upon as original, so long has it been abandoned by the majority of mankind. Theosophy maintains that priests, or spiritual teachers, are necessary; but its definition of their functions would not now meet with favor among many of their order.[1]

The evolution of the priest has been frequently described. Doré's "Neophyte" most eloquently portrays it. But the subject has for the most part been handled one-sidedly: we have heard so much of the priest's influence upon the people, so little of the people's influence upon the priest. It required a more than ordinarily enlightened teacher — as Goethe was, though not a "priest" in the ideal sense — to exclaim in a moment of inspiration, *O was sind wir Grossen auf der Woge der Menschheit? Wir glauben sie zu beherrschen, und sie treibt uns auf und nieder, hin und her.* — "Ah! what are we great ones on the wave of humanity? We fancy we rule over it, and it sways us up and down, hither and thither."

The conventional story, true so far as it goes, may be summarized somewhat as follows. At the commencement of every religious movement there have been those who "gave up all and followed Him." They acted from deep conviction; they threw themselves into their work with whole hearts, thinking of nothing else, caring for nothing else. They soon came to be regarded as wiser than other men: they often were; and they at least knew more of the doctrines they expounded than those whom they undertook to teach. At their best, these early exponents of religion inspired

[1] The Constitution of the Theosophical Society in America, as such, is so entirely opposed to autocracy in any sense, that its members can afford to take an impersonal view of the relations between priest and people. The Society has executive officers, elected by the members, but can never have teachers or priests. Its members, *individually*, are free to select their own teachers.

thousands to live nobler, cleaner, saner lives; and the people were grateful. In some cases, truly inspired themselves, their inspiration so fired the hearts of others that these also became saints, heroes, even sages, in their turn; and the people marvelled.

These early preachers had no thought of power. They were content at the outset to escape with whole skins, to do good and to preach the truth as they saw it, without thought of reward or recognition from men. Power was sure to be theirs in time, if only because they were one-pointed in purpose — and most men have either no purpose and no point, or no point and fifty tangled purposes; being therefore powerless. As we know, every force in nature is capable of acting in at least three different ways: for creation, preservation, or destruction, each of which modes of action may at times achieve relatively good, relatively evil, or positively ideal results. Hence the power these early and often worthy preachers attained became a source of possible danger; for a power used for good may also be used for evil.

As time passed it became needful to organize; the scattered efforts of individuals had to be concentrated, systematized. Thus began the formation of a society or church for the purpose of mutual encouragement, for regulated worship and methodical propaganda. A chief dignitary was elected or appointed, with various heads of departments. United effort increased the force of the movement; the chief dignitary and his assistants became more and more powerful, leading the minds of their flock, beginning to be looked upon as in some sense God's agents or special ambassadors, and were reverenced accordingly.

Meanwhile, those early preachers, having earned their rest, died, and were succeeded by all sorts and conditions of men, good, bad, and indifferent. New chief dignitaries were appointed, — or appointed themselves, — were also looked upon with reverence and awe, and in their turn came to believe that their own glory gave glory to God. They should therefore strive for their own glory that God might be glorified. By degrees they ceased perhaps to care so much about passing on these honors to the deity; they preserved one

or more for themselves — to pass on later. It ceased to be of such great importance that they were, or were supposed to be, God's ambassadors; they were ambassadors, and that was vastly important.

The satraps of the chief dignitary became numerous and dutiful, respectful and obedient; then humble and rather servile; next sycophantic and altogether contemptible. For such is the tendency of man when he basks in the favor of a tin-foil "temporal" sun. Douleio-mania is not yet classified among official diseases. It exists and occasionally proves fatal nevertheless; not the only instance of the kind!

And so this evolutionary drama proceeds. I purposely omit from it the part played by money. It is a vulgar part; a means, not an end; an effect, not a cause, and has been endlessly dealt with elsewhere. Money is only desired for the power and influence that go with it.

For many reasons these chief dignitaries and their retainers must augment their influence: and here is consummation; hell on earth is finally conceived. It will be seen that these descendants of the earlier preachers have by this time forgotten the doctrines of their Saviour — whether Christ, Buddha, Mohammed, or another; if they have not forgotten the doctrines, they have forgotten to put them into practice. Perhaps they can no longer understand them. In any case they pretend to "save souls," which cannot be regarded as a religious or philosophical or a sensible proceeding, even when honestly undertaken. The soul-saving process consists in trying to drive people into heaven and to drag them out of hell — a fundamental and most calamitous error. Those who are actuated by genuine love for the souls to be saved, and those who simply desire to establish a record in soul-saving for their own honor and glory or for their own salvation, must all increase their influence at any cost. They must hurriedly increase it.

At first these "fishers of men" had chiefly concerned themselves with the higher natures of those whom they wished to catch; they had based their appeals upon principle, they had sought to evoke the nobler sentiments. But as this process was found to bring but slow results, no matter how sure and

permanent, they soon sought quicker methods, and discovered that by arousing the baser emotions of the people, their fears, jealousies, ambitions, and superstitions, they could catch hundreds where before they caught tens.

By this time there are sure to be some insincere members among the preaching fraternity. From a variety of motives they will indulge in deliberate mystification and mummery as bait for the multitude. But even this development is harmless compared with another bye-product of the practice of soul-saving. Men not evil by nature; men who earnestly strive after all that is noblest and best, in their anxiety to hasten the good work and to gather sheep into the fold, finding that sensationalism is plentifully productive of results, argue themselves into an activity even more degrading than many forms of vice. They attempt to deceive their own souls. Approving their conduct to themselves on the ground that "the ends justify the means" and "it is the motive that counts;" twisting such philosophy as they may have and constructing therefrom an intellectual basis for the course they wish to pursue, they become mummers and mystifiers in their turn, for the increase of their own influence and consequently, as they see it, for the greater glory of God.

"To do evil that good may come" is manifestly absurd philosophically, though it is on that basis that much of our political procedure is conducted to-day. A more subtle proposition than that is put forward by those who philosophically and deliberately falsify facts with good motive, namely, that, good and evil being only relative terms, so long as harmony or unity is preserved or is ultimately brought about, it does not much matter which of these roads is followed. Purity of motive, they say, is in itself sufficient to insure the proper direction and efficacy of the force generated; furthermore, nothing beneath the spirit can possibly be pure. Most cunning devil, posing as God's shadow! Such reasoners forget that while real purity of motive will perhaps save their own souls in time, it is not their own souls they chiefly profess to be saving. They declare themselves to be working for the world's sake; they are striving to make the ideal the real. To do this they should surely try to express the ideal in their own lives,

in their thoughts and acts, in all their relations with their fellow men, inspiring them to do likewise, content to fail in this so long as they continue *trying*, aiming at the highest no matter where their shaft may reach. Their very loftiness of aim and sincerity of purpose will carry the world with them in the end; but to deceive others, with no matter how pure a motive, can never bring back the Golden Age to earth; it can only increase the darkness of this Age of Night.

As to the argument that there is no such thing as absolute truth in a world of relativity, that it is impossible to say anything which is perfectly and wholly true — what of that? Is it their business to do now what it will take æons to accomplish fully? Is it for them to succeed, or is it for them to *try?* And how can truth ever be made manifest unless here and now we begin to seek it in all things? If we have to reach a certain goal — and sooner or later we must attain to truth — it is folly to walk away from it merely because it is far off.

As the unfolding of our drama proceeds, however, all such considerations are quite outweighed by the glamour of immediate results; and so the power of the priest increased, became "temporal," and at last outshone the splendor of kings. Throughout it all, from beginning to end, there were many good and saintly priests, who remained loyal to the principles inculcated by the Founder of their religion, who lived lives of the greatest holiness, who helped the people directly and indirectly, and who kept alive the tradition of what the priest should be. They did not seek influence; they were well content to assist those who came to them for assistance, seeking none, avoiding none. But the desire for power among many of their associates became insatiable, so that they were not satisfied until they possessed their followers, body and soul. They felt that they should govern the minutest acts of men's lives; should control them personally, in their estimates of other men, in family, business, and social matters, in matters of state and public polity. Was not the very number of hairs on man's head known to God, and was it not their duty, as God's representatives, to have as intimate a knowledge of all that concerned *their* flock? Was it not further their duty to

save God trouble whenever possible, and to act for him when the occasion seemed to require it? If they had not God's power of vision they could use the eyes and ears of other men, and employ innumerable and ever-ready private agents and means of observation. Let it be said again that many of them were honestly actuated by a perverted sense of duty.

By now it may come to be said, "Ah, these villanous priests! Exterminate them once and for always! The good men among them can never compensate for the evil wrought by the others." But listen yet a little. Who made the priests? Who makes them to-day? The answer to this rings clear: *it is the people who make the priests;* it is they who are responsible, but it is the habit of the people to throw the blame on the abortions which their own ignorance, slothfulness, and wickedness have created.

Consider the outcry raised at the present time against certain newspapers, by reason of their brutality of utterance and procedure. The proprietors are blamed; then the editors. Yet simple common sense indubitably shows that these editors and proprietors alike are mere agents, that they seek to supply and succeed in supplying what a large section of the public desires and demands. Blameworthy they are to that extent; but they are only mortal, and fundamentally they are less to blame than many of the very people who hurl anathemas at them. It would be madness to restrict the law of supply and demand to mere merchandise. The principle accounts for the development of many things, including newspapers and priests. The people made the priest, sometimes good and sometimes bad; when they suffered in consequence they cursed him, and, in him, the reflection of their own weaknesses. Every public institution — using that word in its widest sense — can be studied from the same standpoint. To do so, one must first consider the nature of man, essential and superficial, with some of his invariable tendencies, some of his constant demands, knowing that these were the same two thousand years ago as they are to-day.

Some time ago two friends sat in the courtyard of an hotel, smoking, meditating on things in general. And into the courtyard there swirled a newspaper, blown hither and thither

by eddies of wind, blown in circles and backwards and forwards, leaning drunkenly against chairs and cab-wheels and horses' legs — without feet or base of its own — a mere sheet of paper, covered with words, foreign to itself, not understood by itself. Muttered the two friends, "Behold the symbol of man!" Then they relapsed into sympathetic, speaking silence. Symbol of man it was in truth, or rather of this outer vesture of his which hides the real self in him. For see how he leans, totters, reels, and knows not how or where to stand; see how he fears to arise in his manhood and must needs crawl on his belly, grovelling before innumerable idols in which he images his own degradation. A child must learn to walk alone, unaided; but it knows not fear, being yet a small child having faith, so that it learns easily; while man, who must learn soon or late to do the same thing morally and mentally — man fears. He dare not stand upright, towards the free sky above him; if he so much as rises to his feet he must straightway lean on something — anything so long as he leans. Though his props have been broken one by one and he has sprawled again and again on the mud of the earth, he must yet again scramble himself together only to topple against someone or something even weaker than he is. O man, man! the one hope for the salvation of the universe around thee, will nothing goad thee, shame thee, into a momentary audacity, in which thou mayest for one fleeting second realize that thou *canst* stand? Man, so infinitely puny, so infinitely capable of greatness; man, with the godhood shining in the depths of thy hidden nature, scarce perceptible, if perceptible at all, through the murk of thy daily self, when wilt thou cast aside thy fear and arise, proclaiming thyself a beneficent power, a divine light? When, above all things, wilt thou *be* these things? First, in some rare moment, thou wilt proclaim it; then thou wilt come persistently to believe it, and at the last thou shalt verily become what the heart within thee already whispers thou art — a god. Has not every poet, every prophet, every Saviour of the race heralded this truth unceasingly? Have they not thundered at us that man's greatest sin is lack of faith in man? Did not the Christ declare that those who came after him might do greater deeds

than he had done, if they had but faith? But faith in what? In him? Yes, if he be taken as a type of man become divine, as a type of what all men may become if they will but have faith in their own divine possibilities, in the Christ-spirit within themselves and in all men.

This, however, was too much to expect of early man, as it is too much to expect suddenly of his modern counterpart. His innumerable desires stood and still stand in his way. Being lazy, he desires a prop for his support; dominated by his senses, he desires sensationalism and excitement to gratify them; for the same reason he desires to be mystified — as a new sensation. As old sensations pall, he continuously desires fresh excitement, fresh wonders, new props. Haunted by an inexplicable, monotonous self-consciousness of which he cannot rid himself by ordinary means, he tries to drug this obsessing demon with religious works and observances, as others, for the same reason, seek to forget themselves in drink, corrupt or trashy novels, and with a thousand different expedients.

So when our typical man first heard of some new religion and listened to its doctrines, he frequently turned to it as a more recently invented prop, being tired of his old one, or finding it unstable beneath his weight. Told, at that early time, and by some true exponent, that he would have to save his own soul through effort and self-sacrifice, he cheerfully and enthusiastically consented. It had been long since he had met with such an original idea or one that so pleasantly tickled his imagination. He turns about, then, to see how he may save himself as directed, — and leans plump up against whoever else seems to him to be most actively engaged on the same business, to be most self-dependent, most devoid of the leaning tendency. He can only follow out the inclination of his own nature. He probably chooses some preacher for his prop, who, if honest and endowed with an understanding of his mission (for I am postulating a time when preachers had clear conceptions of their own teachings), promptly pushes him upon his own feet. If dishonest or if lacking in philosophy, the preacher will somewhat encourage this enervating lopsided tendency. It suits him and suits

the staggering convert. It suits him, as two or three dozen of these staggerers around him make him look bigger, add to his importance, flatter his vanity; and it may be that he has so little faith in man (and in his own religion) that he really believes they cannot stand on their own feet, possibly that they have no feet on which to stand.

So these poor mortals, priest and layman, worked upon each other's weaknesses; the one too inert to think or act for himself, too incredulous of his own ability to do so; the other meeting with various recompenses for supplying the constantly recurring demand, repeated *al multi crescendo*. Of course the result was disastrous, not only on account of its giving rise to deception and a general weakening of the moral and mental fibre of all concerned, but in a multiplicity of other and more insidious ways.

The priests found it necessary to hold up ideals to the people. The honest among them took their own understanding of Christ, Buddha, Zoroaster, or some other, and proceeded to insist that the life of one of these should be imitated by all true believers. In doing this, harmlessly enough as it may seem, they not only made their own interpretation of the life before them, but concluded that this must be the only right interpretation, and therefore did not scruple to try to replace already existing ideals with their own. Whenever they succeeded they bred misery and despair. There is no man living who has not an ideal of some sort, no matter how low it may be in comparison with others. It is yet his own; it is the result of his entire past; it contains the germ of his spiritual life; it is the only surety of his ultimate redemption. To replace that man's ideal with another, no matter how much loftier than his own, will end in his confusion if not in his ruin. If it be too lofty for his nature to assimilate he will quickly react from it under natural and universal law; he must in any case throw it out of his heart before long, just as the human body will expel any foreign substance, no matter how carefully introduced. Only on condition that this foreign substance be transformed, alchemized, and made of a kind with the rest of the organism, can it be retained healthfully. It is so with the mind

and heart of man. Casting out from him this alien and unnatural ideal, he will do so in pain and anguish, losing faith in his very power to appreciate *the* ideal (his own), and, if modern in his cut, will at last dismiss the whole matter with the aphorism, "Ideals are all rot!"

In the case of Christ, the mass of his followers did not dare interpret his life and character for themselves; the priests did it for them, and too frequently held up an image of gray agony and bloody sweat and fearful sacrifice which was thoroughly inhuman, and which no one in the least desired to imitate. Yet they said, "Take His life as your model!" In this they dangerously neared hypocrisy, as they did not do it themselves. Consequently no one did it —and ideals nearly died out of Christendom. If the people had been told it was their duty to form their own conception of Christ, and that no one view could be right for all, but that each man's view would be right for himself, they would never have allowed Christ's life to be overshadowed by his death. They would have found many days of joy and sweetness amidst the sorrow of his years —hours when he played with little children as one of themselves; when he entered into the pleasures of the people, eating, drinking, and making merry with them; when, again, he would discuss matters of philosophy, history, and the like with the more intellectual among them. Looked at freely and without fear or prejudice, each man and woman would have found in him their own ideal, and by striving towards that it would have gradually grown nobler and purer, more closely akin to the type on which they had based it. They would have seen a man, divine yet human; divine because human.

Christ would have taught them thus, as a true priest and prophet; urging each to be true to his own ideal, to aspire to it, to strive to make it the real; pointing out to them that what is high for one is not high for all, and that though the Light of the World be one it must at all times be seen differently, so long as we behold it with mortal eyes. Therefore is it true that each man has his own spirit and his own light, and should follow these down into hell if they take him there, for, travelling that road, from hell he will be brought

forth, strengthened by experience; while to follow the light of another will lead him down into hell, but to no bringing forth. Interdependent, men are and always will be; self-dependent they must yet become.

This is the function of the true priest and spiritual teacher: to have so firm a faith in that "light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world," to see his own light so clearly, that he is able to point out its action in others, to describe to them the laws governing its activities, to inspire them with faith in its guidance, to stand to them as a constant example of its expression. Call that "light" what you will, — the intuition, the conscience, the soul, the "voice of the silence," the Christos, the Atma, — it matters not. It is the real Self of man, his one immortal and tireless friend; and the priest, instead of trying to arrogate the office of this concealed deity, should strive above all things to evoke its presence.

For this reason an infinitude of harm is done by those among their number who use personal control with their followers — even with good motive — in order to direct the daily acts and duties of people who will not pass the crawling stage of human development. The unpardonable impertinence of it, the unwarrantable intrusion, the unspeakable outrage, in fact, of interfering with the natural unfoldment of a human soul, of taking its destiny into their hands! And in no case will the soul remain in any mortal's hands. It was not made for handling, still less for shackles, and will break free from every restraint to pass forward unimpeded on its pilgrimage through matter.

Often will teachers and priests be asked for directions by someone distrustful of himself, wishful to throw the responsibility of his action upon another, or sincerely anxious for what he deems higher guidance; but never will priest or teacher, if true to his mission, give directions or even make suggestions on any points concerning another's personal duty. They will more likely say with Polonius:

> This above all,— To thine own self be true;
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man.

They will ask this child among men what *he* considers to be his duty under the circumstances; they will learn from him what may be his own ideal of right; they will help him to compare the course he proposes to follow with the ideal he admits as his; they will encourage him, will endeavor to call forth all that is best and as yet latent in him; but never will they dare to insult his living soul by usurping its proper work. They will remain firm fixed in their own duty, remembering that, as Krishna says in the *Bhagavad Gita*, "The duty of another is full of danger," and "It is better to perform one's own natural duty, even though devoid of excellence, than to take upon oneself the duty of another and perform it well."

This most common failing of seeking to dominate the lives of others is the prime factor in half the evils that beset the priestly profession. Once admit that it is right to influence others in the way described, and it becomes necessary to hold them. To do this they must be pleased, and therefore a teacher will be obliged to give people what they want, irrespective of whether it is what they should have. If the majority desire sensationalism, gossip, prophecies, what not, they must have them. Farewell then to ideals, principles, aspirations! To use, and so stimulate human weakness, to play upon the superstitions, vanities, stupidities of man, can only arouse activities of a like quality, tainted with the same disease. Temporary results may be achieved, a transitory enthusiasm may be excited, but these will be as shortlived as the source from which the original action sprang. Man wearies in time of all but eternal principles, and if action be based upon lower motives, and his more abject qualities be appealed to, he demands ever-increasing attractions, constantly varying excitement, ceaseless external stimulus—and then stops dead short in supreme disgust and discontent.

"Influence" presupposes authority, and this authority may be dependent upon the inherent force of the teacher or upon his supposed representative character as God's earthly delegate. Whether he draw his authority from parchment, from the laying on of hands, or from the mere assent of those concerned, the result is the same, and the actual bestower of the

authority is the same, namely, *the individual who recognizes it.* This is a point not infrequently ignored.

What makes a book authoritative? Take the Christian Bible: there are millions who bow to it as the direct expression of God's wisdom and will; but put it into the hands of a Hindu who has never heard of Christ, and it is to him an example of some *mllechha's* imbecility. Mr. Frederic Harrison will regard the works of Comte as speaking *de par le Roi*, as it were; but Professor Huxley's estimate of their worth would have closely corresponded with the Hindu's opinion of the Bible. It is a matter absolutely dependent upon the judgment or idiosyncrasies of persons, and it must therefore follow that there is no such thing as authority where truth is concerned, each man, in the last analysis, being the sole arbiter of what for him is true and what false. Unfortunately he does not believe this. At some period of his life he arrived at the conclusion, perhaps half unconsciously, that someone or something was authoritative, a convenient standard of truth, a source from which wisdom might be relied upon to flow; and having arrived at that conclusion he comfortably settled down to think no more. He reëntered the vegetable kingdom from which he momentarily, unwillingly, and probably accidentally emerged. The shame of it! Perhaps in the course of time he is once more awakened from his coma, comes to the conclusion that his authority is either effete or unfashionable, and transfers his allegiance to some other oracle, be he priest, professor, or politician. They save him the trouble of thinking, and may be used as reasoning machines, the outcome, briefly integrated, being all that it seems necessary to learn.

The very use of the word authority, where truth, where principles are in question, is an affront to every thinking man. The source of a statement should never be named or considered if the question involves any statement of right or wrong. What was it to Emerson that Buddha, Jesus, or Plato propounded something as a fact? The question to him was — Is this thing true? That is the everlasting problem, and for its solution do our judgment and intuition exist. Weigh all things, said Paul the apostle of Christ, and cast out whatever is false.

Truth, more universal than space, more lasting than time, can never be confined within the narrow limits of brain or book.

Wise indeed is he who finds his teacher everywhere. In stone and star and scroll, in man and child, in the present and the past, — in boundless nature. Who would exile life from any point in space? Is there an atom that is not conscious? And is there not motion and that which moves, both in ourselves and everywhere without? The fall of a leaf, the chance word of friend or foe, — both show us the workings of forces which as the agents of law might help in the downfall of nations. We must interpret other minds by ours; but we must learn to understand our own by those around us. Mind is something more than our own mind. Only a fool in his pride will think that *that* man at any rate can teach him nothing. There is naught existing from which we have not much to learn. . . . The poorest, meanest thing on earth knows something we do not know. By causing its expression, by receiving in humility some simple fact, some glimpse of truth, we teach. . . . The true learner is a teacher of wisdom. All that he takes he bestows; all that he gives is returned to him with increase. But this give and take is not his doing; it is the movement of that law upon which he waits.[1]

Thus is truth to be attained; no vicarious authority is there in this process, but simple recognition on your part. No priest to reveal to you God's will; nothing but its discovery within yourself. No priest to dictate to you the path you should tread; only your own soul's light to guide you. Spiritual teachers, if you can find them, whose function it will be, not to drag you out of hell or up into heaven, but to educate you religiously by "leading forth" all that is best and highest in your nature. And in dealing with these, your priests, — human, and therefore liable to err as the greatest of them must be, — remember your own responsibilities. You may make them what you would have them be. In your hands is the power, for priests cannot exist without you, are dependent upon you for their very labors. Use the power that is yours fearlessly and for the good of all. Demand the best, and let your demands be made known to them; they will, for they must, supply what you demand. Loyalty to your religion and your church should make this binding upon you; loyalty to your teachers themselves makes it necessary. Dare, and dare yet again — then reap your re-

1 "Seeking the Self," *The Path*, 1894. By the writer, under the signature of "Che-Yew-Tsang."

ward and see others reap it with you. Do not reverence anyone for the mere position he may occupy; respect the position, but reverence in him only that which partakes of the divine, that which you recognize as worthy of imitation. Thus may the priest-teacher help you to become a helper of men in your turn; and a helper you may be, whether immersed in the affairs of the world or free to devote your whole time to the service of humanity.

If ideal teachers be rarely met with to-day, begin now to make their existence likely in the near future. And meanwhile bless the many good priests working in the world around us, unselfishly and according to the light that is theirs — among Romans and Protestants alike, among Jews and Gentiles, and throughout the whole of heterogeneous "heathendom." These men, though nominally belonging to different religions, are in fact most intimately united in a cause they all hold sacred, the cause of universal brotherhood. For the good of the race they labor, careless of reward either in this life or the next; fired with a profound belief in the perfectibility of man and with the urgent need of reminding him of his ever-waiting birthright — that ancient and undying Light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world.[1]

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1 It has not seemed necessary to give quotations from the writings of Madame H. P. Blavatsky and W. Q. Judge bearing upon the views put forward throughout this article. It is sufficient to say that these views were learned from them — particularly in my own case from Mr. Judge, whose pupil I was; and also from association with Mrs. K. A. Tingley, the present head of the theosophical movement.

IMMIGRATION, HARD TIMES, AND THE VETO.

BY JOHN CHETWOOD, JR.

Author of "Immigration Fallacies."

TO a great many people who had been striving or hoping for real immigration reform the news of the presidential veto came fittingly on March 3 — Ash Wednesday. The late lamented bill was vetoed on several grounds. Some of the objections were technical or confined to matters of detail, or else to the difficulty of construing or enforcing certain sections of the proposed law. Upon them, however, the veto message was not really based and they do not concern us, though stated with all the force and sincerity that mark their eminent author.

The first, foremost, and fundamental objection to the bill was "its radical departure from our national policy relating to immigration." Therein lay the great interest and importance of the veto message, especially as a bill framed on similar lines is to appear at the December session of Congress, and the ultimate fate of that bill will be of much concern to American civilization. For, as has been pointed out more than once,[1] all past agitations for reform have been both fruitless and spasmodic. The present one, having lasted several years, shows signs of drawing to a close. And unless Congress speedily comes to the rescue its net result will have been some improvements in administering the law, *and keeping out by the law just* $\frac{3}{5}$ *of 1 per cent of the new arrivals.* This is according to the official reports of the Bureau of Statistics for February, 1897, and is about as good a showing as any yet made.

The provision of the late Bill to which President Cleveland took special exception in his message of March 2, 1897, added to those to be excluded:

> All persons physically capable and over sixteen years of age who cannot read and write the English language or some other language; but a

[1] *Overland Monthly*, Feb., 1894, "Is It Possible to Regulate Immigration?" Also chapter second of "Immigration Fallacies."

person not so able to read and write who is over fifty years of age and is the parent or grandparent of a qualified immigrant over twenty-one years of age and capable of supporting such parent or grandparent, may accompany such immigrant, or such parent or grandparent may be sent for and come to join the family of a child or grandchild over twenty-one years of age similarly qualified and capable; and a wife or minor child not so able to read and write may accompany or be sent for and come and join the husband or parent similarly qualified and capable.

This amendment to the laws it was believed would each year shut out as many as a hundred thousand people of a densely ignorant type with whose society we could readily dispense. But according to the views of the President,

The best reason that could be given for this radical restriction of immigration is the necessity of protecting our population against degeneration, and saving our national peace and quiet from imported turbulence and disorder. I cannot believe that we should be protected against these evils by limiting immigration to those who can read and write in any language twenty-five words of our Constitution. In my opinion it is infinitely more safe to admit 100,000 immigrants, who, though unable to read and write, seek among us only a home and an opportunity to work, than to admit one of the unruly agitators and enemies of governmental control.

The last sentence is perplexing. It seems to assume that the 100,000 ignorant laborers who come to seek a home and work are all innocent and peaceable. But how can such be the case? These 100,000 are from central and southern Europe, a considerable portion being Huns and Bohemians of the class that swarms in the Pennsylvania coal-fields practising polyandry and rifling the bodies of the dead. Many more swell the ranks of the Poles and Slavs toiling in Western mines, a very unruly and dangerous element. Some prove to be Italian or Sicilian ex-bandits, members of the Mafia, bound for New Orleans, perhaps, to embroil us again with their mother country. Many others of course are quiet orderly folk. It must be the latter alone whom the message refers to.

If so it is certainly *more* safe to admit a good many of them than one educated enemy of society or the state such as an anarchist, nihilist, or prominent criminal. The ex-President intimates that the latter are allowed to enter, and that we should begin the reform with them. So we should — if we could. The trouble is that the criminal is infinitely

harder to detect and exclude than is the mere ignoramus. By requiring the applicant to read and write we can test him in the alphabet of language, but in no way can he be tested in the alphabet of crime. In the great majority of cases, his character and record are sealed from our vision, and so they must ever remain under our singular system, or rather total lack of system, of admission. When we are ready to apply the character test in earnest we shall begin at the other end — of the Atlantic, whence, under a proper system of consular inspection, no emigrant will be allowed to sail without a clean bill of health, not only physical and moral, but mental and financial.

But this reform is much more "radical" than that of the bill in question, and even surer to encounter a veto. If we must begin elsewhere, and it is clear that we must, why not start with the ignorant peasant or with the specimen of "inherited inefficiency" from the slums of Europe? To say that the anarchist or agitator is worse than he, is not to say that he is at all desirable. Strangely enough the message emphasizes this very thought in a plea *for* the illiterate. The ex-President urges that it is more safe to admit 100,000 illiterates than one of the unruly agitators or enemies of government who, he says (without italics), "can not only read and write, but delight in arousing by inflammatory speech the *illiterate* and peacefully inclined to discontent and tumult. Violence and discontent do not *originate* with the illiterate laborers. They are rather the *victims* of the educated agitators." But does not this make the illiterate about as dangerous to society as the agitator? For, in lack of the illiterate, where would the agitator look for a following?

As many an urgent appeal to restrict immigration has been made in behalf of American labor, the ex-President's views on the subject are most important. He observes:

> The claim is also made that the influx of foreign laborers deprives those who are better fitted than they of the privilege of earning their livelihood by daily toil. An unfortunate condition is certainly presented when any who are willing to labor are unemployed. But so far as this condition now exists among our people it must be conceded to be a result of the phenomenal business depression and the stagnation of all

enterprises in which labor is a factor. With the advent of settled and wholesome financial and economic policies, and a consequent encouragement to the activity of capital, the misfortune of unemployed labor should, to a great extent at least, be remedied. If it continues, its natural consequence must be to check the future immigration to our cities of foreign laborers, and to deplete the ranks of those already here.

Of course a "phenomenal business depression" has some temporary influence in lessening labor immigration, but so long as the rate of wages in this country is appreciably higher than that abroad, the toiling masses there will as "a natural consequence" gravitate to us. Moreover, *natural* laws are not allowed to control. Immigration nowadays is largely artificial, constantly stimulated by the steamship companies and their agents. During last year's Congressional debate it was claimed that the emissaries of transportation are now restricted by law in their methods of advertising our resources to the credulous European. On the other hand, it was pointed out that immense ships had lately been built for this very emigrant traffic which were obliged to earn interest on the investment. One of their representatives stated to a House Committee that the companies had agents in every village of Europe for the purpose of inducing emigration; and another witness said that not only were the immigrants posted as to our scale of wages, but that many of them on landing in an American city knew more about the organized charities of the city than the people who lived there.

But the former part of the foregoing paragraph alluding to the causes of the great business depression is the all-important portion of the message, since the supposed injury of immigration to labor accounts for the "radical" nature of the vetoed bill. Many people have come to feel that, whatever the influence of the currency or the tariff, the numbers and especially the recent character of the new-comers have contributed both to produce and to aggravate the "hard times" of labor if not of capital. The ex-President, however, is evidently of those who think otherwise. For the condition of unemployed labor, he says, "must be conceded to be a result of the phenomenal business depression," which

will disappear on a return to "wholesome financial and economic policies."

It is to be hoped indeed that this is true, for the vast and growing army of the idle is a natural source not only of pity, but of deep concern and anxiety to every thoughtful man. And if immigration to-day keeps ever swelling the ranks of the homeless and helpless, the discontented and the dangerous, we certainly ought to know it. It most assuredly appears to be doing just this thing, and the figures available, though incomplete, so far as they go carry conviction with them.

The number of the unemployed in the whole country for the year ending with March, 1897, we do not know. But we do know that for several years it has been rapidly increasing, especially in the three or four Eastern States where the great bulk of the immigrants go. In one of these States, Massachusetts, a State census taken in 1892 showed, according to figures quoted in the Congressional debate of 1896, that twenty-nine per cent of the population was out of employment for some part of the year 1892. Probably most men who have given the matter any thought would estimate that twice as many people were out of work on March 31, 1897, as were in the same condition on March 31, 1890, for which year we have official figures. Making a considerable reduction, however, from the estimate that we have doubled our unemployed since 1890, and taking the figures of that year as a basis of comparison, we should have no less than 6,000,000 persons out of work for some part of the year ending March 31, 1897, and a number equivalent to 2,000,000 out of work for the entire year. And these appalling figures do not take into account either the additional numbers who are dependent upon the unemployed, or the other millions who, when the unemployed are so numerous, have to toil for almost any wages that may be offered. From June 30, 1890, to June 30, 1896, we added to our population 3,079,404 immigrants, not counting all the arrivals from Canada and Mexico. From June 30, 1896, the figures are not yet in, but it is probable that despite the depression at least 250,000 should be added, bringing the grand total

to nearly three millions and a half, the great bulk of whom are unskilled workmen, farm hands, servants, or persons of no occupation at all, and without visible means of support.

Now, that a demoralized currency and an ill-adjusted tariff have had much to do with "hard times" since 1890 no one will seriously dispute, however numerous and varying the ideas of the appropriate remedy. But these past seven years have also made manifest the potent and *more direct* influence of some three million additions to the overcrowded fields of labor. Such a proposition would hardly require argument but for the opposite opinion of an ex-President of the United States. Every State or Congressional investigation during the last fifteen years into the condition of labor and the rate of wages has shown more and more clearly the increasing pressure of immigration into centres of population, and its inevitable tendency to force down wages and crowd men out of work. The latest Congressional report maintains:

> The constant influx of foreign labor is naturally and undeniably one of the chief causes of labor depression in this country at present. It is a well-known fact that this importation of the lower classes of Huns, Slavs, and Italians has been the chief cause of violence and dissatisfaction, as every one hundred immigrants necessarily force a corresponding number of United States citizens to either accept lower wages, or go on a strike and join the already too large army of unemployed.

The victims of this dangerous and fatuous system do not ascribe their hardships to the state of the currency or the state of the tariff. During the immigration debate of the 54th Congress in 1896 one Republican member interrupted another member of the party with the query whether the speaker did not think the tariff was the great cause of the workingman's woes. The reply was very much to the point: "About two years ago or less I met a man whom I had known for many years, a laborer in one of our iron mills. His employment was gone. I undertook to talk to him in the direction that the chairman of the committee now suggests. I spoke of the tariff, of the change of legislation. But he said to me: 'Oh, that is not the great trouble. There'—pointing to the spot—'is the great trouble. There is the camp that has taken my job away from me.'"

If the ideas of the laborer just quoted need confirmation, here is a brief extract from the official report of the Treasury investigating committee of a year or two ago. It deals with conditions in the same State of Pennsylvania, and incidentally depicts the new Austro-Polish and Italo-Slavic type of civilization which has been so largely developed since 1890 in the anthracite coal regions of the Keystone State. There, according to this report, the visitor will be privileged to see at every turn "a thousand idle Americans and a like number of foreigners slaving for eighty or ninety cents a day. He sees the Americans" — those, it must be presumed, whose savings are not yet exhausted — "sending their children to school, supporting churches, living in decent homes, trying to be cleanly and to wear decent clothing. He also sees the scum of Europe taking the places of the former, content to swarm in shanties like hogs, to contract scurvy by a steady diet of the cheapest salt pork, to suffer sore eyes and bodies rather than buy a towel and washtub, to endure typhoid fever rather than undergo the cost of the most primitive sanitary apparatus."[1]

As for our other great sources of anxiety, currency and tariff, their baleful influence *since* 1890 has been already conceded. But neither, it behooves us to remember, was causing any special concern in that year. Indeed, 1890 was a year of comparative prosperity. And yet, according to the report of the Commissioner of Labor published in the fall of 1896, it saw no less than 3,523,730 workers (about sixteen per cent of the whole number) out of work, more than a third of them for from four to six months; and the number unemployed for the entire twelve months was computed to be 1,139,672, or 5.01 per cent of the whole number. Is not immigration chiefly responsible for this condition? It seems highly probable that it is when the above figures are compared with the

1 "I was struck," said a speaker at the last Congressional debate on this subject, "by a recent statement in one of the papers, that if we started every wheel in the country and gave every man, woman, and child work at fair wages, in the present condition of immigration there would in twelve months again be about 300,000 idle men in the land." The whole history of immigration fully sustains such a forecast. An industrial revival will absorb for a time a large number of unemployed. But it will also stimulate cheap labor immigration, and we shall resume and gradually accelerate our accumulation of surplus labor.

immigration tables for the ten years preceding 1890. In that decade (1880–1890) about five and a quarter millions of human beings were added by Europe to our industrial army.

Now the question *why* immigration is unsettling industry and pauperizing labor is rather a large one. But the mere outline of an answer may help to indicate the fact that, *under recently changed and changing conditions*, immigration is steadily unsettling industry and relentlessly pauperizing labor. It is quite true, as we are told every day, that we have great natural resources still undeveloped, and that the greater part of the country is so sparsely settled that it ought to accommodate several hundred million more people without overcrowding. It does not follow, however, that it can accommodate several hundred million more laborers, to say nothing of those who are generally unfit. The West is still inviting immigration, but not a disproportionate share of labor immigration whether skilled or unskilled. A considerable number of the new-comers even now should have some capital to keep a proper balance with those who have none. Eleven States in the Union, including several Western States, have lately reported, in reply to a Treasury Commission appointed to investigate their needs, that they desire no more labor immigration whatever at present; and twenty-six out of twenty-seven heard from up to the time of the debate of the 54th Congress, replied that they wish no more of the rough, unskilled, illiterate immigration aimed at by the late bill.

Now, an excessive proportion of all immigration from Europe is of the labor class, and almost all of it is rough and unskilled labor. In 1895, for example, out of 343,000, no less than 123,000 had no occupation, 91,000 were ordinary laborers, and 38,900 were servants. Only about 90,000 did not enter into direct competition with our toiling masses, being rated as farmers, etc. But as the average immigrant at present brings but $16 into the country, the great bulk of the "farmers" are of course not farmers, but mere farm hands. Indeed, our immigration has always been essentially of the labor type. We could assimilate it, however, without symptoms of national dyspepsia, so long as we had plenty of free lands in the West. Then our friends from Europe, or those whom they

elbowed out of the East, could take up land on the broad prairies. But broad as the latter are, all good government lands are gone except in the arid belt, which is not yet open to extensive settlement. Consequently some capital is now required for land-ownership.

Of course there is still room for labor in various sections, and even of rough labor, if the unemployed or the new-comers would only find their way to these sections. But the trouble is that the great bulk of immigration does not and will not go there. By the report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1895 it appears that of 343,269 arrivals, 224,650 went to New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. Of the balance 4,572 went to Wisconsin, 1,516 to Louisiana, 1,043 to Nebraska. 3,174 sailing from Genoa and Naples in a single month were traced after arriving here. Their destination was as follows: thirty-one, less than one per cent, to States west of the Mississippi, and only fourteen to the South. To Boston went 150; to the rest of New England, probably to the crowded manufacturing towns, 184. More than 2,300 stayed in the great cities of New York and New Jersey. 313 found their way to Pennsylvania, 44 to Illinois, 34 of them to Chicago, and just 62 to all other parts of the United States and Canada. Indeed the central and southern European immigration aimed at by the late bill goes not only to the great cities, but to their slums. This element, according to the official reports, formed .05 per cent of the population of Baltimore in 1894, and 13 per cent of the slums; 6.41 per cent of Chicago's people, and 44.4 per cent of its slums; 9 per cent of New York's population, and 51 per cent of the slums.

In thus drifting to the city and shunning the farm, the immigrant is but following the example which our own people are setting, *acting in obedience to a natural economic law.* For it appears that:

> Between 1870 and 1890, speaking relatively and in round numbers, 2,000,000 men gave up farming and went to join the great army of toilers in our cities. Taking their families into account, 6,000,000 people from the farm were added to the population of the town. . . . For this tendency to leave the farm and seek his fortune in the town, it is common to lay great blame on the shoulders of the farmer's boy. . . . Many good

people have thought that if we could in some way surround the country youth with more comforts and pleasures, if we could relieve the solitude and monotony of the farm, he would stay at home and become a wiser and better man. . . . Not discouraged by repeated failures, philanthropists have kept up their strivings in this direction. . . . Lately, however, a few students of modern life have come to see and to say that, while present industrial conditions continue, the movement of populations to cities will continue. The fact is that, broadly speaking, men leave the farms because they are not needed there. . . . A smaller number of men working in our fields turn out a much greater product than the greater number of laborers could possibly secure in olden times. . . . For a time in this country cheap land, superficial methods of cultivation, rapid development of farm machinery, and the swift increase of population engaged in mining and manufacturing enabled our farmers to extend their operations with profit, and to give employment to thousands of new men. But gradually, and more rapidly within the past twenty-five years, invention has gained the mastery in agriculture as in other arts. The brain of man has triumphed over his hand here as elsewhere. . . . Fewer workers per acre are required. The horse or the machine, steam or electricity, has taken the place of the boy or the man. Make farm life never so attractive, and there will be but little difference. There are more birds in the nest than the parents can take care of. . . . It is not love of the town so much as necessity to earn a livelihood off the farm which drives boys to the town and makes them competitors in the great industrial struggles at the centres of population.[1]

The application of this pregnant truth to the great problem of immigration is imperative. And the sooner we recognize these new conditions that confront us and alter the whole aspect of immigration the better for us and our children. It is not a question of what ought to be, but of what is. According to some of the maxims of political economy quoted at every immigration debate we ought to be able to accommodate twice as many new-comers as we are now getting. The trouble with most of the laws of political economy is that they apply only to general conditions. You cannot fit them to the exceptions. Some of the exceptions to what ought to be our law for absorbing and distributing the European have just been alluded to. But the fact is, the whole immigration question is exceptional. Nowhere in human history have we any precedent for the peaceful entry into a nation year by year of from one-quarter to three-quarters of a million of aliens, with their profound and transforming influence upon all economic, social, and political conditions. Yet the writer, while com-

[1] Dr. A. C. True, of U. S. Department of Agriculture, in THE ARENA for March, 1897, pp. 538-40.

piling a little volume on immigration and the suffrage, a short time ago, had occasion to note that, though the number of recent books on currency and the tariff was nearly countless, the library of immigration is confined almost entirely to the official reports.

Aside from the essential importance of the immigration problem, it is, as just said, so novel as to afford far more scope for original thought and research than the currency and the tariff, besides having much more of human interest. That this fact is not recognized is simply because the discussion is so prone to follow well-worn grooves, while statesmen strive to keep it subject to familiar but variable rules formulated by the *savants* of Europe, — which never had an immigration problem.

But we are making some progress after all. One grand result of the newspaper and magazine agitation of the last eight years is now being seen in the waning influence of those mouldy, misunderstood, and most mischievous maxims that would make our country the "asylum of the oppressed, the refuge of the nations," etc. These aphorisms referred to brave and worthy pioneers, to the pilgrims and exiles for conscience' sake who fled in bygone days from the religious persecution or political proscription of the Old World. Moreover, they gained currency at a time when our own sparsely settled country could not be injured by the most liberal application of them. For these vague and antique maxims are and were ever meant to be altogether and completely subordinate to the welfare of the republic, to the paramount duty of self-preservation. To be hospitable as a community to the stranger or the outcast may be humane and wise; to let the stranger or outcast abuse the hospitality, not of the individual, but of the community, the state, is both a folly and a crime. The clergyman, the philanthropist, the sentimentalist, are apt to confound the two kinds of hospitality. They are as far asunder as the planets, and the prevalent inability to appreciate the fact still constitutes one of the mightiest barriers to reform.

Let us take, for example, the 100,000 illiterates aimed at by the late bill. The well-meaning, shortsighted clergyman,

the kind-hearted, impulsive philanthropist, would admit them all "to give them a chance to better their condition." To be just, these well-meaning but misguided men often go further, and give freely of their time and money to the newcomers. But they are blind to the fact that in helping the 100,000 into the country to get work, they are adding to the 2,000,000 of their own idle countrymen, and thereby rendering the latter more hopeless and despairing, and some of them more menacing in their attitude to the clergyman and philanthropist. They are blind to the further facts:

That every immigrant steamer landing at our docks to-day, as for years past, tends to lower our standards of intelligence, industry, and morality. That, in view of the moral principle underlying the whole matter, the millowner of New England, the manufacturer of Pennsylvania, the mine-owner of the West, who will not scruple to import a swarm of ignorant, degraded, and perhaps utterly vicious human beings into any community, can be no real lover of his race or country. Pauper, contract, coolie, low-grade, or even indiscriminate immigration ought to have no place on our soil; certainly no American [and most assuredly no clergyman or philanthropist] should aid, abet, or connive at it. Whoever imports labor to pauperize his own countrymen by birth or adoption, or who brings an element into any community without regard to its grade of intelligence and civilization, does a grievous wrong, not merely to the community immediately concerned, but to the whole people.[1]

In a word, when the philanthropist devotes attention to those now here, he is expending his time and money most commendably in the cause of humanity; but to *import* objects of charity is, under existing conditions, to act at the expense, not of himself, but of his neighbors, his countrymen, his country itself. If this be charity, it differs from all other forms of charity practised or known among men. But our natural feelings of indignation are not likely to carry us too far while Congress is acting for us. During the debate on the late bill a good many members were opposed to the test of literacy for fear it might separate the poor immigrant from his fond but unlettered relations, or tempt him to make their ignorance a pretext for leaving behind some uncongenial member of the family circle, — presumably a step-parent or a mother in law! This touching solicitude actually caused considerable debate. Indeed some debaters

[1] Here is the key to the situation. And the day this principle is recognized and enforced will see the solution of the immigration problem.

without apparent loss of gravity doubted whether we could exclude a considerable number on any ground, as if immigration were a sort of natural right instead of a special privilege!

Fortunately the majority took a different view and warned their colleagues that the country was demanding legislation in its own interest, not in the interest of the vast surplus population of Europe. While the people cherish no spirit of animosity to aliens or desire any oppressive legislation, they are coming to feel the quickening impulse of race preservation. They do not look to Congress for any narrow, illiberal action. Our policy should be a broad one, just as broad as the interests of 75,000,000 Americans — but not a jot broader. In comparison with their welfare, their civilization, the future condition of any 100,000 of those outside the gates ought not to weigh for one moment with any American statesman.

In short, the time is ripe for restriction, and very radical restriction. What was once a blessing is fast becoming a blight. And very much, far more than we realize, will depend on the attitude of the next Congress and the attitude of the President. So numerous, so varied, so little developed as yet are the resources of the country, that their natural growth and expansion can, under conditions of stable prosperity, solve for us the problem of the unemployed and many another problem, and in a few years find work for every willing hand *now* within our borders — provided we restrict, or even stop for a time, the enormous European immigration. Whenever it is needed again we can always open wider the gates. The difficulty has ever been in the opposite direction. And once the tariff and currency are better adjusted, and the drift to the cities is checked or neutralized, we can put the new-comers where they will do most good to us and to themselves.

But the experiment of "radical" restriction, once made, is not likely to be speedily or "radically" changed. For, even from a material standpoint, and ignoring, like the pro-immigrationist, the great moral, social, and political evils of our present policy, — from a purely material standpoint the country will not suffer from a radical change of that policy

so far as the growth of population is concerned. This growth is generally considered both an index and a cause of prosperity. For growth of population means growth of consumers, growth of producers, growth of national wealth. Consequently, argued the pro-immigrationist of the first session of the 54th Congress, if you shut out our yearly accessions from abroad or any part of them, you shut out just so much prospective development and wealth.

Not so. For this argument loses sight of the point made in former debates, that immigration causes our people to increase more slowly than they would do if left to themselves, so much does it check the natural birth rate. This result was dwelt upon in a very scholarly and forcible way by the late Francis A. Walker in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1896, and by Sydney G. Fisher in the *Popular Science Monthly* for December, 1895. But the general public do not appreciate the significance of this fact, and the opponents of restriction ignore it. Indeed, much if not most of the argument for free immigration has ever been based on the assumption that our material growth and development are directly traceable to it. But if we are actually the smaller for immigration, and inferentially the poorer also, some brutal sceptic will soon be asking whether a good deal of our material prosperity has not been achieved in spite of immigration rather than because of it!

And so, should it even stop altogether, those of our Western Congressmen who wish for more people in order to fill up the vacant places and make the desert bloom, will find that in a few short years, and as soon as they are really needed, the country will itself supply a surplus population of at least 1,300,000 per annum with whom to settle, develop, or reclaim these vacant places. These 1,300,000 would equal the present natural increase *plus* immigration. They would be only Americans, it is true, which in some quarters might be deemed a drawback; yet on the whole and in the long run it seems rather likely that in our humble way we can raise children on this side of the Atlantic who are just as sturdy, just as intelligent, and who will make just as good citizens as those who are born on the continent of Europe.

THE FOUNDER OF GERMAN OPERA.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

WE are beginning to realize the immense debt we owe to the genius and labor of the great Italian painters of the first century of modern times, but it remains for the civilization of the twentieth century to appreciate the inestimable worth to humanity of the splendid achievements wrought for a higher civilization by Germany's great masters in music. What a world of exalted pleasure is found in their immortal creations. How wonderful the imagery and lasting the ideals which they bring before the mind. How surely do they educate while they entertain. How deeply do they stir the emotional nature with feelings too profound for words. The general influence of the work of the German composers is uplifting. Philosophical insight and moral elevation pervade most of their creations. The sensuousness of the Italian music gives place to the sturdy qualities of the descendants of the Vikings. As we come to appreciate more fully the value of good music in elevating public taste and raising the standard of morals by stimulating the emotional nature on the higher plane of sensation, we shall learn to value the incalculable service rendered to civilization by these soul-builders who were masters of melody.

The life of Christoph Wilibald von Gluck, the founder of German opera, is a story of tireless work, of true German courage and determination, of indomitable perseverance and a rare aptitude for assimilating the good in his chosen art wherever found. He was born near Neumarkt in Bavaria, July 2, 1714. His father was a gamekeeper in the service of Prince Lobkowitz. It does not appear that the family possessed any special musical talent, but the future master was born in a part of Europe where music received more attention than in most states. The Bohemian princes were liberal patrons of music. At their beautiful chapels music

of a high order was constantly heard. Moreover, in various cities and towns were brotherhoods whose great aim was to promote Christian life and a deeper love of humanity by means of poetry and song. These brotherhoods wielded a great influence, and the music furnished by orchestras, by the musical societies, and in the numerous churches exerted a very positive effect upon young and old.

Christoph Gluck does not appear to have shown signs of possessing any great musical genius in childhood, and yet it is reasonable to infer that his father saw in him something that led him to give this son the best educational advantages within his power. Special attention was given to his musical talent. At the age of eighteen he had received an excellent education, chiefly obtained at the Jesuit college of Komotau, in Bohemia. He was at this time an excellent performer on the violoncello, violin, organ, and harpsichord. But though his father seemed impressed with the importance of giving his son the best educational advantages within his power, he also felt that it was wise to give all his children a taste of the arduous life he himself was leading. It was no unusual thing for Christoph and his brother Anton to be compelled to accompany their father in the bitter winter weather, barefooted and bearing the heavy loads required during the long tramps made by the hunters of that time.

This rugged life was valuable to the youth who should one day give to the world "Orpheus and Eurydice;" it accustomed him to a life of privation and hardship, a life which he would shortly undergo for a brief period, for after leaving the school at Komotau he was thrown upon his own resources. He desired to further perfect himself in music. He repaired to Prague, where he pursued his studies as he was able, and lived by singing and playing. Often he suffered from hunger. During the vacations he went to neighboring villages, where he sought food in return for his music. Either his playing was not highly appreciated or the villagers must have been very poor, as it is recorded that frequently his labors were rewarded by the gift of an egg. This season of hardship, which would have discouraged a less sturdy nature, nerved him to fresh endeavor. He would rise above

the level of a common musician and a street singer. He would become a master although it cost years of privation and unceasing labor. Such was the resolution of the young German, such the steadfast purpose which led him from step to step in his wonderful ascent.

In 1736 he was in Vienna, where he had gone to finish his musical education. Here fortune favored him, as was so frequently the case in his remarkable career. Prince Lobkowitz was in Vienna, and he not only remembered the son of his old gamekeeper, but took a laudable pride in the young man. He introduced him to Prince Melzi, an Italian of Milan, who was so favorably impressed by Gluck that he invited the young musician to accompany him to Italy and finish his studies in Milan, then one of the musical centres of Europe. The generous offer was gladly accepted, and in his new home the young German made remarkable progress under the conscientious instruction of a popular and widely known composer and musician, Sammartini. Enjoying the patronage of the influential prince and the favor of the most popular composer he soon so overcame the prejudice the Italians felt toward foreign musicians in general, that when he produced one of his operas it scored an immediate success. It is true, he carefully adhered to the popular canon of Italian musical art at that time, and it is doubtful if he had then come to appreciate the essential weakness and glaring defects of the old Italian opera. His deep philosophical spirit had not yet been stirred. His work at this period is valuable as showing how readily he had mastered the system he had been taught, how completely he had assimilated and how completely he reflected the ideals and conceptions which had been drilled into his plastic brain. Yet though his operas at this time were very successful in Italy, they cannot be regarded as worthier a better fate than the oblivion to which posterity had consigned them. They reflect the imitative rather than the creative faculty. They give no hint of the great original thinker, the musical innovator, who was destined to inaugurate fundamental and almost revolutionary changes in his chosen field of composition, so great, indeed, as to become the foundation of a distinct national opera.

The creator was asleep in his brain. And doubtless it is well that it was so, for the prestige gained as a composer of popular Italian operas gave him a position in the musical world which he required in order to compel a tolerant hearing when he introduced his great reforms. During his stay in Italy he composed eight operas, all of which were successful.

In 1745 he accepted an invitation to visit London and produce some of his operas at the Haymarket theatre. This engagement, however, from which the young composer expected so much, proved a disastrous failure in so far as his work was concerned. Yet, as we so frequently see in life, his failure was in fact a blessing in disguise, as it awakened him to the fatal defects of the conventional Italian opera. The interrogation point had been raised. Henceforth there was to be no peace for the disquieted spirit until the questions which had been raised in his mind should be answered and new truths pertaining to the opera should be recognized. The sleeping god was about to awaken. The imitator was to disappear before the creator. The student was soon to give place to the philosopher. Handel's lack of appreciation of Gluck was not to be wondered at. The author of "The Messiah" did not possess the broad and hospitable spirit of his contemporary, Bach. He had long been engaged in a herculean struggle to maintain his supremacy in London, and Gluck's early efforts gave little promise of the magnificent achievements which should ere long place his name in the front rank of great German composers.

Gluck had a rare and happy faculty for recognizing the good in everything pertaining to his art, and he also knew how to assimilate the best in many schools and systems. Perhaps it was this rare power of absorbing and adapting the best which other thinkers had conceived, which, as much as his natural genius, led to his triumphant innovations. In England he was impressed with the strange power which the simple but beautiful English ballads exerted over the soul. In his conversation with the great French composer, Rameau, he gained much valuable information in regard to the points of excellence in the French operas, which he fully appreciated

when contrasting them with the popular Italian productions. Chief among their excellences was the prominence given to the dramatic rendering of the recitative. He had learned the full value of harmony from the German masters, while his Italian schooling had taught him the importance of melody. The weakness of Italian opera lay largely in a conspicuous lack of unity running through the production, which made it very defective as a work of art. The sentiment of the words and the character of the music did not harmonize, and the same disregard for the "perfect whole," or the requirements of drama and poetry as well as music, destroyed the effectiveness of the opera for a well-rounded artist who appreciated the demands of unity and proportion. In these operas the story was told chiefly by a number of songs threaded together with a view to accommodating certain voices and permitting vocal gymnastics rather than with the great central idea, for the proper development of which music, words, dramatic action, and proper scenery should be so combined as to make a harmonious and soul-satisfying whole.

From the time that Gluck left England with his confidence shaken in Italian opera we see the philosopher searching for the light. He groped in the wilderness, but every step was taken toward the light; and though for several years he made little real progress toward the great reform he was to inaugurate, he was nevertheless groping after the truth with that settled determination of his people which never halts this side of victory. On his return to Austria he was warmly welcomed, and the Empress Maria Theresa showed special appreciation of his work, even intrusting to him the musical studies of the future queen of France, Marie Antoinette.

In 1748 he produced "Semiramide Riconnosciuta" in Vienna. It proved a great success, and for a time Gluck was the hero of the hour. At this time he fell in love with one of the daughters of a wealthy merchant named Pergin. His affection was reciprocated, but the father had small regard for genius when genius was poor in purse. He refused to permit his daughter to marry the composer, and even his wife's entreaties failed to win his consent. The daughter,

Marianne, however, had something of her father's determination. She promised the composer to be faithful to him, and that the time would come when they could be united. Gluck was deeply attached to the young lady, and he was not the person to be baffled where he had set his affections, though for a time he was compelled to wait. A few months after the death of the obdurate father in 1750, he married the daughter, who, until the death of the great composer thirty-seven years later, was his devoted companion.

From the time of his marriage until 1762 we find Gluck in great demand throughout Italy as well as in Austria. He was everywhere warmly received. On one occasion he was summoned to Rome to produce some operas. His success, notwithstanding much opposition, was most pronounced, and the pope made him a chevalier of the golden spur. Had he been content to proceed tentatively toward the light he might have avoided the battle royal which filled his declining years with excitement, and which so called upon his reserve forces that doubtless his life was somewhat shortened.

Few spectacles in the history of modern music are more impressive than that presented by Gluck as he entered the arena as a radical reformer at that period in life when the most daring revolutionists usually grow somewhat conservative, and when conservative and conventional people are accustomed to view with alarm and detestation any bold innovation. But the light had been for years growing in his intellectual world. He had come year by year to see the necessity for bold and positive reform. At length the mandate of duty could no longer be ignored. For seven years he had been brooding over ideas which blossomed in splendor in his immortal masterpiece, "Orpheus and Eurydice," first produced in Vienna in 1762. This opera was so bold an innovation that had it not been for the fame and popularity of the composer as well as the unmistakable power, beauty, and effectiveness of the opera it is doubtful whether it would have proved an instantaneous success. Fortune, however, favored the genius; the court applauded the master, and wonder soon gave place to enthusiasm. "Orpheus" was a decided success, and four years later he brought out his

second great classic work, "Alcestis," which also became very popular.

We now come to notice the most stirring year of the life of the great operatic composer and reformer. He had long decided to go to Paris, and he gladly accepted an invitation to produce his work in that beautiful centre of art and letters. A peculiar interest attaches to the struggle which was carried on by Gluck and his ardent admirers against the reigning Italian and French operas in the city so soon to be the theatre of a still greater revolution; for more than one of the parties who figured very conspicuously in this battle of the new against the old in music were soon to be leading figures in the greatest political revolution of modern times. Marie Antoinette's pride in the success of her countryman and her regard for her old teacher doubtless led her to so ardently champion the cause of the musical reformer whose work so fascinated Jean Jacques Rousseau.

The spirit of revolution was in the air when in 1773 Gluck reached Paris. The philosophers had filled the brain of prince and peasant with new and strange thoughts. *Freedom, fraternity, liberty* — these words were popular in the palace as well as in the peasant's hut. As yet matters had proceeded no farther than speculation. The adherents to the party of Louis XV and his mistress the Countess Du Barry were by no means loved by the party of the dauphin and Marie Antoinette, and the jealousies of faction favored the continued promulgation of liberal ideas. Few people of the court seemed able even in a vague way to appreciate the legitimate result which might be expected to follow the widespread educational agitation being carried on so vigorously. Few people dreamed of the approaching catastrophe.

This was favorable for Gluck, but Gluck's advent was by no means favorable to the established order. It was a period of protest, and everything that attacked the old order, even in its remote ramifications, was a blow at conventionalism and the established order. When the then popular daughter of Maria Theresa was so enthusiastically applauding the masterpiece of her distinguished countryman she was unconsciously ranging herself on the side of progress and revolution.

On reaching Paris Gluck was warmly received by the dauphiness, but he found powerful obstacles in his way. The old order was against him. The French opera was intrenched behind tradition and custom. The managers were timid and the singers rebellious. Gluck, notwithstanding his strong temper, was very conciliatory in policy. He sought to overcome prejudices by assuring the French that he felt he might happily adapt French words to the new style of music he had adopted, as he had learned with satisfaction that the language of nature was the universal language. He wisely refrained from appearing as a reformer who desired to shatter the opera which the French were coming to regard as their own. Thus he succeeded in disarming prejudice in some quarters, but when it came to rehearsals the wide gulf separating the old and the new appalled the conventional singers, and they became rebellious. Gluck was more than once in despair. As time passed, the partisans of the old felt in a vague way that a great giant was in their midst. Hence various measures were resorted to in order to crush the German. But the opposition served to arouse his partisans. The dauphiness threw the whole weight of her influence in favor of Gluck, and at that time Marie Antoinette was the idol of the people. She had not yet ascended the throne, and all the ills of the state were laid at the door of Louis XV and his dissolute court.

On the 19th of April, 1774, one year to the day before the battle of Lexington sounded the opening shot of the great American Revolution, Gluck opened his long and hard-fought but eventually successful struggle for the new opera. His opening piece was "*Iphigénie en Aulide.*" The opera house was crowded, and excitement ran high. The police department had been instructed by the dauphin to take special precautions against any unlawful outbreaks. Shortly after five o'clock the dauphin and dauphiness arrived. Before the opera opened almost all the members of the court were present. The king and Madame Du Barry were absent. The opera was such a radical innovation that it sounded strange to Parisian ears; even those who had in a general way enthusiastically espoused the cause of Gluck because he fought

the established order seemed at a loss to know whether the change was for the better. They wanted time to consider. Meanwhile the success of the opera, which depended largely on its first reception, was hanging in the balance. Marie Antoinette enjoyed the work. She also appreciated the urgent demand for popular recognition. She applauded at every turn, and her enthusiasm, as well as courtesy to the dauphiness, led a large part of the audience to imitate her example. In writing to her sister Marie Antoinette thus describes the first performance:

> At last, my dear Christine, a great triumph. On the 19th we had the first performance of Gluck's "Iphigenia." I was carried away by it. We can find nothing else to talk about. You can scarcely imagine what excitement reigns in all minds in regard to this event. It is incredible. People take sides and quarrel as though some religious question were at stake.

The Abbé Arnault, one of the most distinguished critics of the French Academy, declared that "with such music one might found a religion." "Iphigénie" proved a splendid triumph, but the fight was stubborn and very bitter. Musicians, scholars, and indeed almost all persons making any pretension to learning became valiant partisans on the one side or the other; and though every inch of ground was contested, the revolution which Gluck was inaugurating fell in with the spirit of the time and gradually gained adherents even from the ranks of the enemy.

In the midst of the successful run of "Iphigénie" Louis XV died and the old *régime* in reality died with him. The brief reign of Louis XVI signalized the transition from the old into the throes of that revolution which the arrogance, the brutal indifference, and the lust for power of the reign of Louis XIV and the selfish and licentious reign of Louis XV rendered inevitable. During the few years when the young king and his many incompetent counsellors were grappling with problems entirely beyond their capacity, the monarchy reeled onward much as a drunken man. In its opening days, however, the fatal indecision was not perceived. To be rid of Louis XV and all his name carried with it was much. The people imagined that times would improve. There were

millions of hungry mouths in France. Millions of people were being taxed to serfdom to support in luxury and idleness a non-producing aristocracy. They had been very patient, and from generation to generation the burden had grown more and more oppressive. Now they hoped it would be lessened. Vain delusion! Nature was about to join forces with the spirit of unrest. In a few short years the ten years of famine were to begin, followed by a partial failure of crops for several seasons. In 1788 came the terrible drought, followed by the unprecedented hail storm which alone destroyed crops to the value of one hundred million francs. As a climax the winter of 1788–9 was to be the most severe since 1709, after which came the culminating scene in the age-long tragedy.

But though the terrible shadow which had for generations been deepening around the homes of starving and oppressed millions was slowly lengthening toward the throne, the gay queen, the joyous court, and the careless *dilettanti* who imagined they made up the whole of France, little suspected the coming storm, and Marie Antoinette in the hour of her triumph remembered the master who was leading the revolution in the opera. Gluck received from her a pension of six thousand livres in addition to the sum of six thousand livres for every new opera he produced. He was more popular than ever, as at that time the queen was the idol of rich and poor. The nobles vied with each other in doing him honor, and for a season it seemed that his enemies were routed. On the production of "Orpheus" in the summer of 1778, Rousseau exclaimed, "Since one can have such keen pleasure for two hours I imagine life may be good for something."

But popular favor is at all times uncertain in its duration, and in times of transition, when restlessness and instability seem in the very air, when the old is rapidly slipping away and the new has not yet assumed definite form, the taste of the people is doubly fickle. The idol of to-day is not infrequently execrated on the morrow. Gluck soon found that the opposition had arisen with reinforcements, and the battle was again waged with the old-time fury. Piccini, a distinguished Italian composer, was called to Paris and pitted

against the German. Marie Antoinette was no longer able to carry the public with her, and for a time it seemed that the outcome was problematical. Gluck, however, had the spirit of the age with him. He had caught a larger vision of truth than his predecessors or his opponents. He was leagued with progress. Hence, in spite of reactions, cabals, and the "eternal coalition of ignorance and routine," he won in the long conflict.

But the herculean effort required to rehearse and produce his operas where he had little sympathy from the players and when he was running counter to cherished traditions, the constant excitement, the unending battle told on the veteran composer. Contrary to the advice of his physicians he exchanged wine for brandy as a stimulant. Two slight shocks of paralysis warned him that nature had been too long ignored, and at length he felt the necessity of a less exciting life. He retired to Vienna, where his closing years were spent at his beautiful home. He was surrounded by friends and admirers, and lovingly watched over by his devoted wife. He died on the 15th of November, 1787.

The importance of the revolution inaugurated by Gluck was far greater than many critics seem to appreciate. It was a struggle for a more artistic and complete entertainment. It was the battle of a larger and more natural conception against one less comprehensive and more artificial. It was the bugle-note of advance. As Franz Hueffer well observes, the question at issue was "whether the vocal virtuoso or the true dramatic artist should reign." In the world of music Gluck was the John the Baptist who prepared the way for Richard Wagner.

THE TRULY ARTISTIC WOMAN.

BY STINSON JARVIS.

ABOUT the only person who has escaped the novelist is the intensely artistic woman. Writers have avoided a nature more complex than their own, and even if the portrayal lay within their reach it would be rarely understood. Much that is admirable would be brought into peculiar alternation with weakness.

How could the combinations be made? Three or four hours of ordinary morning work would indicate an industrious person making hard work a chief part of genius. In the afternoon, a hospital visit, and tears over a crippled child — not sham tears, but those of the artist, that leap on the ache of a moment and disappear as quickly. From the hospital her carriage whirls her to her lover.

Such seeming contradictions in one person have only been portrayed in nature, not in literature. And in any case, who would forgive the grafting of a charity on a woman who steals the improprieties?

We have heard a great deal about art since the era of art-talk set in some years ago, when the æsthetic female appeared like a reincarnation from the old Grecian and Pompeian life. She might be light or dark or only putty-color, but nearly always she was slim, willowy, sometimes skinny, with red lips, tired eyes, and a hunger for art.

For many years she has been hanging over the backs of chairs or draped against mantelpieces with one foot on the fender; seeking classic attitudes on hearth-rugs and sofas; has folded herself down like a jack-knife on the ottoman and sat like a letter K on the footstool; wistful, earnest, tired — hungry for art. She has rhapsodized over pictures of slim creatures that might be either male or female, with wan faces and bad mouths, looking as if the originals had died in some orgy. She has told her female friends, when wearing only one garment, how it made her feel "nearer to Art to

be clad artistically — as a neophyte should be who is humbly ascending to the arcana of the ineffable" — and so on.

How much of the great æsthetic movement ended in prisons and asylums? What became of the so-called men? What became of the Pompeian fresco? Well! the divorce court played its part, though more often scandals were avoided in ways that gave husbands further time for business, politics, clubs, or to go to the devil their own way. For others, and for the majority, common sense assisted when the changing fashions gradually supplanted the single garment, and a sufficiency of clothes removed those artistic and dangerous thrills.

The story of the æsthetic era was told in one novel, a marvellous record of a woman's intuitions, called "Miss Brown." It was written by a girl hardly out of her teens who still signs herself Vernon Lee. She told of those people exactly as they were; and in the surprises and shocks of a healthy-minded girl one became acquainted with the unparticularized disgust which the authoress herself had evidently felt. "*Poeta nascitur, non fit.*" "The poet is nasty, he is unfit." The bungling college boy was not entirely wrong concerning the scribes of this widespread cult.

It will not of course be inferred that all the women who posed as æsthetic were artistic by nature; especially those who only sought to give early instincts a fine dressing, as a French *chef* might produce a fricassee too dainty for recognition. Nor must it be supposed that everyone who wore greenery-yallery gowns of the clinging kind could be included in the general indictment, for in this regard fashion coerced vast numbers. Still further from the question are those young persons who fribble with a paint-brush as the home excuse for not making beds and washing dishes — whose treatment of unoffending landscapes in 12-inch canvases has not necessarily implied a dangerously artistic nature.

This majority is especially exempted to make it clear that these remarks refer to the comparatively few who have sometimes made public history and altered much private history ever since records commenced.

I discussed this peculiar nature with an artist whom the world called great, and the attempted explanation of it was as follows: "Artistic natures, to be such, must be extremely susceptible to new impressions, the different grades of excellence in their work indicating the greater or less extent of their sensitization. For leading emotions in song, judging combinations of color, skimming the cream of a comedy, or for illustration of human phases, true artists have more highly developed susceptibilities than other people. In their work, they 'feel' rather than think — using chiefly their intuitions. And the peculiarity is this, that the same ability which produces world-delighting creations of a wholesome kind is equally powerful in idealizing pleasures or persons to such an extent that the endowed one is sometimes whirled away from common sense and business interests and even from accepted forms of propriety."

None of the novelists seems to have shown that this gift, with its necessary susceptibility to new impressions, is as dangerous to its possessor as it may be valuable to the multitude. Yet the world has vaguely felt that its greatest artists have in some undefined way been different from the rank and file, and has often shown its thanks by determinedly ignoring private histories.

Indeed many seem to have realized, though generally in an unconfessed way, that such a person is not to be necessarily regarded as intended for the somewhat straitening cares of wifehood, but rather as a gift to the world as a whole, who may be expected to adopt an uncontrolled width and freedom in everything pertaining to her existence.

If the above be the general view, — and its correctness is here submitted with diffidence for consideration, — perhaps it may be our nearest approach to a definite answer regarding the desirability of the most highly artistic women in the domestic life.

The only writer who seems to have come fairly near to a delineation of a world's artist was a Frenchman, and as his name was not printed with the story I refer to, it has now been forgotten. I give some selections from the recital because reliable statements concerning the subject of our study

have evidently been difficult to obtain, and from the nature of the case will probably remain so. The story was handed to me long ago by an artist whose fame was worldwide, and who has now been dead for many years. It came to me with the statement that it more correctly described the intensely artistic woman than anything that had been published; and because on this subject the speaker was likely to be more correct in her judgment than anyone else then living, the story has always seemed to contain reliable testimony.

"It would be easy," writes the French author, "for people to make mistakes about the great singer, Madame Zerga, because in the course of her life she had more than one lover. As a fact it was known that five or six could be counted, including in this number one or two legal husbands. These, however, in their succession, divided her years from sixteen to forty; and there was in her none of that sudden change which so quickly brings ruin. Besides, she could not have been such a truly great artist if she had been reckless, for art-creation needs conserved forces, and the highest rank has never been attained except where impulses have been to a large extent checked.

"No! each love was a holiness to Madeline. Each was a tragedy, and apparently as much to her as the one love of women who are classed as more valuable from a domestic point of view. So far as could be seen, she had loved as whole-heartedly as anyone, only she seemed able to love oftener than others.

"She idealized until the objects of her affection were clothed with virtues, nobilities, and beauties which existed for the most part in her own mind. This of course was not peculiar except in the ability for repetition.

"It could be remarked, though, that the intimacies which had for years seemed to resemble true marriage came to an end over trivialities, apparently. From one individual her affections seemed to gradually become weaned because he was untidy in his dress; from another, a legal husband, because he seemed careless of her high position and preferred home life to appearing in public with her and being known simply as Madame Zerga's husband. A third disappeared

because he objected to remaining obscure and unacknowledged at a time when she feared that acknowledgment might do her harm.

"It was said by those who criticised her that such trivialities did not become thus magnified until the interest had ended and Madame was in the processes which led eventually and inevitably to change and to a new lord. But no matter how much truth might secretly underlie this statement, it was certainly undiscerned by Madeline herself, who suffered long periods of indisposition after some of the separations, at which times she was morbidly depressed, almost to dementia.

"Yet the fact was that, with all her apparent pliability and the sweetness that was famous, she was most imperious as to the carrying out of her own will. One could never know the extent of her reserve forces until he opposed her. Her seeming ductility was to be regarded as the graceful concession of a queen. She thought the world revolved around her. And she was right. It did — to a very large extent. Only some men grew tired of being expected to follow in the same orbit. And that ended everything. The proverbial self-importance of a reigning artiste, which no words will ever adequately describe, can only be realized when it is slighted."

The only occasion on which this Madame Zerga seemed to become really entangled was when she failed to follow the old advice about being off with the old love before coming on with the new. A man of some distinction had been a friend of hers for a long time. He is described as a rather elderly person who seemed to be chiefly pleased by her brightness and sprightly conversation.

She literally sat at his feet, "worshipping fair average talents as genius," until after years of his partial indifference and during a long separation she fell in love with a younger man — another genius, of course — who seemed qualified to make her happy. Then the trouble commenced.

She writes to him from a distance: "You know, My Own, that I have always been candid in telling you about Richard and myself. Oh, you know how I love you — that you are

the one gladness the world can give me. But what shall I say about Richard?

"Do you know, all this makes me feel like an unfaithful wife. I have told you how little he cared for me; and yet I feel that I am his possession, no matter how unwillingly, in some ways.

"I have been ill all day — ill with anxiety. I have never lived in deceit. And now Richard has returned to this country and will arrive here on Wednesday next. I am wretched — "

A succeeding letter was partly as follows:

"I don't know whether you will ever forgive me, but perhaps you will understand how for so many years I have reverenced Richard. It was always far from being a marriage, and yet I feel that by every tie of respect and duty I ought to regard myself as his wife.

"And yet you are my lover!! I can never cease to love you as long as I live.

"What is to be the outcome of this? I am greatly troubled — and for you also, my Blessed. But how can I look forward to our marriage as long as Richard lives, or as long as you may not be able to forgive?

"Oh that I were as glass, that all might see me as I am and know how I want to do the right and to save all from hurt!

"On one side, Reverence, and the long habit of willing subservience to a master mind; also the recoil from giving pain to one who has been the truest of friends. And on the other hand, LOVE!! and all the gladness of life!

"What a choice to have to make!!"

The story goes on to state that the younger man abruptly decided her doubts by taking his departure, not because he failed to understand and even to sympathize with her sense of gratitude to another, but because he could not avoid disliking himself. It is explained that he knew how her ideals coerced her, and how a combination of extremely fine feelings would probably prevent her from dismissing either of the two who appealed in different ways, as it is said, "to the highest graces of her nature." But apparently he was not

sufficiently "artistic" to be able to reverence the catholicity of her genius.

The author says: "He had learned a good deal about the truly artistic nature. He had seen the people of five capital cities worship the greatest singer of the age. He had driven home many times when her carriage was filled to its roof with tribute flowers. He knew her widespread charity. He knew how tens of thousands learned to love her when she materialized their highest ideals in her own person and made goodness seem enchanting. He knew her supreme value to the world; but also her lack of value to him. He had sought a wife — he had received only an artist."

One passage more in this study is worthy of careful consideration. Old D'Artagnan, the art critic who had lived a long life with artists, says:

"If I had a son I think I would only use coercion with him in one case. I would lock him up, I would put him in jail, rather than let him meet the sweet, kind woman whom all the world loves — I mean the really artistic creature who is born to be a permanent gladness to the many, but not to the one; she who must follow her ideals, and whose glory results from ability for continuous change."

If the suggestions contained in the above translations are correct, it will be seen that individual opinion regarding such a many-sided nature as that of the intensely artistic woman is to be received with a great deal of caution. Few people are likely to obtain more than a limited view. And my reason for making these quotations is that, so far as they go, they were indorsed by one whose status in the artistic world seemed to hold a warranty for careful judgment.

POOR "FAIRLY RICH" PEOPLE.

BY HENRY E. FOSTER.

A PAPER of exceptional pathos, contributed by Anna Wentworth Sears, appeared recently in *Harper's Bazaar*. It had a touch of romance, and dealt both generally and particularly with "The Trials of City-Bred Young Married Couples."

Even without perusing the article, it will be admitted that such couples may have trials and other things too numerous to mention. It generally takes a year or two after marriage for a young wedded pair who have never had any experience in getting married, to become acquainted with each other. They both think that there is but one of them before the nuptial day arrives, especially when the parlor gas burns low and the vulgar, unsentimental world about them is wrapped in slumber. Time disillusions this dream and with cruel index finger points to their duality. Two rockers may thereafter be thought not too many for their restful convenience. Duality may crop out in many other ways; for instance, the husband's mother may have had one way of making bread and pastry, the wife's mother another. But without particularizing, we will concede that a "city-bred couple" will be very likely to encounter "trials," and that these may be more serious than any we have hinted at.

But hold: we unwittingly misapprehend and malign the young city-bred couple whose tribulations are pathetically disclosed by Anna Wentworth Sears. It turns out that they never had a hitch or a jar, and that life with them would have been "one grand sweet song" but for a single overshadowing circumstance. It was their indiscretion, or misfortune, to marry on an income of only $7,000 a year. Fortitude and self-abnegation were not wanting. Bravely they began the battle of life and mutually conspired to curtail their living expenses with the hope of getting through the year somehow without becoming a charge on their parents. But all this

ingenious self-sacrifice proves unavailing. The odds against the ill-fated twain in trying to live on only $7,000 a year are too great, and so at length they succumb to the inevitable, break up housekeeping, mournfully return to the former home of one of them, and quarter on "the old man."

In her opening paragraph the author acknowledges with a suspicion of reluctance that our newly married literary and professional drudges are often also obliged on slim incomes to face the problems of life, but her sympathetic yearnings are wholly absorbed in contemplating the woes of the city-bred couples whose means are so inadequate for their support. Feeling, no doubt, that the reader could not fail to acquire a soulful interest in such an afflicted pair, the confiding writer makes him acquainted with some of their antecedents:

> They are young people who are, according to the ordinary standard, fairly rich, who have been brought up and live in our cities, and marrying on incomes varying from $5,000 to $7,000 a year, are expected on that amount to fulfil all the exigencies of an established social position, to conduct their households, keep pace with the set in which since childhood they have mingled, meet happily their charitable and worldly obligations, dress well, and in all ways lead the kind of life peculiar to luxurious town living at the present time.

After reading the above specifications, which rise in well-sustained gradations to the omnibus climax that such a couple are expected to "lead the kind of life peculiar to luxurious town living," — up to date at that, — we may well conceive that the writer might feel anxious as to the ability of these young people on $7,000 to make ends meet, even after doubling up. If the young couple had no other obstacle to overcome except that of being "fairly rich," their case would not appear so hopeless. But it is specified in the bond that society expects them to "keep pace" with their "set;" and as they began practising in their "childhood," it may readily be imagined what a record-breaking gait, or "pace," they would be able to make when they do their level best in double harness.

There cannot be the least doubt about the ability of such a trained city-bred couple getting away with $5,000 or $7,000, and if Anna Wentworth Sears had not expressly stipulated

that they should meet their "worldly obligations," there would be strong reason to fear that some of their creditors might feel compelled to break up housekeeping also. The writer was very thoughtful to put in this provision, for merchants and other business men are unanimous in the statement, based on sad experience, that rich people are the most difficult of their customers to collect bills from, and even "fairly rich" folks might give them a great deal of trouble.

To make the wedded life of these $5,000-to-$7,000-a-year city-bred pacers more pathetic, the writer tells what a fine, high-roller time they had while in single blessedness, and she begins with the young man:

> The city-bred youth, having a home in his father's house, and in receipt of a good income, with no expenses save for his personal effects and fancies, may, unmarried, belong to most of the fashionable clubs of the town, have a valet to attend him, and money to spend freely in the many ways in which the *jeunesse dorée* of to-day find opportunities to indulge and disport themselves.

There may be readers, even of a high-grade magazine like THE ARENA, who may not be "city-bred," and who may be so unsophisticated as not to know just what an all-round good time the *jeunesse dorée* are capable of having when they belong to most of the fashionable clubs, are supported by indulgent fathers, and have plenty of money and valets. Plain common folk cannot realize how great are the misfortunes of such a city-bred youth when, by the responsibilities of marriage, he feels constrained in some measure to seek to become a man and abandon the life of a coxcomb.

Further on in her narrative the writer dolefully relates that "The husband will not be able to afford his club dues, his comfortable lunches down town, his good cigars, or his correct tailor." This would be a severe blow to the benedict, especially the deprivation of his "good cigars" — twenty-five-centers, it is presumed — and his comfortable lunches, with their sparkling and exhilarating attractions. Not to have a "correct tailor" is likewise a great calamity, although almost any tailor, if the garment didn't fit, would be willing to make it over again.

At any rate, Anna Wentworth Sears suffers this $7,000-a-year unfortunate to still retain his "valet" as a solace for

his afflictions, though in our American democracy just what he would want to do with him is not very clear. Perhaps he might only care to use his valet when on dress parade, and meanwhile he could store him in the barn or back shed. But of course the young husband would take the risk of having his valet elope with his wife.

Other mitigations for the city-bred benedict might be mentioned. He would retain the privilege of twirling his fancy cane, he could wear his hair — if not bald-headed — parted in the middle, and he could have an upward twist, at just the regulation angle worn by his "set," given by his tonsorial artist to the ends of his mustache.

The case of the wedded city-bred youth would therefore not be so wretched, especially if he should make up his mind that a young, loving, and attractive bride was worth as much as his "good cigars" and champagne. It may be confessed, however, that an honest doubt might arise as to the comparative desirability of these creature comforts and a young wife, provided Anna Wentworth Sears were permitted to select the society girl for the groom. This brings us to her description of the helpmeet who, in the hypothetical narration, ably assisted her consort in making it impossible to live on $7,000 a year:

> A maiden of the same social rank is kept as much shielded from rude contact with the disagreeable realities or hardships of life as a hothouse flower. Her education is conducive to cultivating in her the most refined and æsthetic tastes, and she is naturally shocked and pained when she is subjected to anything harsh or coarse in manners or surroundings. To wear badly made clothes, eat badly cooked food, have uncultured servants to wait on her are very real trials to a girl of this description. . . . Living well on a small income is unknown to her.

We are told that the afflictions of this poor thing are real when her mother fails to see that her food is properly prepared, and this is undoubtedly true, as anybody will attest who has had a touch of dyspepsia himself. But it may require some fancy to fully enter into the sensitive feelings of the helpless girl when she is waited upon by "uncultured servants." Whether her attendants are expected to talk French, bang the piano-keys, and read Browning, Anna Wentworth Sears does not say.

We may agree with the writer on "The Trials of City-Bred Young Married Couples" that "Many are the young women just under or over thirty, who are still spinsters, who would be far happier and in a more natural sphere wielding the sceptre of young motherhood and wifehood in a home of their own." But even in this particular it might be better form and usage to put the wifehood first, and give the motherhood, notwithstanding its exalted character, second place.

But the serious question which confronts Anna Wentworth Sears all the way through her article is, Can these young society women, these hothouse flowers and the city-bred fops they are supposed to wed, support themselves on a paltry income of $7,000? The writer gives them a fair fighting chance (and they might fight more or less anyway) by providing that they should make great sacrifices. Social functions, twenty-five-cent cigars, "correct tailors," and pretty much all luxuries which make life worth living except valets, are thrown aside with a fortitude that is truly touching. But a further perusal of "The Trials, etc.," shows that no self-abnegation will suffice to drive the wolf from the door where the young couple are "city-bred" and "fairly rich:"

> The experiment is of course often tried; daily do young people hopefully join hands to share together a life they know little about, but are cheerfully ready to face. How do these marriages generally succeed? After an earnest effort the young people are obliged to give up their own home and to take up their abode with the parents of one of them.

But harrowing as is the story told by Anna Wentworth Sears, it might have been still more so had its author waited a few years until the head of the household might be frequently called upon to purchase half-a-dozen pairs of shoes, more or less, of varying size, and divers other articles of juvenile utility too numerous to mention. But Anna did not take chances on such a dire state of affairs; she hustled her hero and heroine under the paternal roof without unnecessary delay.

The tender pathos of this narrative is greatly increased from the fact that this poverty-stricken "fairly rich" pair (whom for convenience we may designate as x and y) are but representatives of a category of ill-fated mortals who

have been pierced by Cupid's darts and so indiscreet as to wed on only $7,000 a year. Hence it may be assumed that the aggregate misery endured by this luckless class is beyond computation.

But Anna Wentworth Sears must have a sympathetic nature keenly alive to the afflictions of connubial life; and since she is able to extract so much dolor from the poor $7,000-a-year x's and y's, she might write another story, and treat of young couples whose misfortune it is to marry on incomes of even less than $7,000. Actually there are cultured young couples who start out in life on their own resources of brain and brawn. Some of them do not have an income of $1,000 a year, and some not more than half that amount, and yet, unlike distracted and almost heartbroken x and y, they do not prove failures in the world or have to go back home to be coddled and supported by "pa and ma."

One who prefers a serious reality instead of a figment of the brain upon which to bestow philanthropic sentiment, might readily find it in a vast army of literally destitute people who are suffering for the common necessaries of life. It may well puzzle the sociologist as well as the writer of pretty fancies on aristocratic household expenditure to know how this throbbing mass of humanity live. Why such a class should exist in a land where equality of birth and pursuit of happiness are vouchsafed to all is also a sociologic problem, but we will not digress to exploit it here. We desire merely to call the attention of the Anna Wentworth Searses to the great opportunities they seem prone to overlook, where their exuberant sympathies might be extended to married couples without having them misapplied.

Tens of thousands of destitute coal-miners constitute a concrete and conspicuous representation of this ill-starred and well-nigh despairing army. For the most slavish toil, these men with families to support have been getting, at most, ninety cents a day. With only part-time work, some of them at this writing have for eight months been existing on $7.50 a month—$90 a year as against $7,000! The stomachs of these men are as large and need as much food as do those of society dudes who are "city-bred." Their backs have as large

a surface to be clothed, and their heads probably require considerably larger hats.

It may be inferred from such distressing tales as that told by Anna Wentworth Sears that only millionaires are financially fit to marry; or possibly paupers — with or without millionaire papas to sponge on — may also be considered eligible. But it would never do to put such a theory in practice. With such progenitors the human breed, if it did not run out, would deteriorate so rapidly that the race would soon return to the simian type of its alleged ancestry, with here and there, perhaps, an extra sleek-haired baboon to represent the "400." But, alas, there would be no Anna Wentworth Sears to proclaim the woes of such of the "fairly rich" apes as should have the improvidence to get married on so slim a resource as, say, seven thousand cocoanuts a year.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

SHALL THE UNITED STATES BE EUROPEANIZED?

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

AT the close of the year let us reflect on what is before. As a nation we have come to the parting of the ways. The American Republic has reached a point in its destiny from which it must diverge in the one direction or the other. The people of the United States can no longer pursue the straight line on which they have travelled for more than a century. There is literally a dividing road with two diverging courses before our feet.

The promotory against which we have come in the midway of our career is the portent of becoming Europeanized. Shall we or shall we not be made again into the likeness of Europe? This rock of menace and interrogation looms up in the middle of the way, and we have to pass it by taking the one route or the other. The time has come when the United States must gravitate rapidly *towards* Europe or else diverge *from* Europe as far and as fast as possible.

This is the overwhelming alternative which forces itself on the American people at the close of the nineteenth century; in the twentieth we shall be either Europeanized or democratized — the one or the other. There is no place of stable equilibrium between the two. This is true for the reason that there can be no such thing as a democratic monarchy; no such thing as a monarchical republic; no such thing as a popular aristocracy; no such thing as a democracy of nabobs. The twentieth century will bring us either to democracy unequivocal or to Empire absolute. All hybrid combinations of the two are unstable; they break and pass away. Either the one type or the other must be established in our Western hemisphere. The democratic Republic which we *thought* we had, and which we so greatly prized and fought for, must now sheer off *from* Europe altogether, or

else sail quietly back *to* Europe and come to anchor. Shall we or shall we not go thither?

Note the circumstances which have brought us to this alternative. One of these is *commerce*. We have an international commerce; that is, a transoceanic trade intercourse; that is, what the Romans called a *commercium*, with Europe and the world. Commerce, while it civilizes and enriches, tends to make alike. Commerce seeks to integrate mankind, but never to invidualize or make free. Wherever it touches it infects with its spirit. That part of a people who are engaged in commerce become equalized in conditions and sentiments with those who are of other nations.

There is a tendency of all people to forget their country in their pursuit. A man's pursuit stands between him and his flag, between him and his country. This tendency is emphasized in international trade. Commerce may be good, but it has its drawbacks and its dangers. Commerce does not desire liberty, but it desires stability. It does not want change and progress, but fixedness and conservatism. When the people of two nations trade, the people of the free nation, the progressive nation, the changing nation, get in love with the nation that is not free, that does not progress, that does not change.

For this reason the seaboard interests of America have become interwoven in a plexus of foreign relations. That which we hoped to avoid politically has come to pass commercially. The commercial parts of the United States are already bound in a great web to the corresponding interests of Europe. So far as the threads of this web extend in America, to that limit the preference for Europe and the tolerance of European conditions have extended. Since the rise of the great commercial epoch, the sea-bordering emporia of the United States have been each year bound more and more to the European marts. To this extent interest has supplanted patriotism. As between the ship on the one hand and the Republic on the other — well, the Republic may take care of itself! That is, democracy is good enough, but trade is better!

The influences of *accumulated wealth* are of precisely the

same kind. It is literally true that wealth has no country — and never had! There is not a great estate in the New World that is devoted to the free institutions under which it was accumulated. The stock exchanges and the banks of the world constitute an empire. They are literally *imperium in imperio*. They have no native land. They know no other kingdom but their own. The bourse has no flag except the oriflamme of Security and Gain. The bourse is not of France, not of Germany, not of England, not of America, not of any nation, not of all nations, not of the world, but of itself. It is for itself. The political and civil institutions under which it exists are, to the bourse, only a means unto an end. The bourse considers government as an instrument, not for the enlargement of human liberty, not for the promotion of man, not for the extension of civilization, not for invention and letters and art, but for the protection of the bourse.

The bourse in all nations is common; it is a unit. It is founded on thrones and dynasties; on kingdoms and empires and republics, and on man! The bourse says that the United States is a part of the European system — or must be; that our institutions in the old democratical form are too weak for safety; that the American Republic must be conformed with all expedient haste to the gainful standards and substantial methods of Europe; that our democratic ship must be drawn up to the harbor and anchored under the guns of the old fort, where the dangerous rights of man may be carefully regulated by the triumphant rights of property.

Another circumstance that tends strongly to Europeanize America is *society*. Society, that is the sham of society, is getting interlocked across the Atlantic. More and more with each year the threads are carried back and forth, and fastened on each side to the unbreakable rings of the social anchors. Society in this respect is much like wealth. Society, as soon as it emancipates itself from the conditions of production and finds the means of independent support in revenues drawn from funds, takes refuge, not under the flag of the Nation, but under the flag of Power. Wherever power flourishes, there "society" — in the fictitious sense —

flourishes also. Society knows the sunshine of the boulevard, but not the sunshine of the fields. Society likes the rattle of swords, but not the rattle of tools. Society loves the prince and avoids the democrat. Society considers the opera-house and the arsenal more attractive than the schoolhouse and the fair.

American society on its eastern selvage strives to get itself interwoven more and more with those aristocratic forms and fictions which are the peculiar social products of Europe. On both sides of the sea society tends to a common form and substance. The intervention of the Atlantic, shrunken to a pond, is no longer an obstacle to social intercourse. Along a great part of the American seaboard the motive of a foreign connection is to-day stronger than any remaining motive of public liberty. The social influence of the whole United States west of the Alleghanies is not as strong in New York City as the single influence of the Prince of Wales! Under such conditions the notion of Europeanizing America is not only entertained, but is regarded with complacency and undisguised favor.

The great fact called *Government*, as well as commerce and wealth and society, drifts strongly towards the European side. It is a tendency in all government to make itself great and glorious. Government is never modest, never humble. It always encroaches, and enlarges itself at the expense of those interests which it is designed to conserve. Government does not look affectionately towards man, but always affectionately towards the organic form and splendor of things.

The American Republic is under this law. As a result, it has drifted towards the very condition which was renounced by our fathers. This Republic is not any longer Jeffersonian. There is hardly a trace of the Jeffersonian philosophy and intent left in it. The name of Jefferson is still used to conjure with, but it is used by those who are innocent of Jeffersonian principles. Each succeeding administration approximates the European style. Strange paradox this, but true, that the Republican Lincoln was the last Jeffersonian to occupy the presidential chair; he who recently claimed

to wear the panoply of Jefferson was furthest of all from the type which he falsified.

The fact is that the democratical moorings in our national life are sprung, and the ship sails east. The very nomenclature of government has come into conformity with that of monarchy. In the political jargon our Secretary of State is a "Premier;" the office of our Attorney-General is the "Department of Justice;" a resolution to end debate in the House of Representatives is a "cloture;" our representatives at foreign courts are no longer ministers, that is, plain spokesmen of the Republic, but *ambassadors* — "ambassador" signifying in the language of diplomacy the representative of a crowned head! To this extreme has the aping stretched itself; nothing is any longer American that can find the garb of a European phrase.

Meanwhile, the prerogatives of the President have become greater than those of any king west of the Vistula; and the power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, circling like a whip and falling sharp on the backs of the representatives of the people, exceeds the authority of any like officer in the world; as to the arrogance involved in its exercise ask the Czar! Let no one think that the government of the Republic does not bear off easily and gayly, with wealth and commerce and power and organization, to be anchored fast on the European side.

Not all the forces of American life, however, drift in this direction. There is one great fact that holds back and does not willingly follow in the wake. This fact is the *people*. It is the great majority constituting the body and life of the American nation. Probably four citizens out of five in this Republic are at heart still sincerely devoted to free institutions. Four out of five believe with might and soul in the righteousness of our Colonial Rebellion against Great Britain, and the goodness of absolute independence. Four out of five think human liberty something, and not nothing. Four out of five consider our democratic institutions to be — as they are — the most advanced and satisfactory forms of civil society ever created by man. Four out of five regard the government of the United States as a simple agent for the

expression of the will and hope of the people. Four out of five share not at all in the rising distrust which wealth and commerce and society and power cherish against the masses in their plan of governing themselves by the freely expressed will of the majority.

The great preponderating body of American life is still sound on the fundamental question. It is still moved by the very same impulses and passions which stirred our fathers of the seventeenth century in breaking away from Europe, and our later fathers of the eighteenth in declaring independence and sealing it with their blood. This great body of Americanism, spread broadly over the continent, clings to it as its cover of life and hope. It does not constitute the directive force, but it does constitute the substance and soul of the American Republic and of the nation. While the directive forces are steering straight for Europe, the great body of the common people of the United States hold heartily and strongly to independence, to liberty, both civil and individual, to democratic institutions, to government of man by man and for him.

While the powers that be in America incline to unite with the European system and to become a part of it, the American people, great and strong, will have none of it — unless they can be beaten in the tremendous game that is now on in the world. Left to the directive forces that have present control of our destinies, we shall, within a comparatively short period of time, be securely Europeanized — firmly reanchored to the ancient political order; but left to the direction of the unsullied instincts and sound heart of America, throbbing in the breast of the people, we shall be democratized more than we are, kept independent, pressed forward in the direction of larger liberties for society and firmer safeguards for the individual rights of man. Shall we go to Europe, or shall we not?

This question is the essence of the current commotion in our country. On the one hand wealth, organization, commerce, "society," all the prevailing forces in our public life, are on the alert, buzzing like Athenians about "the foreign affairs of the United States;" this, when we should have

no foreign affairs, or only a few. Our political powers are as deep as their elbows in every complication of the world. American newspapers are at a white heat — over what? Over nothing, — unless we are to become a part of Europe. In that event, we are already in the swiftest swim. In that event, we have not far to go until we shall be even as the rest. But if, on the other hand, America suffices for herself — as she does — and for the future of mankind; if our Republic is to continue as the one singular example of public liberty under law, showing forth the freedom of man in its highest and best civil and social manifestations, then shall we be, not Europeanized, but democratized more than ever. And that is the one desideratum that now presents itself as a supreme motive in our destiny.

Away with the aping of Europe in any matter whatsoever! Away with the purpose of those who would carry us back to the condition from which we broke away in the glorious days of the Revolution! Away with the substitution of trade for liberty! Away with the gloss and delusion of an artificial, unrepublican society! Away with the base subserviency which after a hundred and twenty-three years of independence would bend again the stalwart knees of the American democracy before the sham thrones and detested sceptres of the Old World's puppets and idols! The belief of many and the hope of not a few that we shall be restored to the European fold are mere rot and reaction! Up with the banner of Independence! Down with the ill-disguised purpose of a half-foreign minority to Europeanize the United States! America is sufficient for America; and the American people — if they have the courage to stand upon their feet and play out the magnificent game of civilization — are sufficient for themselves and for posterity.

HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION FROM A JAPANESE POINT OF VIEW.

BY KEIJIRO NAKAMURA.

HITHERTO, Japan has always looked upon this country with a certain admiration, for the simple reason that it had cherished a most highly commendable principle of foreign relation, as set forth by George Washington: "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all." Therefore, the tidings relating to the overturn of the native government of Hawaii by a certain group of American people in 1892, and to the subsequent acceptance of the proposed annexation of the islands by President Harrison, were received in Japan with considerable astonishment. And now the revival of the same treaty has caused double astonishment in Japan.

But the annexationists maintain that the United States is not introducing any new feature to her foreign policy through the proposed scheme of annexation, because this country has for many years exercised a semi-protectoral influence over Hawaii; because she has completely Americanized the Hawaiian civilization through the introduction of American capital, intellect, and belief; and, finally, because the Hawaiians themselves seek to become American citizens.

But here, in the first place, the protectoral power is an entirely different thing from annexation; it does not even pave a way toward that end. For, if it did, all South American republics, for the sake of self-defence, would be obliged to denounce a quasi-protectoral policy of the United States, which is named the "Monroe doctrine."

Secondly, whatever things are socially accomplished through the introduction of capital, intellect, and belief would not constitute any political claim. If, on the contrary, such an absurd policy were established, the importation of foreign capital and the work of foreign missions would become instrumentalities for political aggrandizement, and

the Oriental nations, such as China and Japan, would be compelled to refuse such an importation.

Finally, the third reason advanced by the annexationists seems to us a very nice diplomatic arrangement. Because the present Hawaiian body politic consists of about 2,000 voters, most of whom are Americans, therefore, in the negotiation of the treaty of annexation, one set of Americans speak for Hawaii, while another set of Americans speak for the United States. Such an arrangement seems to us a fine political trick, which is far more clever than the delicate schemes of Great Britain for gradual aggrandizement of land.

Besides these, there is a stronger reason set forth by the annexationists, that is, to check the growing influence and ambition of the Japanese people in the Hawaiian Islands.

What is the influence of the Japanese inhabitants in Hawaii? Truly, the Japanese inhabitants in the Sandwich Islands are steadily increasing in number; but they are merely laboring people, the people who work under the management of American capitalists. But, though they are under the system of a republic, they have no political power, because they cannot satisfy the property qualification for franchise. Of course, some Japanese capitalists might immigrate into the islands to start a certain new industry, and thus become citizens of Hawaii. But, even so, the number of Japanese voters would likely be very small, since the greater portion of the property in Hawaii is owned by the white race. What, then, is to be feared about the Japanese inhabitants in Hawaii? There is not the least possibility of danger which might arise from them.

It is, indeed, very ridiculous to see so many American papers speaking as if Japan were fostering some political intrigue in Hawaii. Suppose Japan should take possession of the islands by force; what interest would she derive from them? Since the economic and social fabrics are under the control of Americans, annexation of the islands by Japan would by no means promote any material interest she is seeking. Japan, though anxious to colonize her people, would not waste her power in gaining an inch of territory which would

not yield her any material interest, or which she would not be able to control. Therefore, the rumor that Japan has a certain unworthy intention about Hawaii is altogether unfounded.

It is very surprising, indeed, to see the United States acting so seriously upon mere rumor. So far as the United States is concerned, the proposed annexation would hardly yield her any additional gain. For even under the government of the native queen, the United States had always exercised a great influence politically, socially, and commercially, so that these islands were practically, though not in name, owned by this country.

In such a case, however, the mere name is a very important thing, and the transferring it from one country to the other may involve most serious international complications. On this very account, though England practically governs Egypt, she cannot claim a sovereign right over her. The absorption of one sovereignty by another is not such an easy matter as the union of one private corporation with another; for it may involve the question of balance of power, and when such a revolutional change is carried out by force it means a menace to neighboring countries.

In the case of Hawaii, the United States has not used any means of violence, but, as we have already seen, a certain group of adventurers claiming citizenship of this country have taken the right of sovereignty through violence from the queen, and now the mother country has nearly been persuaded to count the islands among her own territories. If such an attitude of the United States toward her neighboring islands in the Pacific Ocean should become established, it means to the Japanese people something new and also very alarming. They naturally construe this attitude of the United States as an opening policy of colonial expansion; and even though neither the President nor the Secretary of State may intend to establish this policy, it may nevertheless become developed out of the present example set forth by them. This policy means, of course, to get as many inches of land as possible whenever any opportunity offers itself. Therefore, it practically amounts to the same thing as a

public announcement by the United States to follow the example of Peter the Great of Russia, who is said to have laid out a secret plan of political aggrandizement. Thus, Japan is about to be flanked by aggressive nations on both sides. Why should she not feel uncomfortable about the new tide of things? This is the reason, I think, why the Japanese minister said that the independence of Hawaii is necessary for the good understanding between the powers that have interests in the Pacific Ocean.

Of course, the United States does not, I imagine, intend to make any violent change in her foreign policy as above-mentioned and to create a new departure in her history, hitherto free from political intrigue and aggressive movement. Let us grant this, and let the Japanese minister withdraw his protest relating indirectly to this particular point. Even then Japan has another reason to complain against the proposed annexation. It is this, that the annexation treaty totally ignores the treaty rights that Japan has enjoyed in Hawaii. When Japan was first asked to send her workingmen to Hawaii, she demanded from the latter a careful consideration in the way of protecting the personal rights of laborers. The result was Hawaii's promise to observe the principle of the most favored nation in behalf of Japan. So the Hawaiian government is bound, by virtue of that treaty, to treat the Japanese people as well as the European. But now, in the relation between Japan and the United States, this favor is not guaranteed by the treaty, and in the matter of naturalization this country discriminates against the Mongolian race, including the Japanese inhabitants. Therefore, after the absorption of Hawaii by the United States, Japan would theoretically lose her privilege to be treated like any other nation, and practically her people would lose their right to become citizens of Hawaii. On this account, Japan cannot overlook the coming event of annexation, for she is bound to protect her treaty rights, the rights that have been acquired in favor of her people.

Secretary Sherman, however, insists upon saying that, whatever treaties exist between Hawaii and other nations must be nullified as soon as the independence of the

Hawaiian republic ceases to exist, and therefore the United States will be under no obligation to respect the treaty rights of Japan that she holds in the Hawaiian Islands.

This argument would hold good as soon as the annexation shall have been completed, should other powers fail to make any protest beforehand. But the present case is different. In the first place, the independence of Hawaii does still exist, and the annexation, though not yet completed, is in the way of advance. In this juncture Japan reminds both Hawaii and the United States to respect her treaty rights. Is this not a reasonable demand? Has she not a right to make such request either from Hawaii or from the United States?

Further, does not the annexation mean an absorption of Hawaii by the United States while the former power bears a certain condition of obligations? Would not the United States then become slightly altered in her situation toward other countries? Would she not have to enter into a new relation with Japan? Truly, the United States and Japan must negotiate a new treaty in order to meet the new state of affairs. If it had been contemplated to do this contemporaneously with the conclusion of the annexation treaty, there would never have been any unfortunate misunderstanding between the two countries. It is, therefore, a great pity that the diplomats of both parties failed to adopt such a measure to bring about the desirable end.

One might say that it was not for the United States to propose a new treaty with Japan, for she is satisfied with the present treaty, and will be so satisfied even after the absorption of Hawaii; while, on the other hand, it is for the Japanese minister to propose a new treaty if his country is not satisfied that the present treaty should remain in force after the consummation of the annexation of Hawaii. This is quite right, and I admit it. But while the representatives of the United States and Hawaii were negotiating the treaty of annexation, the Secretary of State did not intimate to the Japanese minister his intention, though he did so to the ambassadors from other countries. This was one of the regrettable failures of diplomatic courtesy, for had the Japanese minister known what was going on between the repre-

sentatives of the two countries, he could have cordially made a certain proposition to the government at Washington to provide for the forthcoming change of affairs, and he would likely have succeeded in negotiating a new treaty of friendship with this country.

It is not as yet too late to resort to this measure. Certainly, to revive the diplomatic courtesy and to settle smoothly the pending difficulty that exists between the two countries, is much more desirable than to sow a seed of international animosity which would eventually cause much unnecessary expense to both parties.

Of course Japan would never nourish any ambition to fight with this great republic, for she knows too well its power and resources; but at the same time she would not allow any party to snatch away her treaty rights. For it is a question of right or wrong, and not a question involving intricate political affairs in which a shrewd diplomatic skill and national power are to be tested. Supposing Japan loses all that she claims, it is not Japan that we should dishonor; and supposing that she gains, it is not Japan that we should praise. The whole moral responsibility in the pending question lies with the people who are asked to respect a certain human right, and whose moral pride has been for one hundred years towering over every selfish nation on the face of the earth.

A POLITICAL DEAL.

BY ELIZA FRANCES ANDREWS.

THE Honorable Bradley Tyner sat in his office with a pile of letters freshly sealed and directed lying on the table before him. He had just concluded his business for the day, and as he folded the last letter and laid it on top of the pile ready for mailing, he threw himself back in his easy-chair and gazed into the fire with a look of long-drawn-out contentment.

And, indeed, the day had been a most auspicious one for the Honorable Bradley. The congressional primaries had just been closed, and had resulted in the election of a large majority of delegates favorable to his nomination. For Bradley Tyner had ambitions. He had represented his county for two terms in the State legislature, was now chairman of the board of education and president of the Young Men's Lurid League of Liberty of the town of Hillsboro, and aspired to represent his district in Congress. The result of the primaries was, as has just been stated, highly favorable to his projects, and he saw himself already, in fancy, electrifying the lawmakers of the nation with his great speech on "The Free Circulation of Sea-Shells and Wampum as the Basis of Educational Progress," when his pleasant reverie was suddenly interrupted as the door swung open, and a portly middle-aged figure appeared on the threshold.

"Why, hallo, Carter! that you?" said the future statesman, rising and placing a chair for the visitor. "Come in and take a seat; any more news?"

"I just dropped in," answered Carter, seating himself and spreading his feet out on the hearth, "to say that Charley Johnson told me a despatch had just come to the *Gazette* that Hill and Rober'son have been chosen delegates from Holton, and Williamson from Lineville; there ain't but two more precincts to hear from, so I reckon we can feel pretty safe."

"Yes, good, safe men, all three," said Tyner, rubbing his

hands complacently; "can be depended on to stand by the party and work for the good of the country under all circumstances."

What he really meant was that they could be depended on to stand by Bradley Tyner, and look out for his interests; but as in his opinion the salvation of the country and the continued existence of the party were conditioned upon his own election, it is hardly probable that he was conscious of not saying exactly what he meant.

"Have you fixed Jones, of Newton, yet?" asked Carter after a little pause. "I suspicion the Whittaker crowd has been tampering with him, and he can't make up his mind who to vote for. He wants to get his boy George in the post office, but there don't seem to be much chance for anybody to get a job, if this here fool civil-service business is to be kept up. No matter how hard a man works for his party, it looks like he mustn't expect to get any pay for it; there's no encouragement to true patriotism under any such gover'ment."

"Now you're talkin'," assented Tyner, with an approving nod, "and if I once get into Congress, the first thing I mean to do is to introduce a bill knocking the whole business into a cocked hat. All gover'ment positions ought to be open to all citizens in turn, so that every man that sacrifices himself for the good of the party can have his turn at an office; that's true Jeffersonian doctrine. But something must be done about Jones," he continued, pulling his whiskers reflectively, "for while I feel pretty sure of having the inside track of Whittaker in the convention, still we must remember that the welfare of the country is at stake, and we must leave no stone unturned to carry the convention for sound Jeffersonian principles."

"I have some hold on Jones on account of that note I indorsed for him at the bank," observed Carter, feeling in his pocket for a fresh plug of tobacco; "I think I might be able to fix him without much trouble."

Tyner answered with a chuckle of satisfaction, and then, having laid his train, the patriotic Carter continued, after a little pause:

"By the way, Brad, how about that place in the public schools you promised me for Mattielu? She'll be home from Atlanta next week, and I'd like for her to go to work as soon as possible."

The Hon. Bradley Tyner's countenance fell a degree or two, and he shifted himself uneasily on his chair.

"I'm sorry there don't happen to be a vacancy just now," he answered, with a little nervous cough, "but I'll bear the matter in mind, and your daughter shall have the first one that occurs; there are likely to be several at the end of the session."

"But Mattielu can't wait," objected Col. Carter; "she must get to work right away. I don't mind telling you," he added, dropping his voice to a confidential whisper, "that her and Bob Beasley are going to get married next June, and she must have some money to buy her wedding things. I can't afford to fix her up like she wants to be, with six other children on my hands to be raised and educated, and if she can't get a situation in the schools right off, I don't know what she and Bob are going to do, unless Judge Whittaker could help 'em to something."

This hint was not lost on Bradley Tyner. He stroked his beard thoughtfully a moment or two, and then, relieving himself of a squirt of tobacco juice that threatened to extinguish the fire, answered slowly:

"Well, I'll see what can be done at the next meeting of the board. Perhaps a vacancy might be made by the beginning of another month; would that be soon enough for you?"

"I reckon so," replied the disinterested patriot, turning his own salivary floodgates open on the fire. "Jim Pounds's daughter hadn't been teachin' but a little above six months when she married Sam Riley, and this is just the beginning of October; Mattielu ought to save enough between now and next June to fix herself as good as Sallie Fannie Pounds. But there mustn't be any doubt about her getting it," he added, rising and feeling for his hat, now that he had accomplished the real purpose of his visit, "for if you can't do anything, Tom Whittaker says there's a district school over in his neighborhood" —

"Oh, I'll be sure to fix up something for Mattielu," interrupted Tyner, upon whose flagging energies the name of the rival candidate acted like a hot coal on a turtle's back. "I'll propose her myself at the next meeting of the board. I'm a great friend to the young folks, you know, and they can always count on my help when there's a wedding on foot, he! he! he!" he added, with a feeble attempt at a laugh.

"All right, I'll count on you then," said Carter; "and, er, ahem! — I say, Tyner," he added, pausing with his hand on the door-knob, as he was about to take his departure, "you needn't bother about Jones; I'll fix him for you."

"All right," returned Tyner, extending his hand; "I know you can always be depended upon to, to — er — er — to do your duty by the country."

And so the two men parted, neither of them deeming for a moment that in making this small political deal he had both given and received a bribe — a bribe payable not in gold or silver, but in the daily bread of a poor laborer.

And now followed what the French would call a bad quarter of an hour for Bradley Tyner. A place must be found in the public schools for Carter's daughter; that was clear, but who could be displaced for her benefit? If he ousted Miss Williams, there was her brother with the United Order of Grand Sachems at his back. Mrs. Maddox was a Confederate widow; he couldn't touch her without raising a howl from the combined forces of the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy. Miss Harmon's father was one of the delegates elect to the nominating convention upon whose vote he counted to help defeat Whittaker. And so on through the entire list; there seemed not a soul that could be displaced without bringing about worse complications than the one he was seeking to avoid, until he suddenly bethought him of little Miss Myra Jenkins, of the primary department, who had been put in at the beginning of the session to fill a sudden vacancy caused by the death of her predecessor. She had come from nobody knew where, and had no friends that anybody knew of to make things unpleasant in case of her dismissal. She had really no business to be in the school at all, and had only gotten her place because the work was so

hard and the pay so poor that there wasn't much competition for it. There was danger that Mattie Louisa Carter wouldn't be satisfied with it, but nothing better was available at present, and at all events it would be a sop to Carter that ought to stop his mouth for a while.

And so the thing was settled. The only difficulty was that he could think of no plausible excuse for discharging Miss Jenkins. It was only at their last meeting that the superintendent had praised her work and declared that the department was better managed than it had ever been before.

As he stood at his window pondering over the matter, who should pass along in the street outside but the object of his reflections herself, making her daily pilgrimage from her school room to the cheap boarding-house round the corner where she lodged. She was not a very attractive picture, it must be confessed. Her features were pinched and sallow, and her plain, threadbare gown had been cut more with a view to economizing material than to following the fashion. Her sleeves were too small by a couple of yards, making her arms appear all elbow, and the skimpy little brown cape she wore clung to her shoulders with a mortified air that was in conspicuous contrast with the overflowing outlines of an up-to-date circular. Altogether her appearance struck him as very peculiar, and he mentioned the fact to his wife when he went home that night, accompanying the remark with a very emphatic expression of his opinion regarding "peculiar" people in general.

Mrs. Tyner admitted that the new teacher might be a trifle odd; she had never thought enough about her to notice; but the children seemed to be learning better than they had ever done before, and never gave any trouble about their lessons at home.

"That's the very thing I object to," replied the honorable chairman of the board, in his most sententious tone. "If they were doing anything at school they would have to bring their books home and study at night. In my day, teachers used to make us stick to our text-books, and we had to learn what was in them, instead of fooling away our time

drawing all sorts of things on cardboard, and picking bugs and flowers to pieces like Mary and Julia are doing. I send my children to school to study their books and get an education; they can see plenty of weeds and bugs around them everywhere, without wasting money on a teacher to point 'em out to 'em."

Mrs. Tyner agreed there might be something in that. She was sure she had got *her* education out of books, and it was good enough for anybody; and besides, she had her doubts about these new-fangled ways: she had overheard Mary the other day explaining to her little sister the different parts of a lily they were pulling to pieces, and telling her something about the ovaries, which was a very improper word for girls of their age to be using. Girls had no business to know about such things till they were married, and she wondered what Miss Jenkins could be thinking about to put such thoughts into their heads.

Thus the ball was set in motion, and it went on gathering a fresh coat of mud and dirt at every turn. The honorable chairman of the board took occasion to interview privately everybody that came to his office next day, about the primary teacher. It is true, he had no more specific charge to bring against her than that she was "so peculiar," but the mysterious emphasis that he gave the word as he rolled it out in a confidential undertone, as something too awful to be spoken aloud, made it seem weighty enough to cover any charge, from petty larceny to midnight assassination.

It was not many days before all Hillsboro suddenly awakened to the fact that the new primary teacher was a very peculiar person. The women took up the subject and discussed it at their clubs and church meetings, and their criticisms soon percolated down to the children, who began to find everything that Miss Jenkins did "so funny," and to report all her sayings and doings at home colored with the light of this new discovery. It was not long before somebody called to mind that she never went to church, and then somebody else remarked her peculiar habit of wandering alone in the fields and meadows, gathering wild flowers. Her peculiar manner of dressing also came in for a share of

criticism, and the singular fact was duly noted that she was never seen abroad without that absurd little brown cape over her shoulders, no matter how warm the weather. If the patched and threadbare bodice concealed under that offending habiliment had been laid open to view, this peculiarity would perhaps have been sufficiently accounted for.

Thus, when the time came for the next meeting of the school board, the Hon. Bradley Tyner found his ground thoroughly prepared, and had no difficulty in securing the dismissal of the obnoxious teacher, and the appointment of Col. Carter's daughter in her place. The secretary was directed to notify the unsuspecting victim that her services would not be required after the end of the month, but the duty being a disagreeable one, he put it off as long as possible, and it was not until the last day of the interim allowed, that he transmitted to her the note of dismissal by placing it on her desk in the same envelope with the check for her month's salary. She broke the seal, and perceiving the check, did not take time to examine further, but supposing it was all the letter contained, put it away in her desk and went on with her work as usual.

In the afternoon, when the school was dismissed and the children were all gone, she sat at her desk and wrote a long letter before going home. When she had folded and directed it, she took the check from the secretary's envelope and for the first time opened the letter that accompanied it. As she read the cruel words, her features became rigid as marble, and sinking down with her head on the lid of the desk, she remained there motionless for hours. When she came to herself, she staggered to her feet, placed the check in the letter she had just written, dropped it into the post office as she passed it on her way home, and then, going to the nearest drug store, called for an ounce of chloroform. The clerk was in the habit of letting her have it to kill the frogs and insects used in her nature studies, so she had no difficulty in getting as much as she needed.

It was dark when she reached the stuffy little boarding-house where she made her home, and telling the landlady that she had a headache and would not want any supper, she

went straight up to the dingy back room that had resisted her pathetic attempts to brighten it with bouquets of autumn leaves and mats and table-covers of clean, fresh-cut newspapers. The landlady noticed that she looked unusually pale and wan as she passed through the hall, but none ever troubled themselves much about her, and so she was left undisturbed till morning. Then, as she did not come down to breakfast, Mrs. Brock told the maid she had better look in at Miss Jenkins's room when she went upstairs to make the beds and see what was the matter. The maid took her time about it, and finally came down and reported that Miss Jenkins's door was locked and that she could get no answer when she called. Mrs. Brock remarked a little impatiently, that she wondered what made Miss Jenkins always act so peculiarly, and went herself to investigate the matter. She put her eye to the keyhole: she could see nothing, but a strange odor seemed to fill her nostrils. The boarders had collected around by this time, and one of the men pried the door open. A strong scent of chloroform pervaded the air as he did so, and there, lying on the bed with a towel spread over her face and a sheet of crumpled paper clinched in her rigid fingers, lay the poor school teacher, stone dead. They took the paper from her hand, thinking it would explain the ghastly deed, and so it did; it was the letter of dismissal.

But why should that have made her so desperate? They looked around for further light on the mystery, and there, in the little old trunk that contained her meagre wardrobe, so pitifully scant and threadbare that there was not even a decent garment to bury her in, they found, in a pasteboard box, with a lock of hair and a few dried flowers, a small packet of letters that revealed the humble tragedy of the poor school teacher's life. They were written in a cramped, unsteady hand, and told a sorrowful tale of poverty and distress; of a mother dead, of an invalid father and a little boy brother whose sole dependence was the labor of the girl lying there dead. The last one, received only a day or two before, closed with these words:

"I am afraid you are denying yourself too much, dear child. Don't send us all your salary next month, but keep

something for yourself. It is hard for me to feel that I must lie here a helpless cripple on your hands, but it can't be for long, and the thought that you have got a good position at last, that will keep you and Johnny from want, is such a comfort to my heart that I feel I can now go down to my grave in peace. Do your best and try to give satisfaction, for if you should lose your place and I should have to see my children suffering for bread again, I believe it would be more than I could bear. I pray for you continually, and I feel that God will bless you for all you have done for your poor old father, and that He will protect you and prosper you in your work."

The reading of these letters caused a sudden revulsion of feeling in Hillsboro, and now that it was too late to do any good, sweet Charity spread her white wings over the dead, and began to coo and simper and thank God that she was not as other folk — while poor neglected Justice sat in a corner and hid her face. Mrs. Tyner gave one of her handsomest gowns for a burial robe, and the Hon. Bradley gained great applause by heading a subscription list with twenty dollars to help pay the funeral expenses. They bought a fine coffin that cost more than two months' salary of the dead girl would have come to. They lined it with satin and covered it with the choicest flowers, and so sent her back home to her old father.

The Hon. Bradley Tyner, to use his own expression, fairly "wiped out" the Whittaker faction in the convention, and in due time was elected to Congress. He enjoys the reputation, among his admirers, of being a notable philanthropist as well as a statesman. The story of his generous behavior on the occasion of Miss Jenkins's death is often quoted as proof of his charitable disposition, and will no doubt have great weight in securing his reëlection.

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

GLAD TIDINGS

(Of Great Joy to the Lords of Earth and the Saviors of Society in our Christian Churches, concerning the Spiritualized Meaning of the Words and Deeds of the Workingman of Nazareth, Savior of Men).

BY MARION MILLS MILLER.

God rest you, Christian gentlemen,
Let nothing you dismay,
For Christ, the blessèd Savior,
Was born on Christmas Day,
In a mystic time and a holy clime,
Long past and far away.

God rest you, Christian gentlemen,
For wherefore should ye fear?
The Communist of Nazareth
Is dead this many a year,
And the words he taught and the deeds he wrought
Can never come you near.

So rest you, Christian gentlemen,
From every cark and care,
If rest you can while your brother man
Wanders the highway bare
To find a place where the hornèd race
Their straw-laid bed may share.

Ay, rest you, Christian gentlemen,
God grant you peace of mind,
If grant he will, while his children still
Than the beasts are more unkind;
Nor in house and hall, but in byre and stall,
The poor their refuge find.

God rest you, Christian gentlemen,
Whose Master knew no rest,
With never a bed for his weary head
But that of the earth's cold breast,—
A couch more bare than the fox's lair,
More drear than the wild bird's nest.

God rest you, Christian gentlemen,
Take comfort to your souls,
And the pestering poor about your door,
Send back to their proper holes;
If the cold bare sod was enough for our God,
Why clamor the Huns and Poles?

God rest you, Christian gentlemen,
Did not the Master say
'Tis the will divine that the poor should pine,
"The poor ye have alway"?
'Tis the Judas heart that takes their part,
Would ye your Lord betray?

Ay, rest you, Christian gentlemen,
And for your resting-place,
On priceless land build churches grand,
With many a cushioned space
Where ye may nod at peace with God
Before the Throne of Grace.

God rest you, Christian gentlemen,
The while you hear the Word,
And Levites sleek of the surplice speak
Deep counsels of the Lord,
And His words that burn, into fable turn
When the fact is too absurd.

God rest you, Christian gentlemen,
The while your hirelings try
To smoothly lay the narrow way
To mansions in the sky,
And with shifted load, your camels goad
To thread the needle's eye.

God rest you, Christian gentlemen;
"The just by faith shall live,"
The prophet saith, and ye have faith
God will at last forgive
Your puny souls for unjust tolls,
False weight, and robbing sieve.

God rest you, Christian gentlemen,
"The earth He gave to all
The sons of men," but then again,
As sons ye have the call;
What can expect the non-elect
But pressure to the wall?

God rest you, Christian gentlemen,
"Judge not" can never mean
That ermined might shall waive its right
Toward vested wrong to lean,
But "Be not prone to cast the stone;
Toil, are thine own hands clean?"

Then rest you, Christian gentlemen,
In Christian hope secure;
As ye below to judge were slow,
Your prize above is sure;
Your deeds, 'tis true, won't stand review,
But then your hearts are pure.

So rest you, Christian gentlemen,
And cast away your gloom,
In trust ye may on Judgment Day
Your proper spheres assume,
Since "Christ was too well-born himself
A gentleman to doom."

THE YULE LOG.

BY CLINTON SCOLLARD.

Hale the Yule log in;
  Heap the fagots high;
With a merry din
  Rouse old Revelry!
Cry "Noel! Noel!"
  Till the rafters ring,
And the gleeful bell
  Peals its answering!

Brim the Christmas cup
  From the wassail-bowl,
Now the flame leaps up
  With its ruddy soul!
In the glowing blaze
  How the dancers spin!
Deftest in the maze,
  Nimble Harlequin!

Grim Snapdragon comes
  With his mimic ire,
And his feast of plums
  Smothered in the fire.
O the days of mirth,
  And the nights akin!
Heap the Christmas hearth;
  Hale the Yule log in!

HOW TO GET AN ARTICLE INTO A MAGAZINE.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT would appear that the Editor of THE ARENA has entertained an angel unawares. In the early summer a gentleman calling himself Niels Grön, who, as we remember, was at that time an applicant for a foreign appointment at the hands of the government, came in person to THE ARENA office and presented for publication a manuscript entitled "Points in the American and French Constitutions Compared." This paper the Editor accepted on account of its merits, though he was impressed at the time that Mr. Grön was unduly anxious about his appointment, and was, as we thought, secretly hoping that the publication of his contribution might promote his chances for the place. Our recollection is that Mr. Grön wanted to be consul to Java — or maybe it was only London. Perhaps he has received the appointment, in which event we send our condolence to Java — or Great Britain, as the case may be.

These remarks are introductory to the following communication, which we have just received from no less a personage than the well-known Mr. John Joseph Conway, Editor of *Galignani's Messenger*, now become the *Daily Messenger*, of Paris. We offer no comment in publishing Mr. Conway's communication further than to commend Mr. Niels Grön to the thoughtful consideration of the literary public. Should any reputable journal be in need of a first-class article, application may be made to Mr. Grön, who, we doubt not, will furnish the same (by proxy) "at the usual rates."

Read Mr. Conway's letter and reflect upon the possibilities of literary production when inspired with the hope of governmental favor and a deep notion of honor as an ingredient in human conduct.

THE DAILY MESSENGER,
LATE GALIGNANI'S MESSENGER,
ESTABLISHED 1814.

167 RUE SAINT HONORE,
PARIS, October 22, 1897.

The Editor of THE ARENA,

DEAR SIR: I see from a copy of *The Literary Digest* which found its way to our office that the July number of THE ARENA contains an article comparing the points of the constitutions of the French and American republics. The name attached to the article is Niels Grön. Permit me to say that I am the writer of that article. The proof of this statement is contained in letters of Mr. Grön which I hold in my possession, and which I shall at once submit to you in case you deem it necessary. The information upon which the article is based was used by me in the first instance in my leaders for *The Daily Messenger*. How then did Mr. Grön come by the article? That gentleman was introduced to me in Paris, I think by ex-Governor Sprague of Rhode Island. Shortly afterward he asked me to write him an article for some New York syndicate. The article in question having been ready at hand, I sold him the use of it, but never for a moment dreamt that he would substitute his name for mine. It now turns out that not only has he not paid for the article, but he has had it published in THE ARENA over his own name. As the latter act implies a species of literary immorality to which I can lend no countenance I must ask you to publish this letter in THE ARENA at your earliest convenience. Stealing the product of another man's brains and palming it off as though it were one's own is not only an injury to the victim, but a fraud upon the public. I mean to use the substance of the article in question as a chapter of a book upon which I am working, and therefore there is all the more necessity of making you aware of the facts of the case now.

I am, dear sir,

Faithfully yours,
JOHN JOSEPH CONWAY,
Editor Paris *Daily Messenger*.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

Sir Thomas Kho on Education.

IT was at Manila, the capital of the Philippines, that I took passage on the good ship *Southern Cross* bound from Shanghai to Batavia. My wish was to look into the conditions of life in Malaysia, and the opportunity offered when the *Southern Cross* went by in that direction.

No place suggests the formation of easy new friendships so strongly as does the deck of a sailing vessel on a smooth sea. The region should be the tropics, and the time should be evening. Hesperus should hang low in the west, and the green outlines of islands, bordered with bamboo, should be seen not far to the east.

Among the passengers who came on board of the *Southern Cross* at Manila was Sir Thomas Kho, K. C. B.; and it is the substance of a conversation with this distinguished savant which I wish to record. I sought an introduction to Sir Thomas, and he was courteous enough to favor my advances. During our voyage we fell into talks about many questions; some trivial and some severe. Our intercourse grew to freedom in a few days, and I did not hesitate to query Sir Thomas of certain matters concerning which I did not doubt he was preëminently well-informed. As, for example, in a personal way I learned by inquiry that his old family estate in Borneo lay in the valley of the River Kapuas, about three hundred miles from the mouth of that stream. There his ancestors had resided as far back as the Feudal Ages.

Sir Thomas was a hale and hearty character, whom I found it most agreeable to know. His comments on aspects of current civilization in the East and the West were direct and generally instructive. I made notes of his criticisms on the tendencies of civilization in Europe and America, and will venture to reproduce from my memoranda some of the things he said. In a philosophical way I made a special inquiry about his knightship's views on the subject of the higher education in its relations to progress.

On the evening of the 20th of May, 1894, we sat on board to a late hour enjoying the dim and fragrant seascape of the tropics. We were passing Palawan on the left. Sir Thomas threw his cigar over the gunwale and in response to my suggestion about the general effect of scholastic training said:

"Ni lum khi du-tol mo chok Ham-rikky. Kroh lak tol piki um me ku whah til fee pum fum doo lik shu-ki. Doa mu kin pu dil um ooah Kooah shu-si-to-boo. Lan di hop kunder mag hoo san kschu-ly-doo-ly, un huoah bah spank-h."

I should have said that during my stay in the character of a student at the University of Bangkok I had made considerable progress in the languages of Oceanica and had given particular attention to Chimpanzee. It was therefore a delight to hear Sir Thomas in his vernacular. I should be glad to repeat all his remarks in the original, but for the sake of those of our readers who are not well versed in the higher Simian dialects I will English Sir Thomas's observations, giving the sense as nearly as may be in our imperfect forms of speech.

Sir Thomas's first remark, as reported above verbatim, signifies: "I have not been satisfied with the result of your education in America. It seems to me to work by contraries in this — that the system puts the face of a man [*um ooah Kooah*] on the wrong side of him, so that he looks always backwards. I should prefer to have the face of an educated man set to the fore, as if he were going somewhere."

I was somewhat amused at Sir Thomas's first pass, and gave a little laugh in the Malay manner; but he was perfectly serious, and sending a whiff from his second cigar he continued (I translate):

"I know you call this thing of yours education. And you have, as I have learned, many colleges to promote it. The system seems to have been invented in Europe at a time when the only light came from an *ignis fatuus* (*sto-ki-dum-li*) in the rear. There was not at that time one fore-torch of knowledge or hope in the world. The man of your so-called Middle Ages was not, I confess, much to blame for thinking that the past is a Big Thing. How could he be censured for not knowing that the past is only the remaining dust and

darkness of a dead world? It is only when living men, born in what they call an enlightened age, persist in educating their youth by twisting their faces around towards the dead world that I protest."

I told his knightship in answer that I thought his remark was too sweeping; that, though a collegian, I was not myself a devotee of the past; and that I knew another college man or two who believed that the future ought to be constructed out of new materials.

"Koon soa ki tum chin-ni khat mik," said Sir Thomas; that is, "There may be a few of that kind — but not many." "If my information be authentic," he continued, "your education consists mostly in teaching men how to stop. Nothing in Ham-rikky, I hear, is thought to be so inimical to a high standard of scholarship as a belief in the revolution of the earth on its axis. It is a great part of the higher learning to *prevent* the motion of the earth by denying it! One of your poets declares that 'The thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns,' but he did not learn this at college; he learned it when he was alone on the chalky crags of Dover communing with the sea.

"Your college men are as a rule in mortal dread of the 'process of the suns.' They consult their charts and find that according to Duns Scotus it is wrong for the sun to proceed; therefore the sun does *not* proceed — else the sun would disturb the existing order.

"The average college man," continued his knightship, "huddles down close to the wall and waits for some ancient dog-cart to come along. As soon as a time-worn vehicle passes on its way back to the last camping-ground, he hails it and mounts. And on that 'safe and sound' dog-cart of reaction and retrogression and cant he rides the journey through."

Sir Thomas gave another puff and went on: "I have learned that nearly all your university productions are leagued with those social and political forces which drive backwards. It is said that your leaders of progress, the greater part of them, spring directly from the people, while your graduates are gathered into the silken folds of an apathetic aristocracy. Nine out of ten of them take refuge

under the cloak of organization, and the other one, if he venture into the open, *is generally driven back!* No doubt this is primarily a weakness, but in the language of your poet, 'to be weak is miserable.'

"Your educated men turn to books instead of affairs, and out of books they seek to extract the mystery and majesty of life. They seem not to know that nearly all books are a rehash of other hash that was hashed in the first place out of superstition and ignorance. The evanescent character of your literature proves this to be true. How long do your books last? If one of them survives a season it is placarded as a prodigy. What has become of the books that have been produced during the nineteenth century? After Hugo, Buckle, and Darwin, who? One of these three went *through* college, and the other two were educated mostly by their mothers.

"Why do your educated men join themselves to the enemies of progress? Why do they conclude, even before graduation, that the principal work in the world is to govern mankind by means of institutions and opinions, the design of which is to prevent the governed from growth and emancipation? Do your scholars really believe that civilization is a stationary product of the past? Do they believe that wealth and slavery are the only two things to be worshipped? Do they know so little of history as not to be well aware that every single progressive movement of the human race has been the outgrowth and destruction of existing conditions? Was there ever a forward march that did not begin in revolution? Was there ever any advantage in standing still? Is not all life a process of bursting out from a humus which is the result of decomposed materials? Does nature ever try to revive a dead tree? Can you educate life into anything that is not germinal? It seems to me strange that the scholars of the West should combine their forces with the extinct order which the past has entailed on the present. The present ought to have an order of its own, and so ought the future.

"In Borneo," Sir Thomas continued, "we have a system of education quite different from that of Europe and America. Our leading institution is our *Naturschule*, or Nature Uni-

versity, in which all of our youth — not a few — are educated alike by processes which are native to our manner of life. Under the influence of this system our youth are not perhaps as capable in history and philosophy as are the graduates of Western institutions, but our young people attending the Naturschule seem to bring out what is in them, and to be adapted in a high degree to the conditions under which they are to live.

"Meanwhile, we have made progress. We have learned to walk on two feet and to fashion a stick and to kindle a fire. I do not presume," said Sir Thomas in conclusion, "to advise the people of Europe and America; for that would be presumptuous. But it seems to me perfectly clear, as I shall insist in my lecture this afternoon before the normal class of our Naturschule, that it is not a good educational method to twist around the face of man and set it backwards."

Journey and Sleep.

The height we strive for and behold in dream
  Is higher than the highest Alp. It lies
  In far sublimity against the skies,
Cloud-hooded, inaccessible, supreme!
The empyrean snows upon it seem
  Like glints of glory through the crimson dyes
  Of falling star-flakes where they crystallize
Under the sun's intolerable gleam.

That upward way! How steep and sharply drawn
  Across the shadows of the mountain's face
    Lies the white line of travel up the scar!
There must the bleeding feet, still toiling on
  O'er broken stones, climb yet a little space,
    And then, sleep, sleep — under the Evening Star.

BOOK REVIEW.

[*In this Department of* THE ARENA *no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.*]

Guthrie's "Modern Poet Prophets." [1]

Mr. Guthrie's volume on "Modern Poet Prophets" does credit to American letters and sheds distinguishing lustre on the Ohio Valley as a literary field and Cincinnati as a centre of culture. Meritorious works of a severely critical character are rare in the United States, especially in the West, a word still applied to the centre. The rapid growth of a vigorous new literature in poetry and fiction and the spread of academic training in all parts of the hitherto "wild and woolly West" have prepared even the popular mind for the pleasurable study of art principles and for comparative estimates of authors. The essays before us are not "popular" on the ground of being easy to read, nor are they local or provincial in any sense. On the contrary, they appeal mainly to readers well equipped with the instruments of trained thought and familiar with modern literature in its relations to philosophy, science, art, and ethics. To such readers the several rich and scholarly expository studies here inadequately reviewed cannot fail to prove charming in their peculiar style and most wholesomely stimulating in their substance, whether that substance be drawn from the writer's full mind or poured by him from the deep souls of the poets he loves. The book, like the enchanted cask in "Faust," yields various wines from one faucet, — at least ten varieties besides the sparkling vintage from the author's own vats.

As Ruskin, before venturing to lay down principles for the modern painter, schooled himself in the technique of drawing, so Mr. Guthrie modestly proves himself a successful wooer of poetry, "that most wily and exacting siren of all the arts," for, on the page next after that beautifully dedicating to his wife these "first fruits of long-shared studies and enthusiasms," stands a luminous sonnet, like a vestibule lamp, forelighting the guest to the house of the modern muses. This poetic light is so refracted by the ground glass of figurative language that some readers find it obscure; the sonnet, in fact, is almost as bad and not quite

[1] "Modern Poet Prophets: Essays, Critical and Interpretative." By William Norman Guthrie. The Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati, 1897.

so good as certain of Browning's best short poems. Like "My Star," however, it suggests infinite things, and demonstrates once for all that Mr. Guthrie is not only a critic of poetry but a poet, and therefore a sympathetic interpreter of poetical messages.

The theme, *Poet Prophets*, recalls Carlyle's identification of two meanings in the word "*vates*," — "a messenger he, sent from the Infinite Unknown with tidings to us. We may call him Poet, Prophet, God." The Man of God, Mr. Guthrie calls him, a teacher yet not a preacher, "most effective because he does not preach," though a bringer of divine, immortal truth, clad in beauty.

The attitude assumed by the author is that of expositor, guide, interpreter of the poets whose theory and ideals he discusses. In his function as "sign-post," or rather cicerone, of Parnassus, he certainly does all that could be asked of a conscientious leader who knows every inch of the ground traversed. A linguist, a logical thinker, a sensitive discriminator in matters of taste, morality, religion, he can always be trusted as one knowing whereof he affirms, and never venturing an *ipse dixit* not founded on careful investigation and thought. But whether from unconscious bias or from an overflowing enthusiasm which at times forgets the assigned limits of the mere expositor standing outside of the subjects presented, Mr. Guthrie has not concealed his personal conclusions or his prevailing sympathies in these very earnest and, in passages, almost passionate essays. Throughout his unprejudiced and sincerely liberal discussions of pessimism, realism, and modern doubt, clearly shines evidence of his affinity with optimism, idealism, and faith in the unseen. In the modern prophet poets he finds "subtle resemblance" to the authors of the New Testament. Yet in no case is he opinionated or more or less dogmatic. A seeker after truth, liberal, open-minded, assuming "progress" to be the law of the universe, he nowhere claims more for his "prognostications than that which betrays a well-meaning piece of fallible speculation." Perhaps his creed is approximately expressed in his own words: "Things are stable only through constant regular change." Again: "How strange would seem to our minds the actual conceptions of many dogmatists whose *words* we quote with zest, and whose *spirit* we rightly commend, because it begot the spirit that uses their old *words* in a better sense than theirs."

So much for the qualification and temper of the author: he is a truth-seeker, not a dogmatist; hopeful, not despondent; bold,

yet not too bold; hospitable to all men's sincere thought *and* feeling, a devout man who might say the Scripture prayer, "Lord, I believe: help thou my unbelief." And he believes something, not nothing.

This book itself should be read in the order of its contents, as follows: — Introductory Essay, Ideal Womanhood in Dante, Goethe, and Robert Browning; I. Leopardi and Evolutional Pessimism; II. "Obermann" of Senancour and Matthew Arnold, or Morals Divorced from Theology; III. Agnostic Poets of our Day, Clough, Rossetti, Swinburne, Arnold; IV. The Prometheus Unbound of Shelley, a Drama of Human Destiny; V. The Permanence of Art, or Art and Ontology; VI. Realistic Art on the Stage, Gerhardt Hauptmann; VII. The Message of Walt Whitman, the Camden Sage.

The introductory study of ideal womanhood, though a noble grouping of some of the sublimest and most beautiful creations of three inimitable poets, is really a lecture, and has no organic connection with the seven essays which are the unified body and soul of the volume. The sixth of these essays, that on Hauptmann and his plays, — one of the most valuable, suggestive, and entertaining chapters in the series, — though less vitally related to the main theme than the others, brings out helpful considerations on realistic art.

The six essays which may for convenience be entitled Leopardi, Senancour and Arnold, Agnostic Poets, Shelley, Art, and Walt Whitman, are closely linked together in a continuous chain of association. The several great poet prophets, the substance of whose messages is given and interpreted for us by Mr. Guthrie, are so many piers or arches on which rests the big bridge from the arid shore of pessimism to the cloudy coast of optimism — from Leopardi to Whitman. The author contemplated adding at least two more arches for the span, Tennyson and Browning. By all means should this be done, so that the shining bridge shall reach still nearer to the celestial terminus, to the reality of the ideal.

The plan of a brief review forbids more than a condensed summary of the author's design and matter. The poets chosen as exponents of modern thought and aspiration are each shown to stand for a sincere conviction and a doctrine of life and duty. Each represents a theory of the universe and a standard of conduct. Leorpardi voices the gospel of evolution in its application to man's hope or despair. Senancour in his "Obermann," and

Matthew Arnold in all his moral writings, set forth what practice of righteousness and what degree of happiness are compatible with a system in which ethics is divorced from theology — a system of religion without dogma. The agnostic poets, Clough, Swinburne, Rossetti, Arnold, are summoned to depose that "the only test of truth is life," and that "our business is with man as he now is;" our duty, "to lead our life *now* with a noble courage," undaunted by the dread of the unknowable or the fear of the ghost of dead authority. In Shelley's "Prometheus" agnosticism finds a grander symbolism, a more satisfying dream, a comprehensive idealism which in effect is filled with hope, and stimulates to strenuous action. The essay on "Prometheus Unbound" is, perhaps, the most inspiring of the whole series. In the great drama Mr. Guthrie finds an "imperishable poem," an inspired message which "will speak to the future of the 'last things' as eloquently as to us," which "will serve untold generations" and "give them faith in the good that reveals himself as Beauty."

The masterly essay on "The Permanence of Art" introduces into the discussion an æsthetic element, and considers, with more acumen and great vigor, what will be the probable effect upon poetry and the other beautiful arts, of the several schools of philosophy now in vogue. The author's conclusion is that the theory called monism is the one most likely to foster and make permanent the spirit and practice of fine art. However, monism, unmodified, might render art work "too precise and rigidly æsthetic."

The concluding essay gathers up much that has been suggested in preceding essays and completes the whole series in a very enthusiastic exposition of Walt Whitman's "wholesome monistic optimism." This chapter, the longest in the book, has been published separately under the title of "Walt Whitman, the Camden Sage." It may surprise some readers to be told that "it is by a consideration of him as a religious teacher that we shall do well to approach his work."

W. H. Venable.

THE ARENA FOR JANUARY.

The first number of THE ARENA for the New Year will fully maintain the high standard of the Magazine of the People. The battle for reform will be continued with unabated vigor.

The interest in all reformatory movements and in THE ARENA is indicated by the overwhelming pressure of contributions upon our space. From every quarter the cry of the people is heard.

"Freedom and its Opportunities."

Governor John R. Rogers, of Washington, will complete his vigorous and patriotic contributions on "*Freedom and Its Opportunities.*" His two papers on this subject will influence not a little the opinion of the times.

James J. Wait on Interstate Protective Tariffs.

The subject of "*Our Interstate Protective Tariffs*" will be ably presented by James J. Wait, who powerfully exposes the discriminative freight rates adopted by many of the Western railways.

Mason on "Municipal Proprietorship."

Augustus L. Mason, A. M., ex-President of the Citizens' Street Railway Company, of Indianapolis, will ably review the questions at issue relative to the municipal proprietorship of street railways and similar quasi-public properties. Mr. Mason gives the public one of the most interesting contributions of the period.

B. O. Flower on the Poet Reformer.

Mr. B. O. Flower will continue his contributions with an article on "*James G. Clarke, the Reformer Poet of California and the World.*"

Canada and the United States.

Under the caption "*Our Friends the Enemy*" Mr. John G. Spence, Barrister, of Toronto, will present one of the ablest discussions ever published on the relations of the two great English-speaking peoples of North America. We specially commend Mr. Spence's paper to the attention of the public.

"Questionings from the Pews."

Benjamin F. Burnham will present a strong article entitled "*Questionings from the Pews.*" In this contribution Mr. Burnham gives a caustic criticism on the condition of religious teaching from the point of observation of a layman.

Helen Campbell.

Our well-known lady contributor, Helen Campbell, will present an interesting and valuable article under the caption "*Is American Domesticity Decreasing, and If So, Why?*" Mrs. Campbell discusses this question as an authority, and her views will be received with much interest and favor by the public.

"Plutocracy and War."

The Editor's contribution will be on "*Plutocracy and War.*" In this he will show the crafty double attitude which the money power of the world now holds with respect to international conflicts.

Robert Blight on the Mistletoe.

An interesting and instructive botanical paper on the "*Mistletoe*" will be presented by Mr. Robert Blight. The contribution will appear seasonably, and will be read with keen interest.

Charles Baldwin's Story.

Under the title of "*The Smelting of the Honorable Jerry Webb*" Mr. Charles Baldwin will present an amusing satirical sketch, the *motif* of which is drawn from the current abuses of political life.

The remainder of the number for January will be occupied with *The Editor's Evening*, containing his usual number of brief studies and sketches, and with the *Plaza of the Poets* and *Book Reviews*.

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